THE Rasbotham

LIFE and REIGN OF King *HENRY* VIII.

Together with a

General HISTORY of thoſe Times.

Written by the RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD Lord HERBERT of *Cherbury.*

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THE LIFE and REIGN OF King *HENRY* VIII.

IT is not eaſy to write that Prince's Hiſtory, of whom no one Thing may conſtantly be affirmed. Changing of Manners and Condition alters that Coherence of Parts, which ſhould give an uniform Deſcription: nor is it probable that Contradictories ſhould agree to the ſame Perſon. So that nothing can ſhake the Credit of a Narration more, than if it grow unlike it ſelf; when yet, it may be, not the Author, but Argument cauſed the Variation. It is impoſſible to draw his Picture well who hath ſeveral Countenances.

I ſhall labour with this Difficulty in King *Henry* the Eighth; Not yet ſo much for the general Obſervation, among Politicks, that the Government of Princes rarely grows milder towards their latter End; but that this King in particular, (being about his declining Age, ſo different in many of his Deſires, as that he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at laſt into ſuch violent Courſes, as in common Opinion derogated not a little from thoſe Virtues, which at firſt made him one of the moſt renowned Princes of Chriſtendom.

His Education was accurate, being deſtined (as a credible Author affirms) to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, during the Life of his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his

Father chuſing this as the moſt cheap and glorious Way for beſtowing a younger Son. For as he at once diſburdened his Revenues, and the publick from the Charge incident to ſo great a Perſon, ſo he left a Paſſage open to Ambition; eſpecially ever ſince *Eugenius* 4. had declared the Place of a Cardinal above all other in the Church. Beſides, he conſidered it would be no little Security to his Poſterity, that this Dignity was conferred on one who had Intereſt in the Conſervation of the Crown. By theſe Means not only the more neceſſary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even thoſe of Ornament; ſo that, beſides his being an able Latiniſt, Philoſopher and Divine, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious Muſician; as two entire Maſſes compos'd by him, and often ſung in his Chapel, did abundantly witneſs. Theſe were Qualities, which inveſted in an excellent and well form'd Perſonage, made him every Way recommendable. To which again, a great Courage and active Spirit being added, he ſeem'd to hold that ſtrong Temper of Authority, which made him eſteem'd and redoubted both at home and abroad. Had his Age anſwered his Youth, or Expectation, none of his Predeceſſors could have exceeded him: but as his exquiſite Endowments of Nature engaged him often to become a Prey of thoſe Allurements and Temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; ſo his Courage was obſerved by little and little to receive into it ſome Mixture of Self-will and Cruelty.

I am the more particular in his Deſcription, in that Princes Actions are not always drawn from Reaſon of State, but ſometimes even from Inclination and Humour. They have many Ways to be wiſe, and ſeldom err while they keep their Eſtate and Reputation. Nothing is ſo eaſy as to reign, if the Body of Government be well framed. Let the Counterpoiſes of Reward and Puniſhment go aright, the Wheels of this great Clock ſeldom fail. This King uſed both well as long as his Means and Complexion ſuffer'd him; though at laſt, paſſing theſe Bounds on either Side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers Irregularities.

The Time of his Birth was *June* 28. 1491. and of his coming to the Crown *April* 22. 1509. when though he might be thought apter for Delights than Buſineſs; yet, as he followed the Advice of able Counſellors, fewer Errors were committed, than when all Things were ſwayed by his own Arbitrament; for as they were ſelected by the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* his Grandmother, (noted to be a virtuous and prudent Lady) ſo he took their Impreſſions eaſily, both out of a Diffidence of his own Strength in the managing of the weighty Affairs of his Kingdom, and a Deſire he had to be free to thoſe Exerciſes, which moſt ſorted with his Youth and Diſpoſition. And certainly it was a happy Conjuncture for him, ſince, if the firſt Part of Wiſdom conſiſt in an Ability to give good Counſel, the next is to take it; the Condition betwixt both being ever more obnoxious to Danger.

The Frame of this Council was of Scholars chiefly, and Soldiers. Among the former Sort I find the Archbiſhop *Warham* much celebrated by the learned *Eraſmus*; and of the latter Kind, there will be divers mentioned with Honour in the Hiſtory following. So that their Choice proceeded rather from their Sufficiency in the Buſineſs they were to diſcharge,

charge, and Care of that Authority they muſt ſupport, than from any private Affection. Inſomuch that notwithſtanding the high Reverence they bore to their Prince's Perſon, they were obſerved ſo to love the Proſperity of his Affairs, as that they would not only impartially adviſe, but often modeſtly conteſt with him in any Thing for his good. Beſides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform, as well as counſel. So that, without divulging any Secret, or deſcending from the Dignity of their Place to require Advice from their Inferiours, they moved in their own Orb. This held up the Majeſty of the Council. Only I find it ſtrange, that among all theſe there was not ſo much as one that I may call ſtiled from the Common Law; which though I cannot commend, (Wiſdom evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not, was ſo tempered, as that, when any Difficulty in this Kind did ariſe, the Council learned in the Law was ſent for. However, it ſeem'd, they were kept then at a Diſtance towards the Beginning of his Reign, though towards the middle and latter End I find ſome were, through their great Abilities, received into the Body of his Council; yet ſo, as the King was noted not to admit Reaſon of Law every where for Reaſon of State. Therefore he uſed to take their Advice obliquely, and no otherwiſe than to diſcover how ſafe his own Deſigns were, and ſo with leſs Danger to vary from them. Which Deviations yet he would ſo regulate, as that his Actions at home had ſtill, if not their Ground, yet at leaſt their Pretext from the Common Law. Neither was it hard, the Practice thereof having been ſo long intercepted in the Civil Wars of *Lancaſter* and *York*, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regal Authority, both in his Father's Time and his, to appear in, and enter.

The firſt Office performed by theſe Counſellors was mixt betwixt Piety to their deceaſed Prince, and Duty to their new; it being the beſt Continuance of that Regal Authority, which ſhould never die, to revive the Memory thereof in that Way only which is permitted, being Pomp and Ceremony. This appeared not only in a great Funeral, but by that magnificent Structure in *Weſtminſter*, where the Chapel having been finiſhed by *Henry* the ſeventh himſelf, had the Tomb afterwards added and perfected by his Executors 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the Chapel coſt only 10000 *l.* (or, as others ſay, 14000 *l.*) and the Tomb 1000 *l.* yet as Moneys did run then, it might be thought a ſumptuous Monument.

While the Obſequies and Rites were preparing, King *Henry* retired himſelf from *Richmond* Palace, where his Father died, privately to the Tower of *London*, both that he might with more Leiſure adviſe with his Council concerning the preſent Affairs of his Kingdom, as alſo the better to avoid thoſe Salutes and Acclamations of the People, which could not but be unſeaſonable, until the Lamentations and Solemnity of his Father's Funeral were paſt. He thought not fit to mingle the Noiſes. Here then it was in the firſt Place reſolved to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted Right to the Crown by the Union of the White-Roſe and the Red in his Perſon, than any King ever delivered unto us by warrantable

lantable History. For this End he found or took Occaſions. In one Kind *Henry Stafford*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, ſerved for an Example, who (upon I know not what Suſpicion of Treaſon) was apprehended preſently, and committed to the Tower, which yet ſeem'd afterwards ſo frivolous, as that, to repair this Diſgrace, he was the ſame Year made Earl of *Wiltſhire*. In the other Kind Doctor *Ruthall* became the Object; being, together with one of his Council, made the ſame Day Biſhop of *Durham*. Thus, though it ſeems he haſted to take upon him thoſe real Marks of Sovereignty, yet he ſo temper'd them, as to leave his Subjects in Hope of an even Hand. Beſides, that he might ſhew himſelf gracious to his Subjects, he not only confirmed the Pardon his Father gave a little before his Death for all Offences, except Murder, Felony, and Treaſon, to which general Abolitions do not properly reach, but for further Performance of his Father's laſt Will, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that if any Man could prove himſelf to be then wrongfully deprived of his Goods. by Occaſion of a certain Commiſſion for Forfeitures, he ſhould have, upon due Complaint, condign Satisfaction. Whereupon ſo many Petitions were preſently exhibited againſt Sir *Richard Empſon*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Eſq; (employed *April* 23, for taking the Benefit of Penal Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Council, where *Empſon* ſpake to this Effect.

Right Honourable and others here preſent.

I Have remarked two Cauſes in general, which move Attention: One is the Greatneſs, the other is the Strangeneſs and Novelty of Argument. Both theſe concur ſo manifeſtly in the Affairs now queſtioned, that I will not much implore your Patience. Though on the other Side, concerning my violent Perſecution, I cannot but think it a Favour, that I may ſpeak for my ſelf! But, alas! to whom? That King my Maſter, whom I ſhould appeal to, as my ſupreme Judge and Protector, abandons me to my Enemies, without other Cauſe yet, than that I obey'd his Father's Commands, and upheld the Regal Authority. That People, on whoſe equal Trial I ſhall put my Life, ſeek my Deſtruction, only becauſe I endeavoured to execute thoſe Laws whereof themſelves were Authors! What would have happened to me, if I had diſobey'd my King, or broke my Country's Laws? Surely, if I have any ways tranſgreſſed, it is in procuring that theſe Penal Statutes might be obſerved, which your ſelves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then ſubmitted your Perſons, Eſtates, and Poſterity! And if this be a Crime, why don't you repeal your Acts? Or if (which is truth) they ſtand in full Force, why do you not vindicate from all Imputation both your ſelves and me? For who ever yet ſaw any Man condemn'd for doing Juſtice? Eſpecially when by the chief Diſpenſer thereof (which is the King) the whole Frame of the Proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, who ever ſaw Man on theſe Terms not rewarded? And muſt that which is the Life and Strength of all others Actions, be the Subverſion and Overthrow of mine? Have you read or heard in any well-govern'd Country, that the Infractors of Laws made by publick Vote and Conſent, eſcaped without Puniſhment, and they only were puniſhed who labour'd to ſuſtain them? Or when you had read or heard any ſuch Thing, could you imagine a

more certain Sign of Ruin in that Common-Weal? And will you alone hope to decline this heavy Judgment? When contrary to all Equity and Example, you not only make Presidents for Injustice and Impunity, but together with defaming, would inflict a cruel Death on those who would maintain them; as if this might be a fit Guerdon for those, who, I must tell you, every where else would have been thought the best Patriots? What can we expect then but a fatal Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the Sacrifice. Only, if I must die, let me desire that my Indictment may be enter'd on no Record, nor divulged to Foreign Nations; lest if they hear, in my Condemnation, all that may argue a final Dissolution of Government, they invade and overcome you.

Whereunto was answered briefly, that he received a great deal of Liberty to speak ill, as well as to do; that he should find at last, he was punish'd for passing the Bounds of his Commission from the late King, and in a Law severe enough to the common and poorer Sort of People, for having yet exacted on them unjustly. The chief Parts of his Accusations (which I can find) were,

1. That he had committed divers Persons to Prison, without suffering them to answer till they had compounded for their Fines.

2. For searching unduly into Men's Estates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call *in Capite*, without that the Parties could be permitted to a Traverse, till they had paid great Fines and Ransoms.

3. That Wards, being come to full Years, were not allowed to sue out their Livery, till they had paid an excessive Composition.

4. That Outlaw'd Persons could not be allow'd to sue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the Profit of their Lands, for two Years, upon Pretence that it was according to Law.

5. That he usurped upon the Jurisdiction of other Courts, in hearing and determining divers Matters properly belonging to them.

6. Lastly, That whereas a Prisoner being indicted for Theft, in the City of *Coventry*, to the Value of one Pound, was by the Jury acquitted, the said *Empson* conceiving the Evidence to be sufficient, committed the Jury to Prison till they enter'd into Bond to appear before the King's Council; where the Matter being again consider'd, it was order'd they should pay eight Pounds for a Fine, which was thought so heinous, as at a Sessions held afterwards at *Coventry*, a particular Indictment was fram'd against him, and he found guilty. How many of these Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the last King's Commission, appears not to me. However, for the present, they were committed to the Tower.

This *Empson*, reported to be a Sievemaker's Son in *Torcester*, from this mean Beginning, by his Wit and Industry, came to be of Council to King *Henry* VII. and Master or Surveyor of his Forfeits in divers Kinds; in which Place he served as an Instrument for raising great Sums to the King: *Dudley*, a Gentleman of Birth, and such Parts, as that he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament House 19 *Henry* VII. assisting him. These men (call'd by

Polydore

Polydore Virgil, *Judices Fiscales*) having, it seems, exceeded their Bounds, were detested of all, but especially the poorer Sort, who found it easier to hate than to pay. To satisfy their Complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary Ways of Justice: the Promoters they used being so severely punish'd in the mean Time, betwixt the Pillory and Shame, that they died all, a few Days after, in Prison, save one *Giovanni Baptista Grimaldi*, who, foreseeing the Storm, took Sanctuary in *Westminster*.

All Clamours being thus silenc'd, the next Care was, that the Crown might be put on the King's Head with that Solemnity, which in former Times was used. This was not yet so speeded, but that the King's Council thought fit first to advise with him concerning Marriage. About which many Propositions being made, the graver Sort told him, that the same Reasons which made his wise Father chuse to match with *Spain*, (first by marrying his eldest Son *Arthur* to *Katharine* Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and, after *Arthur*'s Death, by treating a Match between the said Lady and him) were in Force still. That his Pretences being on *France*, no Alliance could be useful on that Part. Besides, that betwixt great Estates adjacent to one another, such Jealousies use to rise, that they may make Peace sometimes, but never Friendship. That Leagues and Confederacies have in them the Nature of harmonical Accords, which jar in the second but agree in the third Interval. Therefore, that he should match with *Spain*, or at least with some Prince that might join with him, when there should be Question of opposing *France*; which, since the late Union of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, he was to consider as a potent and dangerous Neighbour. As for the House of *Burgundy*, and *Low-Countries* (which was come to the Hands of *Maximilian* the Emperor, by his Match with *Mary* Daughter and Heir to the last Duke called *Carolus Audax*) he needed not fear any Thing, unless he would wilfully provoke them; the Causes of Love on that Part, seeming to be perpetual; as being founded upon the mutual Necessity of those Ports and Havens, which, upon all foul Weather, the Shipping must resort to on either Side; and, lately again confirm'd by a new Contract of *Charles* Grandchild and Heir of *Maximilian*, with *Mary* the King's Sister (which yet held not.) It was then considered, whether he might not immediately take the said Lady *Katharine*; and the rather, in that the Treaty had not only been dispensed with in the Time of *Henry* VII. his Father; but some Offence lately taken by *Ferdinand*, because it was deferr'd so long; (for perfecting whereof therefore he had sent ample Commission to his Ambassador here, as I find by our Records, about this Time.) And to conduce hereunto, was alledged (as *Polydore* hath it) the Law, *Deut.* 25. of marrying the Brother's Wife; and, to help this again, the Princess *Katharine* protested herself to be a Virgin, offering to be tried by Matrons. It was added also, that the Lady was present, and that saved Time and Charges; besides, she had given so much Proof of Virtue and Sweetness of Condition, as they knew not where to parallel her. Again, when she were to depart the Kingdom, a great Dower must follow her, which should be transported year-

ly out of the Kingdom. All which Motives were corroborated by the abovementioned Diſpenſation, obtained divers Years before from *Julius* II. who, as he was a ſtirring and warlike Prelate, and had his Ends upon King *Henry* the ſeventh in the Wars then begun in *Italy*, made no Difficulty to grant it; and the rather, for that he could not be ignorant, that all the Children which ſhould be gotten betwixt them, would be firm to the Papacy; ſince, if ever they renounced the Pope's Authority, they ſhould diſclaim the Power by which themſelves were made Legitimate. A Meſſenger therefore having been ſent to *Rome*, *Anno* 1503. *Ferdinand*'s Power and Mediation concurring, obtained a Licence from the Pope, many of the Cardinals in vain oppoſing it; whereof more amply, when we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Divorce. Thus, upon the third of *June*, being about ſix Weeks after his Father's Death, he eſpouſed the Lady *Katherine*. Their Coronation yet was deferr'd till the 24th of the ſame Month. The Magnificences thereof, being by *Hall*, *Holinſhed*, and others ſet down, are by me purpoſely omitted. Not long after, the King, who had left off Mourning, was forced to take it again for his Grand-mother, the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, a virtuous Lady, and a great Benefactor to both our Univerſities, by whoſe Advice (as is ſaid) chiefly the King's Counſellors were choſen: whom ſhe ſo diſpoſed, as that they might deliberate well among themſelves always, before they gave their Advice to this young King, as not thinking fit, at that Age, he ſhould be diſtracted by Difference of Opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her Life; though, afterward, ſome ſmothered Jealouſies brake out into open Faction. Inſomuch that *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, out of a Competition for being moſt eminent in the King's Favour, became at laſt not ſufficiently united between themſelves. But, as it is a rare Felicity in Princes to make Election of able Counſellors, ſo it is no leſs to order them aright. For, as ſecret Combination for their own Ends uſually brings them too cloſe to one another, ſo ambitious Oppoſition keeps them too far off; the true Diſtance being that only, which a juſt Emulation to do their Maſter Service gives. In which Poſture yet unleſs they be ſtudiouſly kept, without being ſuffered to decline to either Extreme, many Inconveniences will follow in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs.

Now though theſe two, as *Polydore* relates, had brought all Buſineſſes within their Verge, (*William Compton* chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and who was next in Favour to them, being more attentive to his Profit, than publick Affairs:) I doubt not yet, but their Fellow-Counſellors were oft admitted; though, for not being acquainted perchance with all the Premiſes, they were hardly able to ground a ſolid Advice. The Biſhop, was an old and confident Counſellor to King *Henry* VII. and knew all the Myſteries of State. The Earl of *Surrey* was indeed later in Credit, yet a brave and underſtanding Nobleman, though, as *Polydore* obſerves, his Eſtate was much waſted by the Civil Wars (his Father *John*, who was made Duke of *Norfolk* by *Richard* III. having been killed in *Boſworth* Field on his Side, and the Earl himſelf kept

Priſoner in the Beginning of *Henry* VII's Reign) Howſoever, his very Place of Lord Treaſurer, (which he held ever ſince the 16 of *Henry* VII.) made him much in Requeſt; as one who both kept and diſpenſed that Maſs of Wealth left by *Henry* VII; which, if we may believe Authors, was 1800000 Pounds Sterling. A greater Sum doubtleſs than any King of this Realm before had in his Coffers: and ſuch as might be thought effectively quadruple to ſo much in this Age. It ſeems yet, ſo great a Part of it was, by the King's Order, diſtributed to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Biſhop, who was Lord Privy Seal, and did remember how hardly it was gotten, repined thereat, and thereupon did ill Offices to the Earl, as if, ſaith *Polydore*, he parted with it too eaſily, or, perchance, made advantage to himſelf thereby. But that we may leave theſe Things to the Credit of *Polydore* (in whom I have obſerved not a little Malignity,) I find it reſolved between them, that, in Imitation of his Father, who inſtituted firſt a Band of 50 Archers to wait on him, ſome Horſe-Guards ſhould be likewiſe ready always to attend his Perſon. The Number propoſed was but 50. But, as every one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Cuſtrel (as our Hiſtory calls it, but being truly Couſtillier) or a Kind of Ambactus or Servant belonging to him, beſides three great Horſes for his own Uſe, it grew to a conſiderable Number. Of theſe *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex* was Captain, and Sir *John Peachy* Lieutenant. But whether this might raiſe ſome Jealouſy among the People, (which yet my Authors mention not) or that their Expence were greater than that it could continue after the Rate it began, (both they and all their Horſes being trapped in Cloth of Gold, Silver, or Goldſmith's Work) I find it diſſolv'd at laſt, and came to nothing.

This Year a great Plague begun at *Calais*: which though it conſum'd many Perſons, was not thought ſufficient yet to keep off an Enemy. So that Sir *John Peachy*, with 300 Men, was ſent thither, to defend the Place; by whoſe good Order the Town was ſecured.

Empſon and *Dudley* being (as is aboveſaid) committed to the Tower; new and ſtrange Crimes were found and objected againſt them, as appears in their Indictments upon Record, wherein they are accus'd of Conſpiracy againſt the King and State; and firſt, that during the Sickneſs of the late King in *March* laſt, they ſummon'd certain of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's Warning; and upon the Death of the ſaid King, to haſte up to *London*. Out of which and other Circumſtances, it was collected by the Jury, that their Intent was to ſeize on the Perſon of the new King, and ſo to aſſume the ſole Government; or when they could not attain this, to deſtroy him.

Of which Crimes, how improbable ſoever; *Dudley* in his Tryal at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, *July* 16, 1509, and *Empſon* at *Northampton*, *Octob.* 1, were found guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treaſon, and ſo remanded to the Tower.

Our King being thus ſettled in his Throne, took ſeveral Proſpects upon all his neighbouring Princes.

In *Scotland*, then reign'd *James* IV. being of a middle Age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother-in-law by the Match of *Margaret*, whom *Henry* VII. gave him *Anno* 1503. How-

heit,

beit, as he held a ſtricter Correſpondence with *France*, than ſtood with the Intereſt of our Kingdom, ſome Jealouſies of State aroſe betwixt *Henry* VII. and him, which yet were paſt over a little before our King's Coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty confirm'd.

In *France*, *Lewis* XII. an old and warlike Prince reigned; who ſtudiouſly yet conſerv'd the Peace made betwixt *Henry* VII. and himſelf 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and ſettle in the *French* Crown the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, claimed by him in *Anne* his Wife's Right, (being not only a large Addition to his Dominions, but of great Nearneſs and Conſequence to this Iſland,) and that he might be freer to attend his Deſigns in *Italy*, whereof in its due Place. For which Reaſons alſo he had concluded, by the means of *James* IV. a League with *John* King of *Denmark*, and *Swcden*, then powerful by Sea, by which that King was bound to aſſiſt him, in Caſe of Invaſion.

In *Arragon*, *Ferdinand* an antient and politick Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in *Caſtile* by the Right of *Iſabel* his Wife, Inheritrix thereof, who died 1504. By this Lady he had one Son who deceaſed 1497, and four Daughters. *Iſabel* the eldeſt being married to *Alphonſo* Prince of *Portugal*, and afterwards to *Manuel* King thereof, died without Iſſue, whereby *Joan* the ſecond Daughter became Heir of *Caſtile* in the Right of her Mother; and had by her Huſband *Philip*, Son to *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Charles* and *Ferdinand* Emperors ſucceſſively, and four Daughters, *Leonora*, *Katherine*, *Mary*, and *Iſabel*. This *Philip*, ſhortly after his Coming to the Kingdom of *Caſtile* in the Right of *Joan* his Wife, dying, and ſhe through ſome Indiſpoſition of Mind or Body proving unapt for Government, *Ferdinand* reaſſum'd his Power in Regard of the Minority of his Grandchild *Charles*. *Mary* third Daughter to *Ferdinand* was Wife to the aforeſaid *Manuel* King of *Portugal*, in Place of her deceaſed Siſter. And for the Match of *Katharine* with *England*, the following Hiſtory will ſufficiently ſpeak it.

In the Empire, *Maximilian* (though choſe only King of the *Romans)* appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and by the Match he had made with *Mary* Daughter and Heir of *Carolus Audax* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*; by which, not only his Eſtate there, but all the *Low-Countries* deſcended to him. Nevertheleſs, as he conſidered of what Importance it was for his Deſigns to make a firm Alliance with *England*, he firſt offer'd a League 1503 to *Henry* VII, and for Conſolidation thereof, his Daughter *Margaret* Dowager of *Savoy*; and, when that fail'd, did procure a Kind of Contract, *Dec.* 16, 1508, betwixt *Charles*, afterwards Emperor, and not above eight Years old, his Grandchild, and *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *France*, younger Daughter to *Henry* VII. Neither of which Marriages yet taking Effect, the Reſult was only a Peace and Friendſhip, eſtabliſhed upon the firſt Propoſition of Alliance betwixt them; of which alſo *Maximilian* was no leſs glad (as having ſecured the *Low-Countries* thereby) than *Lewis* XII. was for *Bretaign*. And they had Reaſon; the adding of the one to *France*, and the other to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, being not only the greateſt ſtrengthening our moſt ſuſpected Neighbours ever had, but a weak-

ning of us, while we loſt two of our beſt and uſefulleſt Confederates; ſo that the permitting thereof ſo eaſily, may be thought a greater Indulgence than could ſtand with Reaſon of State, had not a Conſumption and Wearineſs, though our long Civil and Inteſtine Diſſentions at home, occaſion'd it. For the Inhabitants of both Countries wanted not Pretext to diſpute the Right of their Princes.

In *Portugal* reigned *Manuel*, of whoſe Matches having formerly ſpoken, I ſhall add little more, than that he had already made divers Diſcoveries towards the *Eaſt-Indies*.

In the *Low Countries*, *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, being by her Father *Maximilian* appointed Regent thereof, and having alſo the Charge of her Nephew *Charles* his Education, (who was born at *Gaunt* 1500) recommended to her, many Ways approv'd herſelf a diſcreet Lady; as appears, not only by the bringing up of her Nephew; (to whom in that Part of Learning called *Humaniores Literæ*, ſhe gave *Adrian* of *Utrecht*, afterwards Pope, for Tutor; and for State-Buſineſs *Anthoine de Croy*, *Seigneur de Chieures*, an able Perſon, who inſtructed him therein as ſoon as poſſible he was capable of it;) but alſo by the many good Offices ſhe did afterwards to our King, and all other Chriſtian Princes.

In the Papal See, *Julius* the Second, a warlike Prelate, preſided; who having far more and other Deſigns than ſtood with the Dignity and Function of an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, adventured to trouble all Things. As ſuppoſing himſelf not only privileged, by his Place, from all Attempts of foreign Princes; but that the Power of Peace and War did ſo immediately depend on him, as he ſhould, at leaſt, not want Occaſion to exerciſe his Charge of Arbiter of their Differences. Towards which alſo, becauſe he knew how much our King could contribute, he paſſionately deſir'd a ſtrict League with him, which likewiſe was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

As for the Great Turk *Bajazet* the Second, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Chriſtendom, our King look'd on him at a Diſtance, and no otherwiſe than as he ſtood in Relation to his Confedetates.

Having thus ſurvey'd the preſent Monarchs in particular, he forgat not to take into his ſpecial Conſideration the State of *Venice*, which about this Time did much enlarge its Territories; ſo that, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition not only of the chief Chriſtian Potentates, but even of the *Turks* themſelves, they extended their Dominions every Way: Inſomuch, that the Pope, *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* and *Lewis* the Twelfth had, the laſt Year, being 1508. entered, at *Cambray*, into a League againſt them, the Conditions whereof were; That they ſhould not deſiſt until they had recovered all thoſe Places which the *Venetians* had taken from them; upon Confidence yet, that the firſt Conqueror ſhould reſtore to any of the Confederates that which belong'd to him. And that *Lewis* the Twelfth ſhould be General of the Armies; and perſonally preſent in the Expedition. To which alſo he was the more diſpos'd, becauſe the *Venetians* had gotten from him ſundry Places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit as theſe Affairs did not directly concern our King, ſo he took the more Leiſure to attend

attend the Event, and to avail himſelf thereof.

By this Time it was thought fit, for many Reaſons, but eſpecially for contenting the Commonality, which ſeemed to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous Proceeding of *Henry* VII. to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empſon* and *Dudley*, formerly not only expoſed to the Revenge of all Men, but publickly condemned, (as is above related,) were attainted of High Treaſon. And here I ſhall, in Sequence of ſome before me, touch a little upon the Laws enacted the firſt Year of this Reign, as far as they may concern the more hiſtorical and political Parts. I find therefore divers of thoſe Statutes, by which King *Henry* VII. took Advantage of the People, repealed, explained, or limited. Among which, the Benefit of Forfeitures for Penal Laws was reduced to the Term of three Years next preceding. Inſomuch that the principal Scope of this Parliament ſeemed to have Reference to *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Buſineſs, which was ſo repreſented, (by the Lower-Houſe of Parliament chiefly) that the King was willing to reſtrain his own Authority in ſome ſort, that he might enlarge the Peoples Confidence and Affection towards him. Laſtly in this kind, ſome untrue Inquiſitions found by *Empſon* and *Dudley*, as alſo ſome Aſſurances of Lands paſt to them, were annihilated and made void. Beſides which, I find little material, ſave only that a Sumptuary Law againſt Exceſs of Apparel was repealed, and a new one, a little more decent, ſubrogated.

As now then our King was in high Eſteem with his People for Juſtice, ſo was he no leſs redoubted abroad, for the Hopes he gave, of being an active and couragious Prince. All which was the more regarded, in that his Treaſure was ſo great, as he might be thought able, ſuddenly, and without the Delays uſual in raiſing of Moneys, to execute his Deſigns.

Therefore divers Ambaſſadors repaired to him from *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and other Places, who were magnificently entertained.

The Buſineſs of the *French* King, *Lewis* XII. was chiefly to keep a good Correſpondence between the two Countries, while himſelf went on with his Wars in *Italy*. In Sequence hereof alſo *Tillet* ſaith there was a Peace made between *England* and *France* this Year, *March* 23. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July* 1498. *Lewis* XII. had given Caution unto *Henry* VII. to pay that which remained of 745000 Crowns, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* VIII. and the ſaid *Henry*, 13 *Novemb.* 1492. Now the ſaid *Lewis* XII. did ſtipulate to pay the Remainder of the ſaid Sum.

That of *Scotland*, was Congratulation in the Name of King *James* IV. his Brother-in-law and Siſter, with Confirmation of the late Treaty of Peace, containing alſo ſome Propoſitions tending to the penetrating of our King's preſent Deſigns, that they might frame their Counſels accordingly, which was with ſome Relation to *France*.

That of *Denmark* was chiefly to eſtabliſh a better Courſe for Trade; for which Purpoſe a Statute was repealed at this Parliament, which did prohibit our Men other Traffick towards *Denmark* and *Iſeland*, than to a Place call'd *Northbarne*.

The King finding now all Things ſafe both

both abroad and at home, took thoſe Liberties which became his Youth; yet were not his Exerciſes ſportful alone, but had in them a Mixture of Letters and Arms. Therefore though ſome relate that he uſed Singing, Dancing, playing on the Recorder, Flute and Virginals, making Verſes, *&c.* yet his more ſerious Entertainments were Study of Hiſtory and School-Divinity (in which he eſpecially delighted) Juſts, Tournaments, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner, but with the two-handed Sword, and Battle-ax. Theſe again were ſet forth with coſtly Pageants and Devices, and thoſe ſo frequently, that it took up not only much Time, but conſum'd a great Part of the Treaſure. Of which he who deſires to ſee more, may peruſe *Hall* and *Hollinſhed*, who have many Particularities worth the looking on, for him that hath ſo much Leiſure. Together with theſe yet he uſed ſometimes Tennis and Dice; at which certain Strangers uſed to play with him; till, finding their Cheatings, at length he chaſed them away.

Empſon and *Dudley* lying now in Priſon, Condemned and Attainted by Parliament, the importunate Clamors of the People prevailing with the King in this Years Progreſs, he not only reſtored divers Mulcts, but for further Satisfaction to the Commonalty (by a ſpecial Writ) commanded to have their Heads ſtruck off, *Auguſt* 18. doing therein (as was thought by many) more like a good King than a good Maſter.

Julius the ſecond having recovered what he deſired in *Italy*, by his Wars the laſt Year, was contented now to accept the Submiſſion of the *Venetians*, with whom (his Confederates being not privy thereunto) he made Peace, *Feb.* 24, 1510. However, being jealous of the Greatneſs of the *French* in *Italy*, with whom he had alſo this Quarrel, that they defended *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*, againſt him, he endeavoured all he could to oppoſe them; and to this Purpoſe he inclined *Ferdinand* by giving him the Inveſtiture of *Naples*; King *Henry* VIII. he ſolicited by reminding him of the Glory of his Anceſtors, *&c.* and offering him the Honour to be *Caput Fœderis Italici*. Our King upon this ſends *Chriſtopher Bambridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, to reſide at *Rome*, and treat of theſe Matters. In the meanwhile the Pope and the *Venetians* proceed, and attempt *Ferrara*, *Genoa*, and other Places. But, as they proſpered not, he lays hold on his Spiritual Sword, and excommunicates *Eſte*, with all his Adherents. *Lewis* XII. on the other Side, calls a Synod of the *French* Court at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Queſtions, touching the Pope's late Actions and his Authority, were propoſed, and reſolved againſt him, and his Excommunication pronounced void. It was alſo decreed, that an Admonition ſhould be ſent to him, to embrace Peace and Moderation; which if he refuſed, he ſhould be ſummoned to call a free and general Council, according to the Decree of the Council of *Baſil*. *Lewis* having proceeded thus far, communicated the Matter to *Maximilian*, whom as yet the Pope had not won from him, and joining alſo with themſelves the Cardinals *Bernardine*, *Briſonet*, and others, they ſummoned a Council to be had, 1 *Sept.* 1511, at *Piſa*, commanding the Pope to appear there. While theſe Things were doing, the *French* under *Chaumont*, came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay ſick, and

and beſieged it, forcing him to ſuch hard Conditions, as upon the coming of Relief he would not ſtand to. Howſoever, this Beſieging of the Pope being given out, ſounded ſo ill, that our King preſently made a Leagne with *Ferdinand* for his Defence; which was an Engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we ſhall ſee in its Place.

The firſt Day of this Year, being 1511, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, which therefore in the Name of a New-year's Gift, was by her preſented to the King. But as the Child did not live to the End of the enſuing Month, the Greatneſs of Joy expired with the Shortneſs of his Life. Notwithſtanding which, it is ſaid the youthful Parents were ſoon comforted, believing with themſelves, that in Children (as in Silver Veſſels) little is uſually loſt, but the Faſhion. But it happen'd not ſo well, for it pleaſed God, that no Heirs Male ſhould remain betwixt them two. In the mean time *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, being not ignorant in what Eſtate his Daughter was, ſent Ambaſſadors to perform his due Compliments on that Occaſion, and withal to ſolicite the King for Aſſiſtance againſt the *Moors* in *Africk*. He had already conquered thoſe in the Province and City of *Granada*; through the Streets whereof as he rode triumphantly 1492, aſſured News of thoſe great Riches, diſcovered in the *Indies* by *Columbus*, was brought him. Which I therefore remember, becauſe (to uſe the *Spaniſh* Phraſe) I think it the greateſt *Coyuntura* that ever happen'd; he having at the ſame Time reduced his Dominions in *Spain* to an Entireneſs, and received News of that immenſe Treaſure in another World. His Demand was preſently granted by our King, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* ſent with 1500 Archers (the Soldiers then in Requeſt) to *Ferdinand*, with whoſe Help he intended to revenge the Loſs received the laſt Year at *Gelves* in *Barbary*. However, *Julius* II. being much preſſed by the *French*, whoſe Affairs proſper'd in *Italy*, required the Help of *Ferdinand* againſt them; he deſiſted from his Enterprize, and reſolved to ſuccour the Pope; whereupon alſo our Men, richly rewarded, did return Home.

In like Manner *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low Countries*, obtained of the King 1500 Archers, to aſſiſt her againſt the Duke of *Gueldres*, though Confederate of *Lewis* XII. and *James* IV. Theſe therefore under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, lately made Warden of the Cinque-Ports, preſently after their Landing were met by the ſaid Lady Regent, and thereupon united, and recommended with much Favour, and particularly to the Reſt of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave Cavalier, and our *Engliſh*, I have not expreſly ſet down, both for that the Lady Regent join'd not any conſiderable Forces with them, for the atchieving great Actions; and becauſe themſelves were not free to attempt any Thing by themſelves. However, I find they were licenſed to return, not without great Teſtimonies of their Worth, and that, upon Review of the Troops, Sir *Edward Poynings* found that not fully a hundred of his Men were wanting.

The King's Authority over the Narrow Seas (ſtudiouſly conſerved ever by his Anceſtors) was about this Time ſomewhat leſſen'd by the Piracies of *Andrew Breton*, whom our Chronicles call *Barton*,

Barton, a *Scottiſh* Man. This *Breton*, in Revenge of his Father's Death, as alſo other Injuries, having in vain ſought Redreſs in *Flanders* for a Ship taken from his ſaid Father by ſome *Portugueſe*, obtained Letters of Marque from *James* the Fourth, upon Condition he ſhould not exerciſe Piracy. Notwithſtanding which, he ſeized on divers of our leſſer Barks, upon Pretence of carrying *Portugal* Goods, and pillaged them. For Remedy of which Inconvenience, the two Sons of *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Treaſurer and Earl Marſhal of *England*, were employed. The younger called *Edward*, being Lord Admiral, commanding in one Ship; and *Thomas* the elder Brother in another. Thereupon in ſeveral Places, though at one Time, they inveſted *Bretons* two Ships; which, though the *Scottiſh* Writers make to be far leſs than ours, maintained a cruel Fight: the obſtinate Pirate, tho' ſo grievouſly hurt that he died on the Place, encouraging his Men with his Whiſtle, even to his laſt Breath. But our *Engliſh* purſued their Point ſo, that at laſt they forced theſe Ships, and brought them (together with the Men that remained) away, and preſented them to the King; who, upon their Submiſſion, graciouſly pardoned them; ſo that they would depart out of this Kingdom within 20 Days. *James* IV. hearing of this, ſent to require Satisfaction, as being againſt the Treaty betwixt them. But it was anſwered, That it did not become a King to impute Breach of Treaty to his Confederate and Ally, only for doing Juſtice on a Pirate. The Meſſenger, rather ſilenced with this Anſwer than ſatisfied, returns to his Kihg; who, when Occaſion was offered, failed not to ſhew how ill he took the Death of *Breton*.

The Pope being freed from the Siege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his Wars againſt the *French*; goes in Perſon againſt *Mirandola*, and by Compoſition takes it; but, not long after, loſes *Bononia* to the *French*, led by *Gaſton de Foix*, his whole Army being routed. Yet was not this a greater Affront to him, than the Council to be held at *Piſa*, a City at that Time in the Hands of the *Florentines*, whom therefore *Julius* preſently interdicts, and ſhortly after expelling *Soderinus* Governor thereof, by means of *Charles* VIII. of *France*, reſtores the Family of the *Medicis*, who were formerly expulſed: the Princes alſo and the Cardinals who ſummoned this Council being Excommunicate, *&c.* notwithſtanding which they proceed. But being ſlighted by the Citizens of *Piſa*, they tranſlate the Council to *Milan*; but finding no better Reſpect there, they removed it to *Lyons* in *France*; where they ſummoned *Julius* to appear, and anſwer, and finally ſuſpended his Authority. Upon this the Pope thunders againſt *France*, expoſing it, together with *Navarre*, whoſe King favoured *Lewis*, to the Conqueror; and, to abrogate the Council of *Lyons*, he ſummoned another to be held at the Lateran in *Rome*, *April* 19, 1512. Unto this Council our King ſent his Commiſſioners, being *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of Saint *Johns*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, *Feb.* 4, 1512, as appears by our Records. In this Council the Sentence of Excommunication was confirmed againſt the Authors of the other Council,

cil, and the Acts of it reverſed. Not content herewith, he ſent alſo to *Ferdinand*, and to King *Henry* VIII. (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Arms, and fall upon *France*. Not neglecting together to uſe all Means for withdrawing *Maximilian* from the *French* Party. For though he had joined with *Lewis* to call the Council at *Piſa*, (firſt roughhew'd at *Tours*) and did ſtill adhere to him, yet for that the Pope and *Ferdinand*, whom he would not diſoblige, offer'd him more advantagious Conditions, he was gain'd at laſt to the contrary Party, and *Lewis* expoſed to the Danger. The principal Agent which the Pope uſed to our King was *Chriſtopher Bambridge*, who had reſided a while at *Rome*; and for this Service was thought to deſerve the Cardinal's Hat, which alſo he obtained in *March*, 1511. In the mean while, the Buſineſs being brought to our Council Table, ſome ſpake in this Manner.

That a fairer Opportunity was never offered, whether he deſired to maintain the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in *France*. That either of theſe were juſt Conſiderations, but both together not to be permitted. To further theſe Deſigns, he ſhould not only have the Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing of his Holineſs, but of his Father-in-law. Beſides which, it was poſſible *Maximilian* the Emperor might join herein, however he and *Lewis* XII. had of late concurred in their Deſigns. That it was probable, his Subjects in *France* retained ſtill a due Memory, not only of their Allegiance, but of the Benefit received from the Crown of *England*. Beſides, that in *France* there never wanted diſcontented Perſons, who would join with his Forces. And for his Coffers, they were not ſo full in any King's Time; to which again he could not doubt but a large Supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in Contribution when there was Queſtion of War with that Country. As for the Difficulties he ſhould find in the Enterpriſe, they were not conſiderable, *Lewis* XII. being not only deeply engaged in a War in *Italy*, but having loſt his beſt Men there; ſo that before he could give Order for his Affairs at Home, he might be oppreſſed; or, when he would leave his Pretences on *Italy*, to look to his own Country, that would yet free the Pope from the Danger he was in, and conſequently give his Majeſty the Honour of performing his Intentions.

Some yet, that did more ſeriouſly weigh the Buſineſs, reaſoned thus; That the King's Title indeed in *France*, eſpecially to the Hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the Occaſion fair; and many Circumſtances beſides conducing to this great Buſineſs: yet that all theſe were not ſufficient for the making of a War againſt ſo potent a Neighbour; unleſs there were more than Poſſibility of effecting our Purpoſes. This they might conſider by comparing theſe Times with the former. And if, when all *Guyenne*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and for a long while *Normandy* was ours; and when, beſides this, the Duke of *Bretaigne* was our Friend, and the Houſe of *Burgundy* an aſſured Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our Deſign in that Country, what Hope is there now to attain them? Are we ſtronger now than at that Time? Or can we promiſe ourſelves better Succeſs? Let it be granted, that as many Battles

as we have fought againſt the *French*, have been almoſt ſo many Victories; What was this Kingdom the better for them; Who can ſay he made a Fortune thereby; Had we ever a more glorious Time than that of *Edward* III; and was yet the Country ever more poor or weary of the Wars? If you will not believe our Hiſtories, look even on our Records, and you will not find not only how the Treaſure of our Kingdom was much exhauſted, but even the People themſelves glutted with their Proſperity. And ſhall we truſt now to better Days? What though with our 12000 or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000 or 60000? Stands it with Reaſon of War to expect the like Succeſs ſtill? eſpecially ſince the Uſe of Arms is changed, and for the Bow, proper for Men of our Strength, the Caleever begins to be generally received. Which, beſides that it is a more coſtly Weapon, requireth a long Practice, and may be managed by the weaker Sort. Let us therefore, in God's Name, leave off our Attempts againſt the *Terra firma*. The natural Situation of Iſlands ſeems not to ſort with Conqueſts in that Kind. *England* alone is a juſt Empire. Or, when we would inlarge our ſelves, let it be that Way we can, and to which it ſeems the eternal Providence hath deſtin'd us; which is, by Sea. The *Indies* are diſcovered, and vaſt Treaſure brought from thence every Day. Let us therefore bend our Endeavours thitherwards; and, if the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe* ſuffer us not to join with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equal to that of ſuccouring *Julius* II. be wanting; ſince, by converting thoſe Infidels to the Chriſtian Religion, there will be a larger Field opened for doing of Good, than by eſtabliſhing a doubtful and controverted Head of the Church; the Council of *Piſa* having determined both to depoſe him, and ſubſtitute another.

But our young King, out of Zeal to do the Pope Service, and Ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King *Henry* VI. was in Poſſeſſion, and which our Civil Wars only loſt, declined this ſober Advice, and adhered to the former. And that eſpecially for two Reaſons, urged by Way of Supplement; whereof, the one was, that there was new Hope *Maximilian* the Emperor would be won to his Side. The other was, that he underſtood from *Rome*, the Pope had an Intention to take away the Stile of *Chriſtianiſſimus* from the *French*, (which their Hiſtorians confeſs) and transfer it on him; which he thought would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation.

Hereupon it was reſolved, together with calling a Parliament, to ſend (by *John Young* Doctor of Law, and Maſter of the Rolls) unto *Lewis* XII. a Monitory Embaſſage, requiring him to deſiſt from War againſt the Pope. But *Lewis*, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor aſſur'd to him, or that indeed, there was no Hope of a Peace, (he having been privately advertiſed that our King reſolved War) regarded not his Advice. Our King therefore, that he might have more than one Title to invade *France*, ſent to require his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guyenne*, &c. and, in Caſe of Refuſal, to denounce War. This then being proclaimed, Levies were commanded, and Monies granted by Parliament, which began *Feb.* 4.

were

were raiſed. While theſe Things were doing, I ſhall obſerve my former Method, and by the Way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to Hiſtory.

That becauſe Money, Plate, and Jewels, being tranſported out of the Kingdom, had impoveriſhed it, a double Value ſhould be pay'd by the Offenders.

There was alſo confirmed an Order formerly taken, concerning Eſcheators, Commiſſioners, and finding and returning of Offices; which it ſeems had Relation to *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Proceedings. Becauſe alſo unlawful Games kept Men from ſhooting in the Long-bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better underſtanding of which Act, another paſt, whereby the Croſs-bow alſo was forbidden.

There were likewiſe certain great Privileges granted to Men that went beyond Sea with the King, as alſo Penalties ordained for Captains that abridg'd the Number of their Soldiers, or detain'd their Wages; as alſo for Soldiers departing without Licenſe.

At this Parliament alſo the King was pleaſed to reſtore *John Dudley*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Dudley* lately Attainted. On whom, towards the End of his Reign, he conferred the Place of Lord Admiral of *England*, as ſhall appear in this Hiſtory.

About this Time there was one *Hieronymo Buonviſo* a *Lucceſe*, who, being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his Friends in *Italy*, obtained ſo much Favour from the Pope, as to be made a Kind of Agent here. This Man being acquainted with all the Pope's Buſineſs, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewiſe the King's and Council's Anſwers to his Negotiations, became ſo expert in all thoſe Affairs, that being corrupted by the *French*, who gave him a Penſion, (as I find in our Records) he diſcovered many Things that much concerned either Side. And from hence it aroſe chiefly, that *Lewis* XII. was ſo particularly informed of our Deſigns, that he uſed many Preventions, as may be obſerved in the following Hiſtory.

The War with *France* being thus determined, it was conſulted in what Part we ſhould begin. And though that of *Calais* ſeemed the moſt ready Way, yet, becauſe *Ferdinand* promiſed to join with the King in this War, which was call'd *Holy*, it was by his Conſent reſolved to land ſomewhere in the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and that from thence both their Armies, being united, ſhould jointly invade *Guyenne*. For better underſtanding of which Project, I muſt obſerve, that both the Kings, beſides that of vindicating of *Julius* the ſecond, had their ſeveral Deſigns, as will appear afterwards. The General named by the King was *Thomas Grey* Marquiſs of *Derſet*, with whom went, beſides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surry*, the Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Perſons, and about 10000 Soldiers; among whom I find, in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, there were about 5000 Archers, who beſides their Bows and Arrows, carried Halberts, which they pitched on the Ground till their Arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do Execution on the Enemy. An excellent Part of Military

Diſcipline, and yet not remarked by our *Engliſh* Chroniclers. Theſe Men about the third, or as the *Spaniards* have it, the eighth of *June*, being ſhipp'd in *Spaniſh* Veſſels, arrived at *Paſſage*, a Port in *Guipuſcoa*, where one *Faderique* Biſhop of *Siguenca*, an able Perſon, attended them. This Biſhop after he had aſſured them of their Welcome, and that the Duke *d'Alva*, General of the *Spaniſh* Forces, with 1000 barded Horſe, 1500 Gennets or Light-horſe, and 6000 Foot would ſhortly join with them, did much cheer our Men after their long Sea-voyage. In the mean while *John d'Albret*, King of *Navarre*, in the Right of his Wife *Catharine de Foix)* having the *Spaniſh* Army in *Arragon* on the one Side, and the *Engliſh* on the other of his Kingdom, thought himſelf in ſome Straits. And the rather, becauſe the Pope having lately Excommunicated him, for aſſiſting the *French*, and by a Bull dated *March* 1. 1512. expoſed his Kingdom in Prey to the Conqueror: He ſuſpected *Ferdinand* had ſome Deſign upon him. Neither was he deceived; for, that he might be drawn away from *Lewis*, or at leaſt that a Quarrel might be pickt againſt him, *Ferdinand* ſends to require that he would declare himſelf; pretending ſome Jealouſy of his Proceedings ever ſince *Lewis* XII. (who was advertiſed of this Holy League, as it was termed) had required his Help, or when he would refuſe, threatned him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* alſo, the *Engliſh* General ſent to him, not only to remember the ancient League and Friendſhip betwixt the two Nations, when the *Engliſh* were in Poſſeſſion of *Guyenne*; but, thereupon (as well as in the Name of the Church) to require his Help in this Holy War. The King of *Navarre* in this Perplexity; for he was urged no leſs to the contrary by the *French*, proteſted that it concerned him to be Neutral, he being as much in Danger of loſing *Bearne* on the *French*, as *Navarre* on the *Spaniſh* Side. Yet, whether to gain Time, or indeed really to ſhew his Fowardneſs in this Church-affair, he offered (upon Security given, that neither *Ferdinand* nor the *Engliſh* ſhould moleſt him) that for four Months Space, the States of *Navarre* ſhould, by their Oaths, ſolemniy aſſure him of all amicable Uſage in that Country; and before that Time he doubted not, but *Bayonne*, which was the Key to *Guyenne*, would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the *Engliſh*. But this was not thought ſufficient; therefore it was demanded that the King of *Navarre* would depoſite ſome Towns as cautionary on that Behalf. But as he ſtill excuſed himſelf, the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh*, who had ſeparately treated before, thought fit now jointly to ſend their Agents to the King of *Navarre*; ſo that *Antonio de Acuna* Biſhop of *Camora*, and Sir *John Stile* (Reſident Ambaſſador for our King in *Spain*) were preſently diſpatch'd to him. Being admitted to Audience, their Demand was, to have the Fortreſſes of *Eſtella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, conſigned for their Security in the Enterprize of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* proteſting ſtill that it concerned him to hold Neutrality, was at laſt preſſed to make a final Anſwer. Here then he agreed that *Viana*, and ſome other Places of leſs Strength than thoſe demanded, ſhould remain as Pledges of his Fidelity; yet before this could be ſettled,

French were come to the Confines of both Juriſdictions; where the *Engliſh*, being deſirous to give ſome Proof of their Valour, without any Order from their General, paſſed over the River of *Vidaſſona*, which divides *Guipuſcoa* from *Guyenne*, to ſkirmiſh with the *French*. This grew at laſt ſo hot, that the Marquis was conſtrained to paſs over the reſt of his Army to diſengage them, which being done, he retired again to his Camp near *Fuentarabia*, in good Order. Hereupon the Marquis of *Dorſet* began to complain, that the Delay of *Ferdinand* had given the *French* Time to raiſe theſe Forces to oppoſe them; and together demanded briefly his clear Reſolution, what he meant to do in the Point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was anſwered, that, ſince the King of *Navarre* would not admit a Way thro' his Dominions, he muſt be forced; neither did he think that *John* would take it ill to ſuffer a little Violence, when it were for nothing elſe, but to ſhew the *French* that he did not voluntarily conſent thereunto. The Marquis replied, that this being no Part of his Commiſſion, he muſt firſt acquaint the King his Maſter with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the *French* Army increaſed, and that the ſuffering them to come nearer might fruſtrate his Deſigns in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alva*, without more Delay, to inveſt *Pampelona* the chief Town of *Navarre*, entertaining in the mean while *John*'s Ambaſſadors with Hope of an Accommodation, who ſeemed alſo to believe it, until they heard of the Siege. The induſtrious *Ferdinand* that he might draw alſo the Marquis *Dorſet* to aſſiſt him, uſed theſe Reaſons, That the Road to *Bayonne* by the Way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow, having a Road on one Side, and on the other Side the huge Mountains of *Navarre* and *Bearne*; ſo that, if they ſhould undertake the Siege at *Bayonne* without aſſuring themelves of the Countries behind them, they might be ſhut up on every Side, whenſoever *John* ſhould declare himſelf for the *French* Party. Therefore that he ſhould proceed according to Military Rules, and prevent this Inconvenience by ſeizing firſt on all the Avenues. The Marquis of *Dorſet* hereupon calling a Council of War, returned this Anſwer, That he deſired to loſe no Time, and therefore thought it the beſt Courſe for both to divide the Armies; and that *Ferdinand* ſhould enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he took the Way of *Bayonne*. Yet the King who ſtill purſued his Deſign, ſeeming not ſatisfied herewith, deſired rather that both the Armies might paſs jointly through *Navarre*; the *Spaniſh* marching ſtill firſt, and making Way for the *Engliſh* to follow. But the Marquis of *Dorſet* anſwered again, he might not tranſgreſs his Commiſſion, which permitted him not hoſtilely to enter into *Navarre* upon any Terms. Inſomuch that now almoſt ſix Weeks were ſpent in thoſe Treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the *Engliſh*, reſolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promiſing the Marquis yet from thence to fall on *Guyenne*; not doubting, on this Aſſurance, but the Marquis would ſtay, and at leaſt ſerve as a Countenance to his Enterpriſe. Hereupon the Duke of *Alva* being commanded to proceed, (without hurting any yet but thoſe who reſiſted) ſoon after took *Pampelona*: Which when our Marquis heard, he teſtified much Diſ-

Diſcontentment; both becauſe he found *Ferdinand* kept not his Promiſe, and for that his Victuals were much ſhortned on this Occaſion, he having been abundantly ſupplied before from *Navarre*.

In the mean While *Ferdinand*, to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the Marquis might give, ſends to *England* a Meſſenger on Purpoſe, with an Account of his Actions, and to deſire a more ample Order to the Marquis to aſſiſt him; not neglecting, the While, any Occaſion either for reducing the beſt Part of *Navarre* to Obedience, or entitling himſelf by publick Declaration to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all Particulars of this Affair, do much confirm the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory.

Being thus advanced, he thought fit again to ſollicit *John* King of *Navarre* (now retired towards *Bearne*) that he would join in this Holy War. And that he might do ſo the better, he temper'd Threats and Promiſes in a more effectual Manner: The Biſhop of *Camora* and Sir *John Stile* hereupon being diſpatched again, requiring his final Anſwer. But the Duke of *Longueville*, being come with puiſſant Forces near to thoſe Parts, they made bold to detain the Biſhop, not without terrifying him, with worſe Uſage; giving Leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to return. Things being brought to theſe Extremities, *John* King of *Navarre* thought fit to go to the *French* Court, to excuſe himſelf for ſuffering the *Spaniſh* to become ſo ſoon Maſters of *Navarre*. Neither had he, it ſeems, any Way to make this ſo credible, as by permitting the *French* with the ſame Facility to ſeize on *Bearne*. Thus was this King, in a ſhort Time, diſpoſſeſſed of all his Eſtate, only for not knowing how to behave himſelf, either like a Friend or Enemy.

Now *Lewis* XII, though not ſo much as hoping that the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* would ſtand thus divided, yet as he deſir'd rather a War in that Country, than his own, ſo he prepared as if he were at once to ſuſtain both their Forces; commanding the Duke *de Longueville* to proceed warily. But the Difficulty was not great. For though *Salvatierra* was kept by *John*, as long as he tteated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandoned it to the *French*, and retir'd himſelf to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayonne* then the *French* enquarter'd their Army, though for having 5000 in that City, daily reinforced by new Levies, it ſeemed not to ſtand in ſo much need of Defence. This while the Duke *de Alva* requires an Oath of Obedience from thoſe of *Pampelona*, and in general from the reſt of the chief Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it upon the Terms agreed on, which was for four Months, and till they had given Proof of their Neutrality in the Buſineſs of *Guyenne*. But the Duke replied, that King *John* being fled away to the *French*, and therein having declar'd himſelf an Enemy both to him and this Holy War, he would now accept no Oath, but that of a ſimple Obedience to his King and Maſter: Upon this enſued Diſputes and Diverſities of Opinions; All which yet were moderated by the *Spaniſh* Army, which did not much inſiſt upon Reaſon, having Power in their Hands.

Navarre being thus in a Manner reduced, *Ferdinand* ſends the Mareſchal *Aquilera* to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, proteſting that his Army ſhould paſs the Mountains at Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*.

erto. This he did to try whether it would move him yet to join Forces. But the Marqueſs, who was informed that the Place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an entire Conqueſt of the Dominions of *John*) as well as to *Bayonne*, thought fit to attend more Certainty, concerning the Way of the *Spaniſh* Army. *Ferdinand* on the other Side, taking this as a Delay, would not omit the proſecuting his Intentions, laying in the mean while all the Fault on the Marqueſs's Slackneſs. But no Man ought to blame any General in this Kind, unleſs he knew his Inſtructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke *de Alva*, who conſidered of what Moment Diligence is in great Affairs, ſends ſome away preſently to ſeize on Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was performed; tho' the *French* were now entering that Country. To make this good alſo, the Duke himſelf, by the King his Maſter's Commandment, follows with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again ſends to invite the Marqueſs. But as the *Engliſh* could not paſs thither, but by a Place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almoſt untrodden Paſſage) or another Way far about, for either of which they wanted Horſe to draw their Ordnance, ſo was there a new Difficulty interpos'd for joining the Armies. Howſoever it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many Delays) to acquit himſelf ſo far, as to ſeem at leaſt roundly to go on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Maſter-piece was, together with performing his own Intentions, now to have brought his Offer to our King within the Compaſs of Probability. He conſidered alſo, that alone he was too weak for the *French* Forces, ſo that he had more than one Reaſon to ſollicite the *Engliſh* Army.

Being in this Poſture, he begins to think what remained to be done: On the one Side, he had the Honour of diverting the *French* from their great Deſigns in *Italy*, for *Lewis* began now to attend his Home Affairs, and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other Side, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, only *Eſtella* excepted, which he took afterwards and paſſed the Mountains, he ſeemed engaged to ſecure his Conqueſts. Therefore he thought on nothing now but going on; truſting for the reſt to the Negotiation of *Martin de Ampois*, whom he had ſent to our King. And this Man, if we may believe the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, obtained that the Marqueſs *Dorſet* ſhould do whatſoever he was adviſed by *Ferdinand* for the Holy-Cauſe. But before this Inſtruction could come, the Marqueſs, who ſaw Winter now approaching, and very near 3000 of his Men ſick or dead of Diſorder, and drinking thoſe hot Wines, and the reſt ſuffering much for Scarcity of Victuals, and laſtly being advertiſed that the *French* had fortified *Bayonne*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterpriſe. Therefore he ſent the Treaſurer of his Army, and Sir *John Stile* to *Ferdinand*, to repreſent thoſe Difficulties, and to acquaint him with his Determination to be gone. At laſt, though with much ado, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement) provided ſome Ships for the *Engliſh*; but before they could depart, the Marqueſs, between Diſcontent and ill Diet, ſo diſtemper'd himſelf, that he fell ſick, the Lord *Howard* being ſubſtituted, in the mean while,

while, for Command of the Army. While yet they made ready for their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windſore* the Herald, commanding the Army to ſtay: promiſing withal to ſend a new Supply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But the Soldiers ſo mutinied, that at laſt the Generals were conſtrained to embark themſelves and come Home about the End of *November* to *England*. Whereupon *Ferdinand*, who deſired now only to maintain what he had gotten, turns himſelf to other Arts; labouring by *Maximilian*'s Mediation to withdraw the *French* from aſſiſting *John*. The Conditions being that *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile* their Grandchild ſhould match with *Reynera*, or *Reynee*, ſecond Daughter to *Lewis* XII. (which yet was but colourable as appears in their Hiſtories) and that the *French* ſhould condeſcend hereunto, it was no little Motive, that they had acquired ſo much in *Bearne*; ſo that keeping their Poſſeſſions on either Party, much Treaty paſs'd; without any other Effect, than that *John* on both Sides was outed: Though, for Oſtentation, *Richard de la Pole*, calling himſelf Duke of *Suffolk*, as I find by our Records, was appointed by *Lewis* to attempt the Recovery of *Pampelona*, though in vain. And thus ended this Voyage to the Grief of our King, who ſeemed ſo much offended with the ill Succeſs, that he purpoſed once to puniſh the principal Authors of it. But his General excus'd himſelf by the Narrowneſs of his Inſtructions, and partly laid the Fault on *Ferdinand*, who being bound by Promiſe to furniſh the Army with many Neceſſaries, yet failed. Laſtly they made it appear, that *Ferdinand* never intended any Thing but the Conqueſt of *Navarre*.

Though this Voyage was unproſperous, yet I find by *Polydore*, that Sir *Edward Howard*, who conducted the Marquis to *Spain*, having with the Fleet firſt cleared the Sea from Enemies, landed at a little Bay in *Bretaigne*, and marched ſeven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning ſome Towns) he brought away rich Spoils. Not contented herewith yet, he put his Men on Shore at *Conquet*, and divers other Places; where the *French* ſtill receiving the worſe, they at laſt deſired a Parley. The Subſtance whereof was, That the *Engliſh* would leave off this Kind of Deſultory, and cruel War, which tended only to the Burning of Villages, and ranſacking the Poor. But he replied, he was not to take his Directions from them. Beſides, that it was the Part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not ſhamefully to ſue for Mercy. After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were diſmiſſed, and our Admiral return'd Home.

The *French* in the mean while making great Preparations by Sea, our King thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, five and twenty more under the Command of the choiceſt of thoſe Gallants that attended him; placing in the chief Ship call'd the *Regent*, being of 1000 Tun, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Maſter of his Horſe, and Mr. *John Carew*, with 700 Men; in the Sovereign Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford* with 60 of the talleſt Yeomen of the Guard. This brave Fleet chancing to meet thirty nine Sail coming out of *Breſt* in *Bretaign* aſſaulted them; where two of the greateſt Ships on both Sides being grappled, fell on Fire

Fire by ſome Accident, or as the *French* will have it, by the deſperate Courage of *Primaget* (barbarouſly as I conceive it, ſtil'd by our Chronicles Sir *Peers Morgan*) and ſo were conſumed. The Captains of the *Engliſh* Ship, being the *Regent*, and of the *French*, called the *Cordeliere*, together with the Soldiers in them, periſhed all, ſave only a few *French* who ſaved themſelves with Swimming. Howſoever, the reſt of the *French* were ſo terrified herewith, that they made away preſently, ſome to *Breſt*, and ſome to the Iſles adjoining. To repair this Loſs, our King built a Ship, the greateſt ever known before, though *Buchanan* and *Leſly* ſay, that *James* IV. King of *Scotland* made one, whom the *Engliſh* and *French* King deſiring afterwards to imitate, failed ſo much, that they were not able to make it ſteer.

The King finding now that Buſineſſes were grown to ſome Extremity, betwixt the two Nations, diſcloſes his Deſign of going in Perſon into *France*, as chuſing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at Home. This alſo that he might the better perform, he is adviſed to diſcover what Correſpondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had ſent a good while ſince, Sir *Robert Wingfield* to negotiate with *Maximilian*, and draw him to his Party; neither found he much Difficulty therein: The Emperor being glad that the warlike Diſpoſition of our young King turn'd itſelf againſt *France*: So that, with Aſſurance of his Affection, he encourag'd him to go on. For *Maximilian* was now fallen off from the *French*, both for that the Pope ſtrongly procur'd it, and becauſe he thought it beſt to adhere rather to *Ferdinand* and his Grandchild's Intereſts: For Pretext whereof yet alledging only ſome Breach of Article of the Treaty of *Cambray* on *Lewis*'s Part. The *French*, on the other Side, joining with the Duke of *Ferrara*, prepared to defend themſelves, raiſing for this Purpoſe a puiſſant Army, under the Command of *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, Governor of *Milan*, who, in the Name of the *Piſan* Council, fought the Battle of *Ravenna*, which being won for his King, he loſt for himſelf, as dying, almoſt wilfully, againſt a little Body of the Enemies, when the Victory for the reſt was gotten. However the *French* under *Monſieur de la Paliſſe* proceeding, took *Ravenna*, and divers other Places, which they delivered to a Cardinal Legate in the Name of the *Piſan* Council, ſo that they were now, together with this City, Maſters of *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Bononia*, and *Florence*. Nevertheleſs the contrary Part led by *Raymond de Cardona*, Viceroy of *Naples* under *Ferdinand*, having in the Name of the Holy-League brought huge Forces into thoſe Parts, the *French* were forc'd to quit all thoſe Places, within the Space of two Months, as *Sandoval* hath it: *Maximilian Sforza* Son to *Lodovico*, whom the *French* had diveſted, being replac'd in *Milan*, to hold it in the Name, or at leaſt under the Protection of the *Swiſs*; whereupon alſo the Duke of *Ferrara*, unable any longer to ſubſiſt, humbled himſelf to the Pope, and was pardoned. *Maximilian* yet not content with theſe Victories, would have added to them *Vicenza* detain'd by the *Venetians*. But they refuſing, the Pope, whether deſirous to conſerve *Maximilian*'s Friendſhip at what Price ſoever, ſince he had now

disavowed the *Pisan* Council, or that perchance he thought not himself sufficiently reveng'd on the *Venetians*, joins in the Enterprize.

Ferdinand in the mean while, according to his wonted Manner, makes a double Treaty. On the one Side therefore, he not only joined Offices with our King to *Maximilian* for this Purpose, but encourag'd him to repair the Imputation of Slackness laid on the *English* in their Voyage to *Spain*, desiring yet that if he sent any Army again into those Parts, it might be under the Command of his General. While on the other Side he secretly treated with *Lewis* XII. for the Match above-mentioned; promising also to assist him in his Affairs in *Italy*. That politick King's Intention being, by one Means or other, to divert the *French* from aiding King *John* to recover *Navarre:* (who yet I find died of Grief not long after.) Lastly our King remembering how the *Scots* have usually holpen the *French*, and being inform'd besides, that *James* IV. did resent still the Death of *Breton*, and some other Affronts, he sends *Nicholas West* Dean of *Windsor* and Doctor of Law, to know how he stood affected: and the rather, because he was informed King *James* had an Army on Foot. To which he answered, That he loved and esteemed alike, both *Henry* VIII. and *Lewis* XII; and therefore that he thought it his best to be neutral in any Difference betwixt them. *West* replied, that he might do well to signify thus much by Letters. But King *James* said, that the sending any Declaration of Neutrality under his Hand might argue he inclin'd a little to the *English* Side, and consequently might breed a Suspicion; especially when *Lewis* XII. could not be ignorant of the favourable Audience given him, and therewithal dismist him. Upon whose Return, our King taking this cautelous Answer into mature Consideration, found it arose from a private League betwixt *Lewis* and *James*.

Our King understanding this, resolv'd to send his Treasurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* into *Yorkshire* and the northern Parts, to have an Army in Readiness, in Case the *Scots* should stir in his Absence. Together with all this Provision, he thought fit to call a Parliament, where besides enacting divers good Laws, whereof I shall hereafter mention some, he obtained two Fifteens and four Demies. He had also a Kind of Subsidy, called Head or Poll-money, that is, of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five Pounds, a Lord four Pounds, a Knight four Marks, every Man valued at eight hundred Pound in Goods four Marks: and so after that Rate to him who had forty Shillings in Wages, who paid twelve Pence, after which every one who was above fifteen Years of Age paid four Pence. Order was also given, that Bulwarks, Brays, and Walls, should be rais'd in his Castles and Strongholds on the Sea-side, wheresoever it was needful.

Julius II, expecting now the Success of that War he had kindled against the *French*, dies; in whose Place was chosen Cardinal *Giovanni de Medici*, by the Name of *Leo* X. This Pope, pursuing his Predecessors Designs, encourageth our King to war against *France*. But he having now accomplished the Age of twenty one Years, needed little Invitation: and the rather in that he was assured by his Ambassadors, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and

and Doctor *John Young*, that *Maximilian* would really perform his Treaty with him; only he ſuſpected *Ferdinand*. Therefore, I find by our Records, he ſent into *Spain*, *William Knight* Doctor of Law, commanding him, together with Sir *John Stile*, to uſe all Arguments to perſuade *Ferdinand*, that the Return of the *Engliſh* Army was contrary both to his Will and Command; Offering further, that if he might have Aſſiſtance againſt *France* for the Conqueſt of *Guyenne*, 100000 Crowns ſhould be given in Hand to *Ferdinand*, and as much more when it was gotten. For this Purpoſe alſo promiſing Pay for 6000 Men at ſix Pence *per diem* for ſix Months. But *Ferdinand* now, to whom nothing was dearer than the Conſervation of his Conqueſt in *Navarre*, cunningly declin'd this Propoſition; as hoping, by a Treaty with *France*, to effect his Purpoſes; however he adviſed our King to ſend his Standard Royal with ſome Forces to *Guyenne*; and to try whether the People would follow it; ſince he ſaid they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well as by ſome private Advertiſements, that *Ferdinand* treated ſecretly with *France*, reſolved to preſs him to declare himſelf, and therefore by Letters, *June* 17, he requires *Ferdinand* to ſeal a Treaty againſt *France*, to which his Ambaſſadors here had conſented. But *Ferdinand* diſavowing his Ambaſſadors Proceeding, ſince the Holy League, as he ſaid, became void, upon the Return of the King's Army, diſcovers withal that he had made a Truce with *France* for one whole Year, which he adviſed our King alſo to accept.

But this Treaty being refuſed by *Ferdinand*, our King proceeds by the Help of his other Confederates to the War with *France*; the Pope, for the more declaring himſelf, both confirming an Excommunication granted by *Julius* II. againſt *James* King of *Scots*, in Caſe he ſhould break the Peace and Treaty with the King of *England*, and granting an Indulgence to all that ſhould aſſiſt King *Henry* and the other Confederates, againſt *Lewis* and the Schiſmaticks of the Council of *Piſa*.

All Things here being thus diſpos'd for a War, *Maximilian* with ſome Impatience attends the coming of our *Engliſh* Army; as being confident, however the Buſineſs ſucceeded between the two Nations, he could make his Advantage thereof. That he might do this the better, he thought it not amiſs to interpoſe ſome Difficulties. Neither could he be wholly won, till he had obtained of *Henry* 120000 Ducats towards his Charge in bringing 3000 Horſe and 8000 Foot which ſhould enter *Burgogne*, as ſoon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While theſe Preparations were in Hand, our King, to take off *James*, ſends Doctor *Weſt* again into *Scotland*, where inſtead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a Peace with *France*, promiſing on thoſe Terms his Friendſhip. But our King being reſolved to proceed, thought fit in the firſt Place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy. And therefore ſends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty two Sail, beſides leſſer Barks, againſt them. The *French* being inform'd hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, (called by our Hiſtorian Prior *John*) with four Gallies to paſs the Streights and come to *Bretagne*, where many good Ships were appointed to join with them. And till they came,

it was thought better to keep within the Haven of *Breſt*, than to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in Sight of them. Our Men therefore reſolve to attempt them in the Middle of their Defences: while they intend this, one of our Ships, under the Command of *Arthur Plantagenet*, was caſt away on a blind Rock. This ſtaid our Men a while; at laſt they purſue their Deſign, and enter the Haven, where the *French* Fleet lay under the Covert of many Platforms that were raiſed on the Land. Beſides, they had joyned twenty four Hulks together, with Purpoſe to ſet them on Fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our *Engliſh* ſhould approach them; or, as our Records have it, to keep the Fire from theirs. Laſtly, they mored their Ships as near the Caſtle as they could, and ſo attended *Pregent's* coming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admiral Sir *Edward Howard* conſidering the Order in which the *French* lay, thought fit to advertiſe his King and Maſter thereof, adviſing him withal to come in Perſon, and have the Glory of this Action. But our King's Council taking this Meſſage into Conſideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether Fear, as was thought, but Stratagem and Cunning, that made the *French* thus attend their Advantage, thought the King was not ſo much invited to the Honour, as Danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the Overture. Thereupon they write ſharply to him again, as our Hiſtorians ſay, though our Records mention not this Particular, commanding him to do his Duty. Whereof that brave Cavalier was ſo ſenſible, as it cauſed him to hazard his Perſon afterwards ſo raſhly, that it occaſioned his Death; the Manner whereof was thus, as it is drawn out of our Records; where, by a Letter dated from him, *April* 17. it appears, That; after he had come before *Breſt* with his Navy, he ſent out his Boats, to make a Shew of Landing; whereupon the *French* flocking to the Shoar, to the Number of above 10000 (the *Engliſh* in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over againſt *Breſt*, where he burnt the Country in the Sight of the Caſtle; the *French* Ships the while lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more, till Victuals came, whereof he ſtood then in need, though he ſaid he had them at a great Advantage, their Gallies being not yet come. Together with which Diſpatch unto the King, he ſent Mr. *Arthur Plantagenet*, much diſcouraged, as he ſaid, by the caſting away of his Ship, and diſabled to ſerve in any other Kind, becauſe his Soldiers that remained were beſtowed elſewhere. After which I find by another Letter of the 6th of *May*, of Sir *Edward Echingham*, who was preſent in the Expedition, that *April* 22. ſix Gallies of the Enemies, being two more than were expected, and four Foyſts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-ſablon-Bay* near *Conquet*, a little below *Breſt*; which being notified to our Admiral, he himſelf, being attended with four choice Captains, reſolved to board them, *April* 25. Whereupon entring himſelf into one of the two Gallies, which only the *Engliſh* had at that Time, and committing the other to *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-Barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was Sir *Thomas Cheyney* and Sir *John Wallop*, in the other Sir *Henry Sherborne* and Sir *William Sidney*; *Pregent*

gent this while lying betwixt two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deter our Lord Admiral, who therefore about four in the Afternoon, the ſame Day, boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and entred it with his Sword and Target, one *Carroz* a *Spaniſh* Cavalier and ſeventeen *Engliſh* more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be faſtned or grapled to his Enemies; but whether the *French* hewed aſunder the Cable, or our Mariners let it ſlip for Fear of the Ordnance, the *Engliſh* Galley fell off, and this noble Perſon was left in the Hands of his Enemies; Of whom therefore our Men could give no other Account, but that when he was paſt all Hope of recovering his Gallies, he took his Whiſtle from his Neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean Time, who was in the other Galley, fail'd not to do his Part, until having ſpent all his Shot, and ſeen the Admiral's Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row Barges alſo did, as not knowing but the Admiral was ſafe. The ſad News of whoſe Loſs yet being at Length made known, it was thought fit to ſend to the *French* Admiral, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop* came to know what Priſoners were taken; to whom *Pregent*, or Prior *John* anſwered, None, but a Mariner, who told him, that a certain Perſon they bore overboard with their Pikes, was their Admiral. Laſtly, he added in the Letter that the *French* in *Bourdeaux* had made ſix new Gallies, which were ſhortly expected at *Breſt*, and that our Gallies, as he ſaid, could do the *French-men* moſt Diſpleaſure.

Upon News of our Admiral's Death, his Place was preſently beſtowed on his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wiſely conſidering the Advantage of the *French* Gallies in a Calm, and Number of their Ships, and the Danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-weſt, deſired of the King ſo many Soldiers as might both man the Ships, and make good the Landing. But before he came, our Fleet, it ſeems wanting one to command it, was return'd, and *Pregent*, upon Notice thereof, encourag'd to Land in *Suſſex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that Year. And now the Lord Admiral having equipped the Navy royal, ſcoured the Seas, and ſecur'd our King's intended Paſſage. The Particularities I ſhall omit, until (in Imitation of *Polydore*) I have ſet down the Deſcription of *Thomas Wolſey*, afterwards Cardinal, a Man at this Time beginning to be in ſpecial Favour with the King, the Original whereof I muſt deduce from his chief Raiſer and Founder, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

This Biſhop, being made Principal Secretary and Privy-Seal, became not only an able but potent Miniſter of State; having yet Difference with the Lord Treaſurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, a Nobleman of great Courage and Experience in Affairs, he ſtood not ſecure. They had often been reconciled by the King; who not only beſt knew, but often ſuffered moſt for their Oppoſition. Yet as the wiping out of Blots ſometimes makes them greater, ſo Satisfactions for Injuries

ries ſeldom expiate them ſo totally, but that ſome Impreſſion remains. Therefore they ſtood ſtill at a Diſtance, in which Condition yet they wanted not their Advantages on either Side. The Biſhop had abundant Matter to ſuggeſt; the huge Treaſure, which *Henry* VII. left, being ſo exhauſted, that it was now almoſt conſumed; while the Lord Treaſurer in the diſpoſing of this young King's Bounty, ſo ordered Buſineſſes, as in facilitating Diſpatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treaſurer on the other Side ſaid, that nothing being done without the King's ſpecial Order, it was through Envy only the Biſhop thus oppos'd him. In theſe Terms then they ſtood ſtill, without almoſt concurring in any Thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the King's Diſpoſition; which yet they did not ſo much by mutual Conſent, as by diminiſhing in their Turns every Body elſe, that was extraordinarily in his good Opinion. At laſt the Biſhop thinking how to better his Party, brought in this *Thomas Wolſey*, to which Purpoſe alſo Sir *Thomas Lovel* Knight and Maſter of the Wards aſſiſted him. This Man, though of mean Birth, being obſerved by them to be of a quick and ſtirring Wit, and particularly famous for a Diſpatch in *Henry* VII's Time, wherein he uſed extraordinary Diligence, was thought a fit Inſtrument for their Purpoſes. He was already a Chaplain in the Houſhold, and Almoner, and from thence raiſed to the Place of a Counſellor. Being in this Nearneſs he knew as well how to diſcourſe with the King in Matter of Learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his Delights; inſomuch, as, ſays *Polydore*, he would ſing, laugh, dance, jeſt, and play with thoſe Youths, in whoſe Attendance and Company the King much delighted. In ſhort, he made his private Houſe a Theatre for all Manner of Pleaſures, whither he frequently brought the King. He omitted not yet in the midſt of all theſe Jollities, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, repreſenting ſo all Buſineſſes to the King, as he got much Credit with him. And this again was confirmed by thoſe Gallants, who contributed not a little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he ſhould ſometimes follow his Studies in School-Divinity, and ſometimes take his Pleaſure, and leave the Care of publick Affairs to him; promiſing that what was amiſs in his Kingdom ſhould be rectify'd. Likewiſe he omitted not to infuſe Fears and Jealouſies of all thoſe whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became ſo perfect a Courtier, that he had ſoon attained the Height of Favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdoms, Courtiers have thoſe by which they govern their Princes, when through any Indiſpoſition they grow unapt for Affairs. Theſe Arts being Hopes and Fears, which as Doors and Paſſages to the Heart, are ſo guarded by their Vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keep all others out; and therefore may be term'd not only the two Ends of that Thread upon which Government depends, but through their dextrous handling, may be ty'd upon what Knot they will. Particularly, he deſired to reduce all Buſineſſes to himſelf; for which End he ſpake in this Manner:

SIR,

SIR,

Your Highneſs hath now ſufficient Experience of ſtrange Effects which Contradictions in Council bring forth: It is unſafe to believe ſingly either of thoſe on whoſe Advice your Highneſs moſt relies, and impoſſible to believe both. May your Highneſs therefore chuſe ſome one, who, being diſintereſted, may have no Paſſion or Thought but to ſerve your Highneſs. All thoſe ſtrong Reaſons of State which conclude Monarchy the beſt Form of Government, make for a Favourite in the next Place. Inſomuch, that of ſupreme Authority, as of thoſe Pyramidal Heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently placed, I dare ſay, there can be none well raiſed, that from the loweſt Foundation is not ſharpen'd by Degrees unto its Point. But, leſt this ſhould be thought looking upwards only, be pleaſed a while to look down, and conſider Things the other Way, and the Proſpective will hold its Proportion. For how, Sir, ſhould a King conſerve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferior Perſons? Believe, me, Sir, to diffuſe it over-ſuddenly, is to take away not only from the Dignity, but even Intireneſs of it; it being with Authority as with a Spring or Fountain, which, that it may keep its Courſe and Name, muſt be cheriſhed and entertained, till it grow great, by the Contribution and Concurrences of thoſe leſſer Heads that run into it. Kings muſt never deſcend but by Steps. The more Orders are under them, the higher ſtill they ſtand. Neither will your other Counſellors think themſelves much leſſened this Way; for when they may uſe the ordinary Power and Sway allow'd them over their Inferiors, they will not think themſelves much concerned for the Reſt. Beſides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing which Way to addreſs their Suits. To leave them more at large, were to expoſe them to thoſe Delays and Uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be impoſſible any other Way to keep Secrecy in Buſineſs (which yet is the Life of Counſel) or almoſt to find out who is the Divulger. Moreover, when your Highneſs, in ſome great and perplex'd Affairs, hath Occaſion to acquaint your Counſellors only with ſome Part of your Meaning, what Inſtrument can be ſo apt as a Favourite.

Yet, Sir, let me ſay, I ſhould never adviſe your Highneſs to ſee by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only. This were to keep you in too much Darkneſs and Subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleaſed to appoint able Perſons, and ſuch as may not know of each other, by whom your Highneſs may be informed, not only what is done, but even ſaid vulgarly. Thus ſhall your Highneſs take Order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtful and intricate Parts of Buſineſs, which reguire particular Scrutiny and Examination; your Highneſs, in my Opinion, may do well to have three or four Confident Perſons, not yet of the Body of your Council, with whom ſeparately your Highneſs may adviſe, before thoſe Difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highneſs to ſpeak thereof when you transfer it to the Body of your Council, and make you diſcern their Opinions. Only, if any Thing be determined, let your Favourite ſtill be the chief Actor in the Execution. Hereof then your Highneſs may pleaſe to adviſe. Neither will I preſume to nominate myſelf otherwiſe: Only I will crave Leave

to ſay thus much, that when your Highneſs would, out of your own Election, think fit to uſe my beſt Service herein, I ſhould not doubt but ſo to eſtabliſh and conſerve your Highneſs Authority, as to make you the greateſt and happieſt Prince living. Neither ſhould I fear to fall when any Benefit might grow to your Majeſty thereby.

The young King being perſuaded thus, without other Advice or Conſideration, adopted *Wolſey*; and thereupon orders him to diſpatch but chiefeſt Affairs. This got him not only Eſtimation and Addreſſes, but Preſents and rich Gifts from the greateſt Perſons. They again brought him to that Inſolency, that he ſeemed not only to forget his Birth (being a Butcher's Son) but all his former Friends; inſomuch as no Man, ſays *Polydore*, durſt remember him of an ancient Acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof, he ſays, appeared in his outward Garment, he being the firſt and laſt, ſays the ſame *Polydore*, among all Prieſts, Biſhops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silk for his uppermoſt Veſtment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Prieſts imitated him, ſome Envy was raiſed on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silk was either more rare, or more eſteemed; it being in this Age ſo common, that it is become the Wearing of every mean Perſon. The Gallants of the Court finding now the King's Favour manifeſtly ſhining on *Wolſey*, apply'd themſelves much to him. And eſpecially *Charles Brandon*, who, for his goodly Perſon, Courage, and Conformity of Diſpoſition, was noted to be moſt acceptable to the King in all his Exerciſes and Paſtimes. Notwithſtanding, all which, ſays *Polydore*, the King ſeriouſly examined Buſineſſes himſelf; and howſoever the chief Truſt was committed to *Wolſey*, did not omit yet (as far as his Youth would ſuffer him) to uſe his own Judgment in his weightieſt Affairs.

All Preparations for the Expedition to *France* being now haſtened, amongſt which, that of Victualling the Army was, not without a Sarcaſm to his Birth, recommended to *Wolſey*, it was yet controverted whether the King ſhould go in Perſon. They who oppos'd it, urged firſt their due Affection to, and Tenderneſs over him; ſaying further, that if the King ſhould die without Iſſue, (however the Succeſſion were undoubted in his Siſter *Margaret*) yet that the People were ſo affected to the Houſe of *York*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the Tower, and ſet him up. That the War in *France* was not of that Conſequence (eſpecially ſince, with the Death of *Julius* II, it ſeemed the chief Cauſes of Diſſention ceaſed) that the King ſhould go in Perſon, and deſert his own Kingdom. On the other Side it was alledged, that to commit an Army, wherein the Flower of his Nobility and Kingdom was to any one Subject, was not only unſafe, but to the Prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that Honour. That it was no new Thing (whether they regarded the ancient Kings of *England*, or the modern Emperor, and two *French* Kings ſucceſſively) to go in Perſon with a Royal Army. That the ſame Providence ruled every where. But it was replied, that till the King had more Iſſue, and that Maſculine, it was againſt all Reaſon of State to hazard the Kingdom to thoſe Tumults which might follow; to which

which Opinion, as the beſt, it is likely the King would have condeſcended, had not freſh Letters arriv'd from *Maximilian*, in the Pope's Name exhorting him ſpeedily to come; and promiſing that he would not only give him Meeting, but take Pay under him. In the mean while it was thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Elizabeth* Siſter to *Edward* IV. who had been made Priſoner by *Henry* VII. and ſo continued many Years, ſhould have his Head ſtruck off; our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his Departure out of the World commanded, as *Bellay* hath it. And true it is that he was of a turbulent and audacious Spirit: But whether any late Matter was alledg'd againſt him, doth not ſufficiently appear to me, by any Record. Though ſome Correſpondence with his younger Brother *Richard de la Pole*, who I find by the *French* Writers commanded 6000 *French* at the Siege of *Therouene*, might perchance accelerate his End.

The King reſolv'd now to go in Perſon, thought fit yet to ſend his Vantguard before. This was commanded by *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, High-Steward of the King's Houſhold, who was accompany'd with *Thomas Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Dowra*, Lord Prior of the Order of St. *Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Captain of the Light-Horſe, and many other brave Knights and Eſquires, and the Number of above eight thouſand, who came to *Calais* in Mid-*May*. Theſe were followed again with the Middleward of about ſix thouſand more, who being commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King, whom alſo the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la-Ware*, the Barons *Carow* and *Curſon*, and divers other worthy Knights and Eſquires, accompanied, arrived at *Calais* fifteen Days after. Theſe two Lords attending the King's further Directions, ſtay'd there till *June* 17. when they both in good Order of Battel marched towards *Therouene*, before which Town they arrived upon the 22th following, pitching their Tents about a Mile off. This Town was fenced with a large Ditch, ſtrong Bulwarks, and a Quantity of great Ordnance, which ſhot freſhly, inſomuch that the Baron of *Carow*, Maſter of the Ordnance, was the firſt Night killed by a Bullet in the Lord *Herbert*'s Tent, which came ſo near him, that the *French* (though erroneouſly) write he was ſlain there.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* planted himſelf on the North-weſt, and the Lord *Herbert* on the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, whence they made their Approaches. In the Town was a Garriſon of about 2000 Foot, and 250 Lances, commanded by *Monſieur François de Teligny*, and *Anthoine de Crequy Seigneur de Pondormy*. To relieve them again, the *French* raiſed a puiſſant Army, to which 10000 more under the Duke of *Guelders*, and 6000 more under *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to *Edmund* lately beheaded, were added.

In the mean while our King, having conſtituted Queen *Katharine* Regent, paſſeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the laſt of *June*; bringing with him the reſt of the Army, which was tranſported with about 400 Sail: With him came alſo the *Almoner*, and new Favourite, *Thomas Wolſey*, who, by having lived long in

that Town under the Treasurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the Accesses to it. The King being visited by the Ambassadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brunswick*, stayed here till the 21 of *July*, when, hearing that the *French* meant to relieve *Therouene*, under the Command of *Lewis Duc de Longueville*, and Marques *de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Palisse*, as also the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d'Anjou*, and *Buisse d'Ambois* accompanied, he hastned his Departure. His Army consisted of about 9000 good fighting Men, besides those who belong'd to the Carriages, which were some 2000 or 3000 more. Sir *Charles Brandon*, who was a little before created Viscount *Lisle*, had the Vantguard, whom the Earl of *Essex*, Lieutenant-General of the Spears, accompanied. In the Battel the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one Hand with 600 chosen Men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the other with as many more; Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal. The Rereguard being composed in great Part of the Retinue of *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Wolsey*, to the Number of 800 Men, was led by Sir *William Compton*. In the Spaces betwixt, the great Ordnance, among which *Bellay* mentions those called the 12 Apostles, was drawn, and part of the Carriages disposed. After all these yet came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Nevil* with 400 Spears. This little but flourishing Army was scarce entred into the *French* Confines near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, who came from *Therouene* with 500 Light Horse to meet the King, joyning with the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Thomas Guilford*, who commanded 200 Archers on Horse-back, drew towards the *French*, but they presently disappeared. As they marched yet, two Pieces of Ordnance miscarried, the one whereof was lost the 28th of *July*, the other recovered the 29th in Despite of the *French*. Upon the 4th of *August* the King came to *Therouene*, before which he caused a sumptuous *Pavilion* to be pitched. Sir *Alexander Baynam*, Captain of the Pioneers, shortly after caused a Mine to be made under the Walls; but the *French* Countermining, it was well disputed, and divers kill'd on both Parts. *Maximilian* being now the 9th of *August* come to *Ayre*, it was thought fit an Interview should be made. But the Day being very foul, the Ceremony was short.

About two Days after, *Lyon* King of Arms in *Scotland*, in his Herald's Coat, comes to the Camp, and desires Leave to deliver a Letter of the 9th of *July* to the King. *Garter* brings him in. The King having perused the Contents, which were Expostulation for some pretended Injuries, and thereupon Denunciation of War, unless he returned, makes a sharp Answer by Word of Mouth, among other Things telling him, that he had left an Earl behind him in the North, who could very well defend his Kingdom against the Attempts of his Master. But *Lyon* refus'd to carry any verbal Message. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again to answer to this Purpose, That he understood this Expostulation to be nothing but the Pick of a Quarrel to assist the *French*, and invade him in his Absence. That he wished him to call to Mind how *John* King of *Navarre*, for

for aiding the *French* in the ſame Manner, loſt his Kingdom, and adviſed him to take that for a Warning. Laſtly, he bid him be aſſured, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was abſent, ſhould be remembred, and requited again in like Meaſure. Before yet theſe Letters could be delivered by *Lyon*, his King and Maſter *James* the fourth was kill'd, as ſhall be afterwards related.

Upon the 12th of *Auguſt*, *Maximilian* the Emperor came to the King, in the Quality of his Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Croſs of Saint *George*, but received his Pay duly, which I find by ſome to have been a hundred Crowns *per Diem*. Notwithſtanding which, that all due Reſpect might be rendred to his Perſon, the King gave Order to lodge him, according to his Dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, for the reſt moſt ſumptuouſly entertaining him the Space of two Days that he ſtayed in the Camp. *Therouene* was not yet ſo ſtreightly beſieged, but that on the one Side which was toward the River *Lys*, there was a Way open, on which Part the *French* intended to relieve it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be inſtantly made over the ſaid River, by which himſelf with *Maximilian*, who was now the 15th of *Auguſt* return'd again, and a great Part of the Army paſſed the 16th. This was ſcarce done, when our Light-Horſe brought Word, that the *French* were in Sight. Our King thereupon marched towards them. The *French* at firſt came as if they meant to fight, but, after a ſlight Skirmiſh, fled away in much Diſorder; which ſeemed the ſtranger, in that the Fight was between the Horſemen only, and many of the braveſt of their Nation were among them: Our Men purſued, and took *Lewis Duc de Longueville*, Marqueſs *de Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *Fayette*, *Clermont*, and *Buiſſe d'Ambois*, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The *Teigneus de la Paliſſe*, and *Monſieur d'Imbrecourt* were alſo taken, but agreeing for their Ranſon upon the Place, were preſently let free, or, as others ſay, eſcaped. This Battel, happening the 16th of *Auguſt*, was called by the *French*, *la Journée des Eſperons*, becauſe they made little Uſe of any Thing but their Spurs; for the good Succeſs whereof both the King and *Maximilian* the Emperor, wearing ſtill his Badge of the Red-Croſs, did upon the Place congratulate with each other, and afterwards aſſiſted at a ſolemn *Te Deum* for this eaſy Victory. Neither had the *French* better Fortune, in ſetting upon a Convoy going with Proviſions for our Army betwixt *Guiſnes*, and *Therouene*, they being repuls'd, as *Bellay* hath it, and *Monſieur de Pleſſis* ſlain. While the *French* held Battel with our King, as is aforeſaid, Part of their Cavalry, which had divided it ſelf, that it might the better bring in Proviſion, fell on the Quarter of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas* on the other Side of the Water; but they were alſo ſoon repuls'd, though the Garriſon and Towns-men taking this Occaſion, ſallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord *Herbert*, to make a Diverſion; for that Lord being prepar'd to receive them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few Days after, the *Seigneur de Pontdormy* deſpairing to keep the Place long, yielded both it, and the Ordnance, to the King, the 22d of *Auguſt*, upon Condition they might depart with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, and Drums beating in

Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor, who as I find it confirm'd in an ancient Manuſcript Diary extant in our Records, ſtill gave our King the Precedence, entered the Town, *Auguſt* 24. 1513.

This City being gotten, it was now diſputed whether our King ſhould hold it: A Queſtion which could not but ſeem ſtrange as well to the Authors of the Counſel, as Complices in the Hazard, eſpecially ſince it coſt ſo much. However it was at laſt reſolv'd, that becauſe it ſo confin'd on *Maximilian*'s Territories, and that the Garriſon infeſted his Subjects by frequent Incurſions, at *Maximilian*'s Intreaty, the Town ſhould be raſed, ſave only the Church and Religious Houſes; ſo much did our King defer to the Emperor *Maximilian* for being his Soldier, and taking Pay under him. Beſides our King conſidered, that to leave any Troops behind would diſable his further Deſigns, for which Motives therefore he gave the Town to *Maximilian*, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not ſo done, but that the *French* did ſhortly after repair and put it into Defence. From hence then the King, being perſuaded to it by *Maximilian*, reſolves to beſiege *Tournay*; But by the Way being diverted by the Princeſs *Marguarites* Perſuaſions, who deſired much to ſee him at *Liſle*, he paſſed three Days in her Company, and the many fair Ladies that attended her; when remembering himſelf, that it was Time to viſit his Army, which lay at ſome Diſtance from him ſtrongly encamped, he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a Mile or two, ſome ſuch Miſt happened both to him and all his Train, that they had loſt themſelves; neither could they reſolve which Way to turn, until a Victualler coming by Chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great Rejoicing of them all. The 15th of *September* the Army, which *Maximilian* had now left, upon Ptetence of I know not what Diſſatisfaction, which yet was ſhortly repaired, ſet down before *Tournay*, which thereupon was ſummoned to yield; but the greater Part refuſing, the King encamping on the North, the Earl of *Shrewſbury* on the South, and the Lord *Herbert* on the Weſt of the Town began their Batteries. When upon the 21ſt a Meſſenger from the Earl of *Surry* brought the Gantlet, or as others ſay, the Coat-Armour of *James* IV, as a Token of the Victory obtained at *Flodden*. This, as it rejoiced the King, ſo it put him in Mind of the Viciſſitude of all wordly Things. Therefore he tempered his Mirth with a ſerious Conſideration of the Events to which Wars are ſubject. Howſoever he cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung publickly the Day following, and a Sermon to be preached by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who laid all the Fault on that King's Breach of Word. Which Day alſo thoſe of *Tournay* capitulated and yielded to our King, by the Name of *Roy tres-Chriſtien* or *moſt Chriſtian King*, (as I find in the original Contract) upon Condition of Fidelity, and preſent Payment of fifty thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, and a yearly Penſion of four thouſand Pound *Tournois* for the Space of ten Years. Whereupon the King, as *John Taylor* Doctor of Law, preſent at the Siege, ſaith in his Manuſcript Latin Diary, gave them Leave to enjoy their ancient Cuſtoms and Liberties; upon Condition yet they

ſhould

ſhould admit a Garriſon. Neither as it ſeems could they do otherwiſe; the *French* being ſo much diſcouraged by their late Misfortune, that they did not attempt the relieving of it. Thus on the 24th of *September*, our King entered the Town triumphantly. And here, upon Conſultation what was next to be done, it was reſolved to ſurceaſe the War for this Year, Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit alſo, to leave Sir *Edward Poynings* with a ſtrong Garriſon to keep it. Which cannot but ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who conſider that *Therouene* was raſed; ſince *Therouene* was nearer the *Engliſh* Pale, and might be better defended, and would beſides have kept the Paſſage open to this. But falſe Counſels are like falſe Gems; which how counterfeit ſoever, have, when they are well ſet, one good Light to be ſeen by. Therefore *Wolſey*, (who was ſo much Author of this Counſel, as he got the Biſhoprick of the Place thereby) could gloſe his Advice; which telling the King, he might now have Confidence in *Maximilian*, as having ſerv'd under him. Beſides, that the Raiſing of *Therouenne* at his Requeſt, would put a perpetual Obligation on him. But as for *Tournay*, that it was fit it ſhould be kept as a Trophy of his Victories; and the rather, for that *Cæſar*, in his Commentaries, confeſſeth here more than in any Place elſe, to have found a valorous Reſiſtance. But how well the Arguments were grounded, the Sequel will ſhew. The firſt Uſe our King made of this Town, was to repay the Courteſies received of the Princeſs *Marguarite*. Hereupon ſhe being invited came thither, as alſo her Nephew *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*, afterwards Emperor; between whom and his Siſter *Mary* there had interceded a Kind of Contract, as is before related, ever ſince the Time of their Father *Henry* VII; which likewiſe for the preſent ſeemed to be confirmed betwixt them, inſomuch that they came to divers Particularities; among which one was, that the King ſhould bring her with him the next Spring. I find alſo ſome Overture of a Match between *Charles Brandon*, now Lord *Liſle*, and the ſaid Princeſs *Marguarite*; which, though it took no Effect, was not yet without much Demonſtration of outward Grace and Favour on her Part. In the mean while, that the Ladies and the Emperor who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their Quality and Worth, the King, taking the ſaid Lord for his Aſſociate, did hold a ſolemn Juſts there againſt all Comers; which he bravely performed. And now having feaſted the Ladies royally for divers Days, he departed from *Tournay* to *Liſle*, whither he was invited by the Lady *Margaret*; who cauſed there a Juſts to be held in an extraordinary Manner; the Place being a large Room, raiſed high from the Ground by many Steps, and paved with black ſquare Stones like Marble; while the Horſes to prevent Sliding and Noiſe, were ſhod with Felt or Flocks. After which, the Lords and Ladies danced all Night.

Yet, as I find by Foreign Authors, theſe Jollities were not the only Cauſe of his Stay. For *Ferdinand*, the firſt Mover of theſe Troubles, hearing that the War againſt *France* was likely to ceaſe for this Year, ſends *Pedro de Orrea*, and *Juan de la Nuca*, and *Gabriel de Orti* to *Henry* VIII, with Commiſſion to treat for a League, by which both

Kings,

Kings, with the Emperor, ſhould ſeverally enter *France* the next Spring: And that for this Purpoſe each of them ſhould from their Frontiers begin the War. That *Ferdinand* therefore from *Navarre* ſhould invade *Guyenne* with fifteen thouſand five hundred Foot, and one thouſand five hundred Horſe of his own Subjects, and to be paid by him; and ſix thouſand *Germans*, to be paid at the Rate of twenty thouſand Crowns the Month by the King of *England*. In Conſideration whereof, the War was to be made in the ſaid King of *England*'s Name, and for the Recovery of his Patrimony in *Guyenne*. On the other Side, that the King of *England* aſſiſted by *Maximilian* ſhould, with ſixteen thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe from his Territories, invade *Normandy* or *Picardy*; and that they ſhould not relinquiſh this War without mutual Conſent. Laſtly, there was Place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Swiſs*, and the *Florentines*, to enter into this League; which was ſigned at *Liſle* on the 17th of *October* by *Richard* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Marqueſs *Doſet* on our King's Part; The *Seigneur de Bergues* chief *Camarira* of the Emperor, and *Gerard de Pleine* Preſident of his Council; and *Pedro de Orrea*, *Don Lewis Carroz*, and *Juan de la Nuca* Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinand*. This being done, and the King, for the reſt teſtifying much Satisfaction, departed thence, and two Days after in good Order of Battle came to *Calais*, having in this Voyage beſtowed Honour upon divers Perſons of Worth. Sir *Thomas Cornwall* Baron of *Burford*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Thomas Blount*, Sir *Henry Sacheverell*, &c. being made Knights Bannerets; and Sir *John Maynwaring*, Sir *John South*, Sir *John Digby*, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave Orner for ſecuring *Tournay*, as well as the reſt of his Poſſeſſions in thoſe Parts, which being done, and the Wind proving fair, he ſhortly came to his Queen at *Richmond*, who had long expected him.

Having now related the King's Expedition, which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening Occaſion, I muſt return to the Narration of that Battle, which was fought betwixt *James* IV. and *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, commonly called *Flodden*-Field. This King, retaining in his Mind ſome Rancour for divers Cauſes formerly related, thought he could not any Time more ſeaſonably revenge himſelf, or for the reſt give a more acceptable Teſtimony of his Love to *Lewis* XII, than now in the King's Abſence, by invading his Realm. Therefore having firſt denounced War by his Herald, he ſent *Alexander* Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain to forage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, uſed that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, ſo that he recovered a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Perſon, with an Army of fifty thouſand (ſome write an hundred thouſand) Men, enters the Country, and after a few Days Siege, takes *Norham*-Caſtle. *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* hereupon haſtens his Army, which conſiſted of twenty ſix thouſand, appointing his Son the Lord Admiral to come by Sea, and meet him at or near *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*. This brave Lord failed not his Time, bringing with him alſo about one thouſand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken View, and given

given Order in what Place every one ſhould fight, he marches towards the King; who had removed his Army to an Hill called *Flodden* (or *Fluidon*) on the Edge of the Mountain *Cheviot*; where he ſtrongly entrench'd himſelf. The *Scotiſh* Writers here relate, that many of their Country-men, for Want of Victuals, ſecretly fled home, leaving the King's Troops but thin. Our Writers, on the other Side, make the *Scotiſh*-men much ſuperior in Number. Howſoever the Earl of *Surry* deſired nothing more than to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts ſo foraged and ſpoiled that he could not long ſubſiſt. Therefore on *Sunday*, *September* 4. he thought fit to ſend *Rouge-Croix* Herald with a Trumpet, and Inſtructions to *James* IV, to tell him, that in Regard he had violated his Faith and League, and hoſtilely entered the *Engliſh* Ground, that on *Friday* next he would bid him Battle, if the ſaid King would ſtay ſo long in *England* and accept it. The Lord *Thomas* his Son, alſo requir'd *Rouge-Croix* particularly to certifie the King of his Journey by Sea; and that, becauſe he could meet no *Scotiſh* Ships there, he thought fit to land, that he might juſtify *Andrew Breton*'s Death; and added further, as he looked for no Mercy from his Enemies, ſo he would ſpare none, but the King only, if he came in his Hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vantguard of the Battle. Laſtly, *Rouge Croix* was charged, if any were remanded, he ſhould, for preventing eſpial, bring him no nearer than two Miles unto the Camp. *James* IV. received this Meſſage gladly, and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own Herald aſſures the Earl, that he did ſo much deſire to encounter him, that when he had been at *Edinburgh*, he would have left all Buſineſs for that Purpoſe: and therefore wiſhed him to reſt aſſured, he would not fail to abide Battle the Day named, which was *Friday*. This being done, the Herald delivers a Proteſtation from his King and Maſter, in theſe very Words, being in Anſwer to the former Expoſtulation of the Earl's.

As to the Cauſes alledged of our coming into *England*, againſt our Bond and Promiſe, as is alledged, thereto we anſwer; Our Brother was bound as far to us, as we to him; and when we ſware laſt, before his Ambaſſador, in Preſence of our Council, we expreſſed eſpecially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not elſe. We ſware our Brother brake firſt unto us. And ſince his Breach we have required him divers times to amend. And lately we warned our Brother, as he did not us, ere he brake. And this we take for our Quarrel, and with God's Grace ſhall defend the ſame, at your affixed Time, which with God's Grace we ſhall abide. Hereupon the Earl, advancing, came within three Miles of *Flodden*; but, perceiving that the King ſtill kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, he ſent *Rouge Croix* again, with a Letter ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, his Son the Lord Admiral, and divers other principal Noblemen and Knights, where, in reſpectful Terms, they provoked him to deſcend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain call'd *Milfield*, which lay between them, upon *Friday* following; alledging, for this Purpoſe, the Promiſe they received from his Grace heretofore. But no ſatisfactory Anſwer being given to this, and the

Heralds

Heralds being returned on either Side, the Earl removes with his Army to ſuch a Place, that, if the *Scotiſhmen* would not leave the Advantage of their Site, he might cut off their Victuals, and conſequently draw them down. *James* IV. hereupon, firing his Huts, diſlodges covertly, by the Benefit of the Smoke, and keeping ſtill on the high Ground, at laſt he commands a Stay. Preſently after, the Earl alſo, traverſing ſome Bogs and Mariſhes, till he arrived to the Bottom of this Bank, found the Aſcent not very ſteep, and thereupon encourageth his Men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; The Vantguard was led by his two Sons, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edmund*; the Battel by himſelf, and the Rere by Sir *Edward Stanley*. The Lord *Dacres*, with his Horſe, being appointed as a Reſerve on all Occaſions. The King obſerving this well, and judging that it was not without much Diſadvantage that the *Engliſh* came to fight, exhorts his Men to behave themſelves like brave Soldiers, and thereupon joyns Battel. Sir *Edmund Howard* at firſt was in ſome Diſtreſs, by the ſingular Valour of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argile*, but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his Succour, as alſo one *Heron*, the Fight was renewed; the Lord *Thomas Howard* purſued his Point better; yet ſo, as he found a brave Oppoſition from the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs*. The King's Battel and the Earl's likewiſe maintained together a long and warp Fight. This while Sir *Edward Stanley*, by Force of Archers, conſtrained the *Scotiſh* to deſcend the Hill, inſomuch that, for avoiding his Storm of Arrows, they opened their Ranks, and therein ſeemed to give one of the firſt Overtures of Victory. The King perceiving the Diſorder, redoubled his Courage, inſomuch that our Writers confeſs he had almoſt overthrown the Earl's Standards. But the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had diſcomfited their Oppoſites, coming to Succours, and the Lord *Dacres* alſo flying in with his Horſe, the *Scotiſh* were ſo hardly put to it, that, for their laſt Defence they caſt themſelves into a Ring; in that Order of Fight doing all that valiant Men poſſibly could to defend themſelves. No Man yet did in his Perſon more than the King; inſomuch, that preſſing on ſtill, he was at laſt kill'd on the Place, as our Writers have it. The *Scotiſh* Writers yet ſay it was one *Elphinſtone*, who wearing the ſame Arms the King did, was taken for him, affirming further that the King fled over the River *Tweed*, and was there, I know not how, ſlaughtered. The Fight continuing three Hours, made the Event doubtful, and the Execution great. In Concluſion, moſt of the nobler Sort, one Arch-Biſhop, and two Biſhops, beſides four Abbots on the *Scotiſh* Side were ſlain there, and about ten thouſand others. On our Side, ſays *Polydore*, there died about five thouſand, others ſay fewer; ſo that as it was a bloody Victory, it might be thought ſomewhat uncertain till the next Morning, when the Body ſuppoſed for the King's, and ſo acknowledged by divers of both Nations, as our Hiſtorians ſay, was found among the dead Carcaſſes, having received, as our Writers have it, a mortal Wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill. The *Scotiſh* lay the Occaſion of their Overthrow chiefly on ſome of their Troops that looked on, and never ſo much as gave a Stroke.

Stroke. But that we may leave theſe Things to their Relations, I find after this Battle, the *Scotiſh* that remain'd, returned home much grieved for the unfortunate Succeſs of that Day, being *Sept.* 9. 1513. The Earl took all the Ordnance, and particularly ſeven extraordinary fair Culverins, called the Seven Siſters. And ſo after giving God Thanks, diſmiſt the greateſt Part of the Army, and retir'd himſelf home, until News of the King's coming to *Richmond* brought him thither, taking Order in the mean Time, that the dead Body, being embalmed, ſhould be carried firſt to *Newcaſtle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surrey*; though, as that King was excommunicate, it may be doubted, whether it were buried in any conſecrate Place; ſince I find by *Breve* dated *November* 29, 1513. and exant in our Records, that our King obtained a Breve from the Pope, for transferring the Body to St. *Paul*'s in *London*. Upon Condition yet, that the Biſhop of *London* ſhould firſt abſolve the ſaid *James*, and our King, on Condition that he ſhould in his Name undergo ſome convenient Penance.

Our King now, (the Parliament ſtill ſitting) eſtabliſhed an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquiſitions in *France* might recover their Debts from thoſe in *England*, as well as the *Engliſh* from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Perſon that would ſue for the King's Pardon, upon certain Articles, ſhould have it.

In this Parliament alſo *Margaret*, Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late Wife of Sir *Richard de la Pole*, Knight, petitioned, That whereas, by Act of Parliament, 19 *Henrici* 7. *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* was declared Traytor, and ſo his Lands forfeited; it would pleaſe the King that ſhe might inherit, as being Siſter and next of Blood, his State and Dignity, and ſo be ſtiled Counteſs of *Sarum*; which was granted.

I find little elſe memorable this Year among our Hiſtorians, ſave only a Commotion in *London*; which happened on this Manner. The Villages of *Iſlington*, *Hockſton*, and *Shoreditch*, having ſo incloſed their Grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accuſtomed Freedom and Exerciſes; the Apprentices of *London* threw down the Hedges and Ditches after this Manner. A Turner running in a Fool's Coat through the Streets, and crying Shovels and Spades, was preſently followed in ſuch Numbers, as all their Incloſures were quickly levell'd. For which therefore the Lord Mayor was well check'd, and Command given him to prevent further Miſchief.

The *French* King, now finding two principal Frontier Towns taken, the Flower of his Chivalry made Priſoners, while the reſt ran away, his beſt Confederate *James* IV. kill'd, and the chief Adminiſtration of *Scotiſh* Affairs devolved to the Hands of *Margaret* Siſter to King *Henry* VIII. (at leaſt until ſhe married again,) a League in Oppoſition to him, ſworn by three the moſt puiſſant Princes of *Chriſtendom*; the Pope animating all this againſt him, under the odious Name of a Schiſmatick; and laſtly, himſelf far ſtricken in Years, begins to think how beſt he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winter's Space; for the War was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope firſt. To this End he offers Satisfaction for his Obſti-

nacy; next, he ſtipulates to give Way to the accompliſhing the Pope's Deſigns in *Bononia*, and elſewhere; to renounce the Council of *Piſa*, and accept that of *Lateran*, promiſing withal to remand the Cardinal *Bernardino*, (whom as the Pope deſired to have, ſo he graciouſly pardoned.) Laſtly, whereas great Inconveniencies might follow, not only to his Holineſs, but all Chriſtendom, if by theſe inteſtine Wars a Paſſage were made open for *Selym* the Turk to invade it, who had lately taken eighteen ſtrong Places near *Preſburg* in *Hungary*, he promiſeth his Aſſiſtance againſt them. All which being taken by the Pope into ſerious Conſideration, makes him relent; and, in Conſequence hereof, not only recommends Peace and Unity to all Chriſtian Princes, and particularly to our King, but ſhortly after enters into a League againſt the *Turk*; for this Purpoſe uſing thoſe potent Miniſters of his the Churchmen, who were in Favour with their ſeveral Princes. *Lewis* XII. draws *Maximilian* off, partly by repreſenting the Danger above-mentioned in *Hungary*, which, next *Ladiſlaus*, moſt concern'd him, and partly by according the Demands he made about divers Pretences in *Burgogne*; and laſtly urges ſome Diſcontents remaining in *Maximilian*'s Mind, ever ſince *Henry* VIII. and himſelf met laſt, (though in Effect they were little more than Punctilio's, ordinarily happening on the Interview of great Princes.) And for *Ferdinand* he was eaſily taken off, ſo that he might enjoy *Navarre*, and for the reſt keep his Authority in *Italy*. To which therefore *Lewis* XII. condeſcended, proroguing the laſt Years Truce with him for twelve Months longer. Laſtly, becauſe *Henry* VIII. was, without all theſe, able alone to find him Work, he offers his Friendſhip and Alliance, in matching with his Siſter the Princeſs *Mary*, thought then one of the faireſt Ladies of her Time. To ſtrengthen this Propoſition, he adverti ſes our King, that *Charles* Prince of *Caſtile*, afterwards *Charles* V. was treating of a Marriage with *Anne* Daughter of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*; and when it were in earneſt, he intended to match with his Siſter the Princeſs *Mary*, that yet, being but fourteen Years old in *February* next, he was not ripe enough for her; concealing in the mean Time that himſelf was as much too old. He privately alſo acquainted the King how *Ferdinand* did but deceive him; as one, that would at all Times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy *Navarre*. Together with which, it is probable he did reveal the aforeſaid ſecret Truce made by the *Spaniſh* Secretary *Quintana* betwixt himſelf and *Ferdinand* for one Year more. An Article whereof was, that, during the ſaid Truce, *Lewis* XII. ſhould not moleſt *Milan*. He told him beſides, that *Maximilian*'s Deſigns were on the *Venetians*, and not on *France*. And that the Levies in *Flanders* for the Wars propoſed againſt *France* the next Year, were and ſhould be retarded by the Princeſs *Marguerite*, purpoſely becauſe her Father had other Deſigns. All which was repreſented to the King by private and confident Meſſengers, who under Colour of treating for the Delivery of *Lewis duc de Longueville*, and the reſt who were Priſoners of War, negotiated this great Affair. Our King hereupon diſdaining to be twice deceived by his Father-in-law *Ferdinand*, and deteſting withal the ingratitude

tude and Levity of *Maximilian*, agreed a League with *Lewis* XII. upon the Seventh of *Auguſt* 1514. for the Term of their joint Lives and one Year after. The Effect was, That all former Offences ſhould be remitted and aboliſhed, Traffick reſtored, and all Impoſitions on Strangers ſince fifty two Years laſt paſt, extinguiſhed. That no Letters of Mark ſhould be granted, but againſt the principal Delinquents, and that only in caſe Juſtice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea, ſhould be maintained on either Side. That Rebels and Fugitives ſhould not be entertain'd, but rendred, within twenty Days after Requiſition, to their Sovereigns. That they ſhould be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other. That (for the mutual Defence of their preſent Eſtates) *Lewis* XII. ſhould furniſh at the Requiſition of *Henry* VIII. one thouſand two Hundred Men by Land, and five thouſand Men at Sea, with convenient Shipping. And *Henry* VIII. ten thouſand Archers by Land, and five thouſand Men at Sea, with Shipping, at the Requiſition of *Lewis* XII. But if either of the two Kings ſhall require Aid of the other for Recovery of his Pretenſions; then *Lewis* ſhall lend King *Henry* ſix hundred Lances only, and King *Henry* him but five thouſand Archers for Land-Service; the Sea-Forces retaining the Numbers above-mentioned. All this to be at the Coſt of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the ſaid Princes ſhall be invaded, only for the Cauſe of this Confederacy, then the other ſhall aid him at his own Charge. If War be made by common Conſent, neither Prince may make Peace ſeverally. That the *Engliſh* Merchants ſhould have their antient Privileges at *Bourdeaux* reſtored. That this Treaty ſhould be publiſhed and ratified by the Pope, by whom it was chiefly procur'd, with a Clauſe of Excommunication on the Infractors. Among the Allies of each Prince, the *Scots* alſo were comprehended herein, upon Condition, that after *September* 15. they ſhould make no Incurſion on the *Engliſh* by publick Authority; and if any were otherwiſe made, that Satisfaction ſhould be ſpeedily given. Beſides this, the *French* Writers confeſs there was a Treaty apart, by which *Lewis* promiſed to pay *Henry* VIII. a Million of Crowns, the ſaid *Henry* rendring him an Obligation, by which *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, Father of the ſaid *Lewis*, and other Princes of *France* were bound to pay the ſaid Sum. For whereas *Charles* VIII. Predeceſſor to *Lewis* XII. by a Treaty at *Eſtaples*, 1492. bound himſelf and his Heirs to pay King *Henry* the Seventh and his Heirs the Sum of 745000 Crowns; and, after the Death of the ſaid *Charles*, *Lewis* XII. bound himſelf and his Heirs to pay ſo much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the ſaid *Lewis* XII. firſt to *Henry* VII. 1498. and after to *Henry* VIII, 1510. And whereas, beſides this Bond, the aforeſaid *Charles* had bound himſelf to the Lady *Marguerite* Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, Anno 1444. to pay her a certain Sum of Money, which was not yet diſcharged. Therefore, as alſo for confirming the Amity betwixt *Lewis* and *Henry*, the ſaid *Lewis* did now bind himſelf and his Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be paid to King *Henry* VIII. in his Town of *Calais*, at ſeveral Times, *viz.* *November* 1. next following,

ing, five hundred thouſand Franks; and *May* 1. next, ſo much more, and ſo till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I find in an Original thereof, dated *September* 14, 1514.) All which minuted by *Lewis de Longueville*, (called by ſome *Lewis d'Orleans Duc de Longueville*) during his Reſtraint, was at laſt thus fully concluded. The Princeſs *Mary* alſo was to be conſigned to him, with convenient Speed; notwithſtanding, ſaith *Polydore*, the King had ſecretly deſtin'd her once to another, who though he gave Place, when it was ſo much for her Dignity, yet married her not long after. The Conditions for the Marriage, betwixt the ſaid *Lewis* XII. and *Mary* the King's Siſter, were theſe, as we find them in our Records.

That, 1. within ten Days following, Matrimony ſhall be contracted by both Perſons by Proxies *per verba de præſenti*. 2. After the Contract aboveſaid, within two Months, the King of *England* ſhall ſend and convey her, with Jewels and Houſhold Stuff fitting her Eſtate, to *Abbeville* in *France*; where, within four Days following, the ſaid *Lewis* XII. ſhall ſolemnly marry her. 3. King *Henry* ſhall give with the Princeſs *Mary* four hundred thouſand Crowns; of which Sum, (in Regard to the Traduction of the Lady, her Apparel, Jewels, *&c.*) *Lewis* will be content to accept the one Half, *i. e.* two hundred thouſand Crowns, and to pay himſelf the reſt out of the Moneys which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King *Henry*. 4. *Lewis* ſhall aſſign to the Princeſs *Mary* a Jointure as great as any Queen of *France*, and namely as Queen *Anne* the laſt Queen, hath had. And this during her Life ſhe ſhall enjoy, whereſoever ſhe reſide. 5. If *Lewis* die firſt, then the Princeſs *Mary* during her Life, ſhall enjoy her Dowry and Jointure, and all Jewels which the Queens of *France* have uſed to enjoy after the Death of their Huſbands. 6. If *Lewis* ſurvive the ſaid Princeſs, then he ſhall have and enjoy her Portion, Jointure, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Cuſtom of *France*.

While theſe Things were in Agitation, the King, who called to Mind many that had ſerved him with much Fidelity, Courage, and Succeſs, in his late Occaſions and Enterprizes, thought he could not do any Thing more juſtly and prudently, than to beſtow ſome condign Recompence upon them; it being ſuch a Myſtery of State as not only gives the greateſt Luſtre of Regal Authority, but of that Conſequence, as being uſed well, there will be little need of Puniſhment. The Reward to theſe brave Cavaliers he had ſelected out for this Purpoſe, the King thought good to inveſt in Honour chiefly. Therefore upon the Second of *February*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* was by him created Duke of *Norfolk*; (a Title before conferr'd on *John* his Father by *Richard* III. and then again extinguiſhed.) His eldeſt Son the Lord *Thomas Howard* alſo being ſubſtituted Earl of *Surrey*. Together with which he had an Augmentation of Arms for his Atchievement in *Flodden-field*. Sir *Charles Somerſet* alſo, being in *Elizabeth* his Wives Right, (who was Daughter and Heir to *William Herbert*, Earl of *Huntington*) Lord *Herbert* of *Chepſtow*, *Gower*, and *Ragland*, was created Earl of *Worceſter*. Sir *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle*, was now alſo created Duke of *Suffolk*; and Sir *Edward Stanley*,

ley, not long after, made Lord *Mount-eagle*. Laſtly, *Thomas Woolſey* Biſhop of *Tournay*, was conſtituted Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

The King, being at ſome Reſt now from tranſmarine Affairs, begins to look towards *Scotland*; upon which he had many Advantages. For as the two Princes, left by King *James*, were very young; his Siſter Queen *Margaret* (their Mother) in Eſtate of adminiſtring all the Affairs there; the chief and moſt active Part of their Nobility kill'd; there wanted not many Occaſions to avail himſelf of: Whereupon alſo, either by gentle Means or otherwiſe by Force, he reſolv'd to procure an Intereſt in the Government of that Kingdom. To this it conduced not a little, that thoſe Nobles which remained, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were diſtracted among themſelves. The Queen foreſeeing well, that, in this ill Condition of Affairs, many Inconveniences might follow, in a Country, whereof (by ſpecial Clauſe of a Teſtament made by the King before the laſt Expedition,) ſhe was declared Regent, as long as ſhe continued unmarried, ſends to the King her Brother, to crave his Advice and Aſſiſtance; beſeeching him withal, that he would deſiſt from Hoſtility. The King moſt generouſly anſwered, that, if the *Scots* would have Peace, he would keep Peace; if they would have War, he would likewiſe have War. Thus were all Things compoſed for the preſent, and *James* V. (being not two Years old) in Parliament declared King, in *February* 15. Yet as, not long after, ſhe took to Huſband *Archibald Dowglaſſe* Earl of *Angus*, one both for Birth and other Perfections the eminenteſt ſhe could chuſe in that Country, ſome Innovations and Troubles enſued. For while *Dowglaſſe* laboured by his private Power to ſupply that Authority, which by marrying him, ſhe ſeemed to have loſt; the Kingdom was broken into Factions. The Favourers of *Dowglaſſe* alledged, there was no other Way to keep Peace, but by ſubmitting all to Queen *Margaret*; for, ſince the King of *England* did therefore only deſiſt from purſuing his Victory, becauſe the Adminiſtration of Affairs was in his Siſter's Hands, it were beſt to leave them there; to erect any other Form of Government, were to draw the *Engliſh* in again; and when all their Forces united were not able to reſiſt him abſent, what might they expect from him preſent? eſpecially, when not only their chief Strength was loſt in the late Battle, but *Henry* ſhould find a Party which his Siſter, both in her own Name, and in the King her Son's, would make for him. The other Faction, whereof *Alexander Humes* was chief, urged the antient Cuſtom of *Scotlanr*, which in theſe Caſes, he ſaid, did always chuſe ſome Protector or Viceroy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto deferr'd ſo much to the Virtues of the Queen, that, as long as poſſible there was Pretext for it, by the King's Teſtament, they had admitted her for Regent: For now, ſince by Marriage of *Dowglaſſe*, ſhe had voluntarily relinquiſhed that Power, that the Country therefore ſhould reſume their wonted Right and Privileges. For, if in the moſt quiet and ſerene Times, Women had been excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the only Reaſon that moved *Humes*. For, while he doubted leaſt the antient Followers of his Houſe

ſhould

ſhould by the Power of *Douglas* be now drawn from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminiſh and weaken either him, or the Queen's Authority. Therefore he recommended every where *John Stuart* Duke of *Albany*, Couſin-german by the Father, to *James* IV. who, though then in *France*, was yet of great Eſteem at home. This again was ſeconded by the Arts of the *French*, who could by no Means ſuffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much leſs drawn from them. Howbeit *Lewis* thought not fit openly to diſcover himſelf, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a ſtrict League and Affinity. Therefore he would not ſuffer the Duke to come into *Scotland*, though not long before elected Governor, by the Queen's Conſent as was pretended, which yet may be doubted; ſhe proteſting to our King afterwards, it was extorted from her. Howſoever after the Death of *Lewis*, he was ſent over, (as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter) well furniſh'd both with Men and Money, to take Poſſeſſion of the chief Government of all Things, during the Minority of the Prince.

While Buſineſſes were now in Preparation for Peace and Alliance betwixt our King and *Lewis* XII. it was thought fit, for Diſcharge of the King's Engagement and Honour, to ſend to *Flanders*, to diſcover how in thoſe Parts their Affection ſtood towards the Match propoſed betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Princeſs *Mary*; and withal to require Men for the War intended the next Spring. But *Charles* having already broken two Articles of the ſaid Treaty of Marriage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen Years of Age, he ſhould ſend a Proxy into *England* to contract the Princeſs *per verba de præſenti*; the other, that at a Day appointed he ſhould come himſelf to *Calais* to eſpouſe her; And our Ambaſſadors, finding for the reſt nothing but Delay and Irreſolution; the King would no longer omit to give Order that his Siſter ſhould neither be ſlighted, nor his Affairs otherwiſe ſuffer Detriment. Therefore, after a ſhort Proteſtation, whereby the Fault was laid on them; (without yet that any Intention was diſcloſed for diſpoſing the Princeſs *Mary* in any other Place, or of making a League with *Lewis* XII.) the King proceeds more roundly in his Buſineſs. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies coming to *Suſſex* by Night, and landing there, after a ſhort Stay was driven back, and in the Retreat, ſhot in the Face with an Arrow. Sir *John Wallop* hereupon being ſent into *Normandy*, burn'd divers Ships, and one and twenty Villages, landing many Times in Deſpight of the *French*, which ſeem'd the more ſtrange, in that his Soldiers exceeded not eight hundred Men. The *French* alſo appearing in ſome Numbers near the *Engliſh* Pale, Sir *Thomas Lovell* was ſent with certain Troops to *Calais*, for the better ſtrengthning of the Place; and the rather, becauſe *Richard de la Pole* was now gathering Forces for ſome great Deſign. But before he could do any Thing, the Treaty and Peace was made: Among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of *Richard de la Pole* was propos'd, yet *Lewis* would never conſent to it, but ſending him out of *France* gave him a yearly Penſion.

Lewis de Longueville having now Power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de preſent* with our King's

King's Siſter, ſhe alſo ſent her Procuration to the ſame Effect, the Ceremony whereof was ſolemnly held at the Celeſtins in *Paris*, *September* 14. News whereof was no ſooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen, conducting her to the Sea-ſide, bid her Farewel, and recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Care. Shortly after which, landing at *Boulogne*, and being met by ſome principal Perſons deputed by the King, ſhe was attended on, and guided towards *Abbeville:* In the Way to which, the old King on Horſe-back met and ſaluted her, and afterwards retired himſelf privately, while ſhe was received into *Abbeville* with much Pomp, where on St. *Denis* Day, *Octob.* 9. She was in Perſon married to *Lewis* XII. who, after beſtowing many Jewels on her, and rich Preſents to thoſe who came with her, diſmiſs'd all, ſave a few Officers and Attendants, amongſt whom I find Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bolen*, as one. Howbeit, Occaſion was given of bringing over ſome of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to *Paris*, not long after.

Francis de Valois, Duke of *Angouleſme*, and next Heir Male to the Crown (having in *May* before married *Cloud*, eldeſt Daughter to *Lewis* XII. by *Anne*, who was Inheretrix of *Bretaigne*) deſired now, in the King's declining Age, to give ſome Proof of his Valour. Therefore, before the *Engliſh* departed from *Abbeville*, he cauſed a Juſts to be proclaimed; which, for being ſo extraordinary (the Perſons and Manner conſidered) I thought worth the relating. The Effect thereof was, that, in *November* enſuing, he with nine Aids, would anſwer all Comers, that were Gentlemen of Name and Arms, on Horſeback and on Foot. The Laws on Horſeback were, that with ſharp Spears they ſhould run five Courſes at Tilt, and five more at Random, being well armed and covered with Pieces of Advantage for their beſt Defence. After this to fight twelve Strokes with ſharp Swords. This being done, he and his Aids offered to fight at Barriers with the ſame Perſons, with a Hand-ſpear and Sword. The Conditions were, that if any Man were unhors'd, or fell'd fighting on Foot, his Armour and Horſe ſhould be rendred to the Officer of Arms. That for this Purpoſe an Arch Triumphant ſhould be ſet forth, at the *Tournelles*, near the Street St. *Antoine* in *Paris*, on which four Shields ſhould be placed. That he who would touch any of them, muſt firſt enter his Name and Arms. That he who touched the firſt, which was Silver, ſhould run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touched the Golden Shield ſhould run at Random, as above mentioned. He that touched the black Shield ſhould fight on Foot with Hand-ſpears and Swords for the one Hand; ſix Foins with the Hand-ſpear, and then eight Strokes to the moſt Advantage (if the Sword ſo long held) and after that twelve Strokes with the Sword. He that touched the tawny Shield, ſhould caſt a Spear on Foot with a Target on his Arm, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Marquis *Dorſet*, and his four Brethren, the Lord *Pinton*, Sir *Edward Nevill*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Cheyney*, and others, obtained Leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they ſo haſtned, that before the End of *October* they came to St. *Denis*, where they found the Queen; the Solemnities for her Coronation, as alſo for her Recep-

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tion at *Paris*, being not yet in Readineſs. *Francis de Valois*, knowing how good Men at Arms the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Marquis *Dorſet* were, requeſted them to be two of his Aids, to which they aſſented. But while theſe Things were in preparing, *Mary* the *French* Queen was upon the fifth of *November* crowned in St. *Denis*, the Earl of *Worceſter* and Dr. *Weſt*, who were appointed for this Purpoſe by our King, attending her in the Solemnity thereof. and *Francis de Valois*, afterwards King, holding the Crown, which was very weighty, over her Head. The Day following ſhe entered *Paris* with great Pomp, and the Morrow after the Juſts began, of which the King and Queen were Spectators; the King being yet ſo weak that he lay on a Couch. Theſe Juſts continued three Days, in which three Hundred and five Men at Arms were anſwered by the Defendants; among which, ſome were ſo hurt, that they died not long after: At *Randon* and *Tournay*, the Duke of *Suffolk* hurt a Gentleman very dangerouſly, and the Marquis *Dorſet* did no leſs to anuther. Then the Duke overthrew a Man both Horſe and Arms, and ſo did the Marquis. *Francis* at laſt being hurt, deſires the Duke and Marquis to fight at Barriers; who therefore took the firſt Place againſt all Comers. In the mean While, *Francis* intending an Affront, as was thought, to the Duke, cauſeth a *German*, the ſtrongeſt Perſon in all the Court, to be arm'd ſecretly, and preſent himſelf at Barriers; they both did well; yet the Duke at laſt with the But-end of his Spear ſtruck the *German* till he ſtagger'd, and ſo the Rail was let fall. The Marquis *Dorſet* alſo foil'd another *Frenchman*. Then they took ſome Breath, and return'd to fight again; when the Duke ſo pomell'd the *German* about the Head, that Blood guſhed from his Noſe, which being done, the *German* was conveyed away ſecretly. Divers other brave Feats were done likewiſe, which the Reader may find elſewhere. At laſt our *Engliſh*, with ſingular Honour, returned to their King and Maſter, whom they found much comforted for the Birth of another Prince, thought not living long after.

But the Contentment of *Lewis* XII. was almoſt as ſhort; who, being aged and infirm, after ſome eighty Days Poſſeſſion, rather than enjoying of his Queen, died *January* 1. 1515. leaving behind him no Iſſue-male; though otherwiſe of that Eſteem among his Subjects, for his Care not to oppreſs them with Impoſitions longer than his Neceſſities required, that he was call'd *the Father of his People*. After him ſucceeded *Francis de Valois*, abovementioned; a Prince of great Hope. His Age was twenty one or twenty two; wherein, as well as in the moſt Part of his Manners, there was much Conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two of the goodlieſt Perſonages, not of their Quality only, but of their Time. This Prince was Sacred (to uſe the *French* Term) at *Reymes* 25th of *January*, 1515. taking on him, together with the Name of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*. To which he ſeemed to have a double Title, both as he was of the Houſe of *Orleans*, to which the Claim of the ſaid Dutchy belonged, as alſo being comprehended in the Inveſtiture made by the Emperor, according to the Treaty at *Cambray*.

And becauſe he ſucceeded as well to the Right, as to the Means of recovering the ſaid Dutchy, he thought on nothing more than how to vindicate the Glory his Predeceſſors had loſt in that Attempt. His firſt Care was how to aſſure himſelf of our King: This he procures, partly by addreſſing himſelf to *Wolſey*, who then prevailed moſt with the King, and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the laſt Treaty of Peace with *Lewis* XII. being to endure but till the firſt of *January* next, was, (as I find both by ours and the *French* Records) renewed in the ſame Terms, the 5th of *April* following, and prorogued for Term of their joint Lives, and one Year after. Only better Order was given for Depredations than before; it being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation ſhould depart out of their Ports, without giving Caution to their ſeveral Admirals, that no Wrong or Moleſtation ſhould be done by Sea.

Upon the 8th of *May*, the *French* King agreed alſo to pay at certain Days a Million of Crowns to our King; for ſo the *French* have it: Which whether it were a new Stipulation, or that formerly agreed on by *Lewis* XII. appears not to me; and *Polydore*'s Words are obſcure, which import only, *a Price given for the Peace*. The 15th of *May* following, the *Scots* entered into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a Condition of keeping the Peace). Neither did our King eaſily believe that underhand they would have made any other. Notwithſtanding which, the *French* and they did, upon the ſecond of *January* following, privately enter into a League offenſive and defenſive againſt *England*.

Together with the propoſing of this Treaty, in which the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Wingfield* Deputy of *Calais*, and Doctor *Weſt*, were employed, our King ſent a Letter to the Queen his Siſter; wherein he deſired to know, how ſhe ſtood affected to her Return to *England*, deſiring her withal not to match without his Conſent. She, on the other Side, who had privately engaged her Affection to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, made no great Difficulty to diſcover her ſelf to both Kings; intreating *Francis* to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former *Francis* eaſily agreed, though once intending to propoſe a Match betwixt her and the Duke of *Savoy*; but our King, for the Conſervation of his Dignity, held a little off; however he had long deſigned her to *Suffolk*. The Queen alſo, believing that this Formality was the greateſt Impediment, did not proceed without ſome Scruple, tho' proteſting, as appears by an Original, that if the King would have her married in any Place, ſave where her Mind was, ſhe would ſhut her ſelf up in ſome Religious Houſe. Thus, without any great Pomp, being ſecretly married, the Queen wrote Letters of Excuſe to the King her Brother, taking the Fault, if any were, on her ſelf; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of *Suffolk*, profeſſed that ſhe prefixed the Space of four Days to him, in which ſhe ſaid, unleſs he could obtain her Good-will, he ſhould be out of all Hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as alſo through the good Office of *Francis*, who fearing leſt our King by her Means would contract ſome greater Alliance, did further this Marriage, our King did by Degrees reſtore them

to his Favour; *Wolsey* also not a little contributing thereunto, while he told our King, how much better she was bestow'd on him, than on some Person of Quality in *France*.

Thus having prepared all Things for their Departure, they took their Leave of the *French* Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapistries of *Lewis* XII. to the Value of two hundred thousand Crowns, as the *French* have it. Among which a great Diamond call'd *le Miroir de Naples* (as I find by our Records) was one; though not without much Reluctation of *Francis*, who would fain have redeem'd it at a great Price. Order also was taken for the Payment of her Jointure, being sixty thousand Crowns yearly. Whereupon the Queen and Duke with all her Train (save Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, who staid in the *French* Court) began their Journey; to the Satisfaction of *Francis*, as hoping by their Means to confirm his so much desired Peace, and Treaty with our King. Thus arriving at *Calais* 25th of *April*, and from thence coming to *Dover*, and after to *Greenwich*; they were publickly married 13th of *May*. Thus our King's two Sisters, after their being join'd with great Princes, did not disdain to accept inferior Persons for their Husbands.

But that I may return to my proposed Method in this History; I shall set down the Laws enacted in the Parliament (*sexto* of this King) beginning *February quinto*; where I find one of their chief Cares was, to put into better Order the former Laws concerning Apparel; which yet was not so well digested, but that the Year following, even the Law it self chang'd Fashion. Howsoever, that of Archery, made before, was not only confirmed, but made perpetual; so that notwithstanding the use of Caleevers or Hand-guns (for Muskets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the Constancy, if not Wisdom of those Times; it being certain, that, when he that carries the Caleever goes unarm'd, the Arrow will have the same Effect within its distance that the Bullet, and can, again, for one Shot return two. Besides, as they used their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to Execution on the Enemy with great Advantage. I cannot deny yet but against the Pike they were of less force than Caleevers. Therefore I believe the meaning of these Times was, to command it as an Exercise to the common People, and for the rest reserve it for those Occasions, where they might be of Use. Howsoever, Hand-guns and Cross-bows were forbidden under certain Penalties, to all Men that had less than four hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Wages for Artificers also was settled, and the Price of Water-men. A Penalty also was impos'd on those who changed Tillage into Pasture. And very good Order taken, concerning deceit in Cloth, as being the only Cause they had not so good vent Abroad. The Commission of Sewers extending to the making up of the Sea-walls, &c. in *England*, the Marches of *Calais*, *Guisnes*, and *Hames*, (begun *sexto Henrici sexti*, and continued *quarto Henrici septimi*, for twenty five Years,) being now upon Expiration, was continued also for ten Years more. It was commanded also, that the River of *Canterbury* should be deepned. It was provided also, that Wool should not be carried beyond Sea; which

which was to the Benefit of Clothiers. No ſecond Letters Patents alſo might be taken, without mentioning the Firſt. Which was very equal, both for the King and Subject. And becauſe divers now, being weary with ſitting ſo long in Parliament did depart home without Licence, (they only remaining who factiouſly combined themſelves, with Intention to gain the Major part of Voices, in any thing they deſired to obtain) It was ordered they ſhould loſe their Wages, if they went without the Leave of the Speaker, and Common Houſe, to be entred in the Book of the Clerk of the Parliament.

During the Stay of the *French-Dowager* and her Husband, a Treaty alſo paſt concerning the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, upon a Sum of Money offer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in exchange thereof, the Country of *Guiſnes*, or *Ardres*; *Francis*, who deſired not any enlarging of the *Engliſh* Pale, fell off, ſo that our King provided for Defence. For which Purpoſe, as well as diminiſhing his Charge in keeping an exceſſive Garriſon, he raiſed a Citadel there; *Francis* not thinking fit either to interrupt the Deſign, or otherwiſe to offend our King; as hoping, by the Means of *Wolſey*, (to whom, together with the Unuſefulneſs of *Tournay*, he repreſented a Cardinal's Hat) to obtain his Deſire. And it was the true Bait to take him, he being extreamly ambitious of that Dignity; both as he thought it would ſecure his Greatneſs, and as it enabled him to ſerve his King and Maſter's turn. Therefore he had many Ways attemped it, and particularly by the Intervention of Cardinal *Adrian de Caſtello* an *Italian* (Biſhop of *Bath*, and the Pope's Collector in *England*,) not omitting together to uſe the Help of *Sylveſter* (an *Italian* likewiſe, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and the rather for that they were both at *Rome*, where Cardinal *Bambridge* alſo on our King's part reſided: But this Cardinal dying *July* 14, 1514. not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, our King having lately given *Wolſey* the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, he ſurrendred it now, and took the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*; and, not ſatisfied herewith, aſpir'd alſo to be Succeſſor in the Cardinalſhip; wherein becauſe, it ſeems, he conceiv'd that *Adrian* Biſhop of *Bath* had not ſerved him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Collectorſhip, and put *Polydore Virgil* (his Sub-Collector) in the Tower, (from whence he came not ſuddenly, nor without the Pope's Mediation.) He uſed therefore, beſides his ordinary Means and Friends in *Rome*, the Help of *Francis*; who, for the more obliging of him, ſent firſt News, that, in *September* this Year, his Suit was granted, and the Title of *Sanctæ Cæciliæ trans Tiberium* conferred on him; for the maintaining of the Charges whereof, he had at this time in Farm at very eaſy Rates the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, in regard the Biſhops of theſe Places liv'd beyond Sea; he got alſo ſucceſſively the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Durham*, and *Winchеſter*, which he ſo exchang'd, as he held every one of them with his Arch-Biſhoprick; he held alſo in *Commendam* the Abby of St. *Alban*'s, and many other eccleſiaſtical Preferments, and had the Diſpoſing of moſt of the Benefices that fell void. Alſo ſhortly after his being conſtituted Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, reſigning to the King voluntarily the Place of Lord

Chancellor, and retiring himſelf from Court, by Reaſon of his Age, (or perchance ſome Diſcontent) to a private Life, that Place was conferred on him. Thus were Dignities and Wealth heaped ſo faſt on *Wolſey*, that, being in his Nature inſolent, he grew at length intolerable. Neither could thoſe excellent Parts, wherewith he was endow'd, exempt him; Inſomuch, that not only much Arroganee, but extreme Vanity was obſerved in him, whereas yet nothing commends Church-men ſo much as a pious Modeſty: All Degrees of Perſons, but eſpecially theirs, being like Coins or Medals; to which, howſoever Vertue gave the Stamp and Impreſſion, Humility muſt give the Weight. Yet this Cardinal, contrary to all Example, is noted by *Polydore* to have uſed ſilk and Gold in his outward Veſtments and even Saddles: He cauſed alſo the Cardinal's Hat to be born by ſome principal Perſon before him, on a great Height, (like ſome conſecrated Idol,) and, when he came to the King's Chappel, would admit no Place to reſt it on, but the very Altar; He had beſides, his Serjeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlen carrying two Pillars of Silver, beſides his Croſs-bearer; concerning which it is obſerved, that he did bear the Croſs of *York* ſomewhat to the Prejudice of that of *Canterbury*, which perchance might be ſome cauſe of diſcontentment to the Arch-biſhop *Warham*. In Concluſion, all his Actions were ſuch, as argued a haughtier Spirit than could become his Place.

The Pope, being intentive now to a War againſt the *Turk*, requires Aid from the *Engliſh* Clergy, deſiring our King to give his Aſſiſtance therein; which they yet (in their Synod) depreCated, alledging (by Letter to the Pope, dated *Nov.* 25. 1515.) that they were exhauſted through their Contribution to the War of *France*, at the Inſtigation of *Julius* the Second; remonſtrating further, that, by a Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, the Pope could impoſe no Tributes on the Church, but in caſe of Neceſſity, and by a General Council.

The twelfth of *November* the Parliament ſate again; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing Tillage to be turned into Paſture. A repeal of Licences alſo to Strangers for carrying in of *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne* Wines, or *Tholouſe* Woad was enacted. Which was much to the Encreaſe of our Shipping. A time was alſo prefixt, within which all Actions, Suits, Bills, Indictments or Informations popular ſhall be ſued, either for the King or Party; and this ſettled a great deal of Quietneſs. The Act concerning Labourers Wages, made the Year preceding, was alſo repealed, for as much as concerned certain Labourers in *London*.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir *Edward Poynings* deſiring to be diſcharged from his Government in *Tournay*, and the adjoining Places of *Mortaigne* and Saint *Amand*, Sir *William Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, was ſubſtituted; who appointing Sir *Sampſon Norton* to be his Marſhal, ſo offended the People, that they roſe in Arms: Neither would they be quieted, till the ſaid Sir *Sampſon* was baniſhed for ever. But, if *Poynings* returned to his Counſellor's Place, divers others went away from it. For, beſides the Arch-biſhop *Warham*, Biſhop *Fox*, offended with the Cardinal, retired himſelf; deſiring this only of the King, that he would not ſuffer the

Servant

Servant to be greater than his Maſter. To which the King anſwered preſently, that it ſhould be his Care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould obey and not command. Then *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* craved Leave to go to his Country Houſe. For, as the King's Coffers were much exhauſted by his late Wars and Triumphs, ſo not finding it eaſy to ſupply thoſe vaſt Expences, which (in Pageants and Devices) increaſed daily, he wiſely withdrew himſelf: *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* alſo, not long after, following them. For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable (through the Cardinal's Oppoſition) to obtain remiſſion thereof, or otherwiſe to pay it preſently, he retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinal had his free Scope and Liberty to ſway all Things, under Colour of doing the King Service. For, whatſoever he went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the moſt Part) in labouring to Reform, he did nothing but Innovate. Hence many Clamours aroſe among the People; who being capable of almoſt nothing but their own Antient Cuſtoms, ſeldom indure a Change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none ſo true among them, as thoſe, who traduced the preſent Government; nor ſo wiſe, as thoſe who ſuſpected moſt, though beyond all probability. There was yet Occaſion enough to fear *Wolſey*; being obſerved to have that Aſcendant over the King's Diſpoſition, as he knew not how to be ſerious, or almoſt merry, without him. In either of which Ways he ſtill introduced ſomething for his own Ends; for no Man ſtudied them more. One Example whereof I will here inſert. The Cardinal, having for his firſt Biſhopriek, that of *Tournay*, was not yet without an antient Competitor, one *Lewis Guillart* a *Frenchman*, to whom it formerly appertain'd: This Man, grudging to be thus diſpoſſeſt, obtains from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was reſtor'd to that Place, (as far as Words would carry it.) with a Clauſe of *To the calling in of the Secular Arm*, both in the City and without. So that the *French* and *Flemmings* ſeem'd equally interreſſed thereby to procure his Conſervation. Our King underſtanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous Conſequence, writes to the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Worceſter*, his Agents then at *Rome*, to proteſt againſt this ſtrange and inordinate Bull, (as he terms it in his Letters;) commanding them withal (not without ſome Threats) to labour that it might be recalled, as tending not only to the raiſing of Sedition in that City, and Quarrels betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongful diſplacing of the Cardinal, who, being ſubrogated to the other, as well in Conformity to the right of his King, as upon the Contumacy or Negligence of the other (who had not as then done his Homage and Fealty for his Temporalities) could not now be remov'd without much Scandal. Before this, the Cardinal had deſired *Francis* to beſtow on *Guillart* ſome other Biſhoprick: But *Francis* delaying to give Satisfaction herein, ſo incenſed the Cardinal, that he became his ſecret Enemy afterward, (as *Polydore* hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to *Maximilian*, that, notwithſtanding the late League betwixt *England* and *France*, there was probability, the King would not ſuffer *France* to grow greater by the Acquiſition of *Milan* (*Maximilian* therefore ſent, in the

the Name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, one *Anchiſtes Vis-Conte*, a *Milaneſe*, to implore our King's Aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*, in Men or Money. Of which alſo there was ſome hope ſecretly given by *Wolſey*.) However, our King (in ſo great a Cauſe) would reſolve nothing without communicating the Buſineſs firſt to the moſt antient and wiſeſt of his Counſellors. Therefore recalling *Warham*, *Fox*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Lovell*, and divers others, he demanded their Opinion in full Council; where *Wolſey* ſpeaking firſt, alledged, that *Francis* had already broken the Treaty, by favouring *Richard de la Pole* a Fugitive and Traitor; in aſſiſting thoſe *Scots* which oppos'd his Siſter Queen *Margaret*; And in contriving a ſecret League with that Nation, to the Prejudice of that into which they lately entred with *England*. Beſides, that *Francis* with-held ſome Goods and Jewels of Queen *Mary*. That when all this were otherwiſe, yet it ſtood not with reaſon of State to ſuffer *France* to grow any greater. Laſtly, he ſaid all this might be done warily, and without Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood, only when we would but privately aſſiſt *Maximilian*. This was no ſooner uttered, but *Thomas* Biſhop of *Dureſme* riſeth up, and not only confirms the Cardinal's Speech, but extols it with ſome palpable Flatteries. (Neither muſt it ſeem ſtrange, that the Church-men concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (beſides Cardinal *Wolſey*'s particular Animoſity againſt *Francis* the Firſt) *Leo* the Tenth had a Hand herein, as knowing how much ſafer it was for *Italy*, that a ſingle Duke ſhould govern *Milan*, than ſuch a Potent Prince as *Francis* the Firſt. All the others at the Table yet were of another Opinion. Among whom therefore a Reply was made to this Effect.

That to break a Treaty or League ſolemnly ſworn, did ſeem a ſtrange Counſel in any, but eſpecially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publick Faith, was to call God and Man in Judgment againſt them. They would not deny yet but juſt Cauſe of diſſolving Leagues might be given; but then that the wronged Party ought both to proteſt the Fault, and denounce War. That if any other Courſe ſhould be allowed among Princes and Eſtates, there were no ground for upholding Truth and Juſtice; without which, yet the Law of Nations, and even Mankind itſelf, could not ſubſiſt. That therefore it were good to examine the Grounds of the proceedings mentioned; in which, though it could not be denied but *Richard de la Pole* was admitted ſtill in *France*, yet, whether as Traitor to his Country, or a Perſon that came thither only for Safety of his Life, might be queſtioned. That if the Spies they had on *Richard* ſaid true, his Deſign was only to go into *Italy* with *Francis* the Firſt, and then there could be no Danger on his Part. And for the other Point, which was aſſiſting the *Scottiſh* Faction againſt Queen *Margaret*, or contriving a ſecret League, which might be a Prejudice to the former, much might be ſaid; yet if Buſineſſes were well examined, both the Treaties of *Francis* might ſubſiſt; this latter with *Scotland* being proviſional only, in Caſe we ſhould come to a Rupture with *France*. They would not deny yet but herein an Advantage was taken by the *French*, ſomewhat againſt the Laws of Honour, but that

we might make a Benefit thereof; for while *Francis* was in *Italy*, and far remote in *Scotland*, it was eaſy for his Majeſty, under Colour of reſiſting the new Faction ſet up by the *French* in *Scotland*, to be more than reveng'd; for, whether in his Siſter's Name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a divided Country to his Devotion. And that this might be thought a greater Addition to him than *Milan* to the *French*, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other courſe, was to ſeek Cauſes of Quarrel, without Colour, either of Reaſon or Juſtice; to draw the *French* on himſelf; to interrupt his Way to *Scotland*, which now lay open; and laſtly, to make him loſe Credit both at home and abroad. The King, who knew the Oppoſition among his Counſellors, ſeemed to temper the Diverſity of Opinions in a middle Way; yet ſo, as, in Effect, he inclined to the Cardinal: Therefore he ſaid, he would hinder the Deſigns of *Francis*, without coming yet to a manifeſt Rupture; whereof alſo Occaſion was given: For as *Francis* being Confederate with *Charles*, now ſixteen Years old, and taking on him the Government of the *Low Countries*, as alſo with the *Venetians*, had renewed a War in *Italy*, and after a bloody Battle at *Marignan*, had compelled *Maximilian Sforza* to reſign his Right to *Milan*, and accept a Penſion in *France*: So our King, who ſuſpected this great Addition to *Francis*, might be damageable to him, reſolved ſecretly to aſſiſt the Emperor, with whom alſo the Pope and *Ferdinand* joined for the Defence of *Italy*, and Oppoſition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpoſe, by *Richard Pace*, late Servant to Cardinal *Bambridge*, and, for the preſent, Secretary of State, not only a huge Sum of Money, but giving him Commiſſion to treat both with the Emperor and *Franciſco Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the Loan thereof, and a ſtrict League upon certain Conditions: Among which it was agreed, That if *Milan* were recovered, ſuch a yearly Tribute or Penſion ſhould be paid our King as this Supply of Money did deſerve; *Wolſey* not forgetting alſo, after his uſual Manner, to capitulate for an annual Payment of ten thouſand Ducats to himſelf. Hereupon *Pace*, levying for the Emperor's Service certain Regiments of *Suiſſe*, who willingly entered this War, both as they were obliged to the Conſervation of *Sforza*'s Intereſt, and as they deſired to revenge their Loſs at *Marignan*, the Emperor in Perſon marching towards *Milan*. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to *Francis*, and had appointed an Interview at *Bononia*, for the accommodating of their mutual Affairs; the Pope promiſing *Parma* and *Piacenza* to *Francis*; and he, on the other Side, ſtipulated to recover *Urbin* for the Pope, as indeed followed the next Year; where alſo an Agreement called the *Concordat* was made, which the *French* Writers obſerve as derogatory to the Pragmatick Sanction, and the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church. Being thus upon his Way, *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed by *Francis* to defend his Acquiſitions in *Italy*, ſends to his King for Relief, preparing, in the mean Time, to defend himſelf the beſt he could: But *Maximilian* being now in a fair Way of obtaining his Deſires, retires ſuddenly into *Germany*; neither could he alledge other Cauſe of it, than a ſimple Diffidence

fidence of the *Suiſſe*, as *Polydore* hath it, though *Guicciardine* tells another reaſon; which was, that *Maximilian* receiving no Supply of Money from *England*, and being not provided himſelf to pay them, was forced to deſiſt. This encouraged the *French* and *Venetians* to proceed in their Deſigns of beſieging *Breſcia*, which they got; but being repuls'd at *Verona*, *Maximilian* takes Heart again, and ſends *Matteo*, Cardinal of *Sedun*, or *Sitten*, into *England*, to negotiate for a Supply of Money, and withal, to excuſe his late Retreat, both for his Diſtruſt of the *Suiſſe*, as alſo becauſe they openly refuſed to fight againſt ſome of their Countrymen, who were under *Bourbon*. Beſides, as he had long entertained our King with a Hope that he would reſign the Empire to him, ſo on this Occaſion, as I find by an Original from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, dated *May* 17, 1516. he renews the Propoſitions; offering, beſides, to give him the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the more Aſſurance whereof, deſiring our King to paſs the Seas to *Calais*, and ſo to take his Way through the *Low Countries*, till he came to the City of *Triers*; where he, together with the Electors, would meet, for Performance of the aforeſaid Reſignation of the Empire; which alſo being done, he propoſed that an Army from thence ſhould invade *France*, while our King, with one thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Archers, ſhould paſs through *Germany* to *Coyre*, and ſo over the Lake of *Como* to the State and City of *Milan*; where, having repos'd a while, *Maximilian* promiſed to go along with him to *Rome*, to ſee him receive the Imperial Crown; which being done, he ſaid, our King might chuſe whether he would make an honourable Peace with *France*; or War, for recovering his right; which, he ſaid, the Pope, and all Chriſtian Princes could not but well like of. And thus far *Wingfield*, to whoſe Relation, tho' our King gave as much Credit as a Profeſſion often made by *Maximilian* could merit; yet, as he conſidered withal, that there was much Improbability in the Offer, and the Action itſelf in a manner without Precedent; and, howſoever, that he ſhould engage his Kingdom for the Affairs of the Empire, it being then ſo ſcant of Monies, as *Maximilian* was nick-named *Pochi dinari*. So by his Anſwer in *June* following, he wiſhed *Wingfield* to tell *Maximilian*, that tho' he thankfully accepted thoſe Offers, yet that he deſired they might be kept ſecret until the *French* were driven out of *Italy*. For which Purpoſe, as well as the Reaſons before ſet down, I find he promiſed *Maximilian* ſome more Money, excuſing together the former Defect of Payment, with laying the Fault on ſome *Genoa* Merchants. Beſides, at the Cardinal of *Sedun*'s Intreaty in the Emperor's Name, he entered into a ſtrict League with *Maximilian*; which yet, becauſe it laſted not, I ſhall not particularly mention: For *Maximilian*, conſidering how little Truſt he could repoſe in our Cardinal for the obtaining of Money, and for the reſt, being wearied with the Wars, firſt makes a Truce with his Adverſaries, and particularly the *Venetians*; after which, for a Sum of Money, being two hundred thouſand Ducats, he reſtores *Verona* unto them, and then makes a Peace: To which Purpoſe the Death of *Ferdinand* did ſerve; who, departing this Life *Jan.* 23, 1515-16, did free himſelf rather than the World,

from

from not a few Troubles, whereof he was the firſt Procurer and Author.

This Prince, leaving to his Succeſſors the Stile of *Catholico*, was thought the moſt active and politick of his time; Inſomuch that he hardly took reſt, or ſuffered it in others. No Man knew better how to ſerve his turn on every Body, or to make their Ends conduce to his: But while he eſcaped not the Opinion and the Name of falſe, which yet his Country Writers palliate no otherwiſe than with calling it *Saberraynar*, he neither complied with his Dignity, nor indeed the Rules of Wiſdom; true Reaſon of State conſiſting of ſuch ſolid Maxims, that it hath as little need of Deceit as a ſure Game at Cheſs of a falſe Draught; there is no Uſe of it, therefore, among the wiſer Sort, as being only a Supply of Ignorance among the ruder and worſe Kind of States Men. Beſides, it appears ſo much worſe in publick Affairs than private, as it is never almoſt hid or unrevenged. Reputation again is ſtill loſt thereby; which yet, how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell than ſuch as imagine them without it. This is ſtrange of him, that being of vaſt Poſſeſſions, enriched much from the *Indies*, proſperous in almoſt all his Attempts, of a frugal Diſpoſition, and long Life, for he attained ſixty three; there was hardly yet found in his Coffers enough to diſcharge his Interment, tho' not very ſumptuous; that I may ſay nothing of his Debts. His Will and Teſtament declared his Daughter *Juana* of *Caſtile* to be his Heir. Only, becauſe of her defect of Wiſdom, and her Son's young Age, he appointed the Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to govern, till the ſaid *Charles* came to *Caſtile*. He left alſo to *Fernando*, Brother to *Charles*, great Poſſeſſions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly beſt; both that being born at *Alcala*, 1503. he was a Native of *Spain*, which his Brother was not, and that he gave much Hope of towardlineſs, and beſides, bore his Name; inſomuch, that could he have contriv'd it handſomely, it is thought he would have made him his Heir in *Spain*: Sundry Particularities whereof, concurring much with the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, being advertiſed to our King by Sir *John Stile*, our Ambaſſador there: Our King and Queen, as they had before done for *Lewis* the Twelfth, cauſed a ſolemn Obſequy for him to be kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*: But they mourned not long; the Birth of our Princeſs *Mary* following ſhortly after, upon the 18th of *February*, 1515-16.

Ferdinand thus dead, *Charles*, who thought himſelf as capable of governing *Caſtile*, as he was of the *Low Countries*, which *Maximilian* the laſt Year put into his Hands, ſends immediately to *Spain* to claim the Right and Title; which alſo was acknowledged; yet ſo, as it was thought fit to publiſh it, together with his Mother's; ſo that it ran thus, *Donna Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, Queen and King of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, &c. *Navarre*, which was now incorporated to them, being not forgotten, he determined alſo in Perſon to go thither; for which Purpoſe, as well as the better ſecuring the *Low Countries* in his Abſence, he paſs'd ſeveral Treaties with *Francis* and our King; the former was concluded at *Noyon* with the Commiſſioners of *Francis*, *Aug.* 15, 1516, where it was agreed, that within ſix Months following, *Henry*

d'Albret, *Jehan d'Albret*, and *Catharine* his Wife being newly dead, should be restored to the Kingdom of *Navarre*, or at least sufficient Content given him otherwise; and if not, that it should be lawful for *Francis* to assist him: That *Charles* should marry *Louise*, Daughter of *Francis*, then not a Year old, who, in Consideration thereof should renounce his Claim to *Naples*, and accept a Pension of one hundred thousand Crowns yearly: That the *Venetians* giving the Emperor two hundred thousand Ducats, he should deliver them *Verona*: Besides which, their Orders of Chevalry were sent to each other, and an Interview appointed, which yet took no more Effect than the Treaty itself. The latter League was formed at *London*, *Oct.* 29, 1516, betwixt *Joan* and *Charles* of *Castile*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, and our King.

I must now return to the Business of *Scotland*, intermitted a while, that I might not break the Context of my History, and therein call to mind how *John Stuart*, Duke of *Albany*, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his Arrival, which was *May* 20, 1515, declared Vice-Roy, till the King came to full Age: Neither did it hinder that he was born in the Time of his Father's Banishment; and for the Rest, such a Stranger that he could not speak the Country Language: For as a singular Opinion of his Worth went before, and the Recommendation of the *French* accompanied him, so was he saluted with that universal Applause wherewith New-comers that have given Hope of themselves, are usually welcomed. The Businesses of the Country were yet so strange to him, that he was forced to use the Directions of others. In this Number one *John Hepburne* did much appear. His first Advice was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well allied, and as it would gain him strong Enemies. That he had more Use of the Peoples Affections than to alter them at his first Entrance. That therefore his chief Endeavour should be to make good his Authority; neither should he oppress any but those who were in Estate to oppose him, amongst which three were most considerable. *Archibald Douglas* was one, who, besides that, he had married the Queen, was a Person much in Favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busy, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such as alone would suffice for a great Design.

The Vice-Roy, taking this Advice into Consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglas*, lest the Queen, for protecting him, should draw the *English* into *Scotland*, which he most doubted. Besides, he was so gracious with the greatest Part of the Kingdom, that he was to be undermined rather than assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his Wealth that made him envied. Only *Humes* he thought it not amiss to question; as having between vehement Suspicions and some Proofs, not a little Matter against him. *Humes* having some Notice hereof, changes his Party, and now strives to combine with *Douglas* and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the Fortune of the King, who was fallen into the Hands of one, who besides that he was a Stranger to his Country, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heir to the Crown, after the King and his Brother.

That

That this was the more probable, becauſe his Father *Alexander* (as the *Scotiſh* Writers have it) had taken the like Courſe with his eldeſt Brother *James* the Third, whom he would have diſpoſſeſs'd of the Kingdom. That there was no way to avoid theſe Dangers, but to fly with her Son into *England*, (to which alſo our King had perſuaded her privately) and recommend the reſt to his Care.

This Advice (whether ſpoken by *Humes* to diſcover the Queen's Deſigns, and thereupon to make his Advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed think this to be the beſt Way for the King's Safety) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it eaſily, thought fit to ſeize on *Sterling Caſtle*, in which the young King and his Mother were, and put a Guard on them; yet admits ſome, who were of great Credit, to give by turns their Directions for the young King's Education, and uſeth briefly ſome ſuch Providences as might argue all was done with a good Intention; among which, the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King was moſt remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his Brother *William*, refuſing to obey a Citation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proſcribed, fled to *England*; *Douglas* alſo taking the Queen with him, followed ſhortly after, ſtaying yet at *Harbottle-Caſtle* in *Nortumberland*, by our King's Command, till further Order was given. It appeared not yet, whether this were an Eſcape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand conſenting to their Departure, only to be freer for his Deſigns. Howſoever, he ſent inſtantly to our King, to clear himſelf from all ſiniſter Practices againſt the Queen. He alſo labours, with the Friends of *Douglas* and *Humes*, to draw them home; promiſing for this Purpoſe all the good Conditions that could be required. *Humes* takes the Invitation, and returns; *Douglas* alſo, conſidering the Queen was with Child, and near her Time, and therefore unable to remove any Way far, makes uſe of this Occaſion to ſettle his Affairs at home. The Queen in the mean while, being, *Oct.* 7, 1515, brought to Bed of a Daughter, whom ſhe called *Margaret*, by eaſy Journies comes to the *Engliſh* Court in the next Spring, 1516.

Yet were not Buſineſſes in *Scotland* ſo quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having ſubmitted himſelf, as aforeſaid, to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the Cuſtody of his Brother-in-law *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, upon pain of Death yet if he ſuffered him to depart; ſhortly after, by repreſenting to *Hamilton* ſome Nearneſs of Blood on his Part, which might enable him to be Vice-Roy, perſuaded the Earl to eſcape away together with him; while the Vice-Roy being not grieved, perchance, thus to be quit of thoſe he ſuſpected moſt, ſeems now to be at reſt: Only he would not omit to take this Advantage againſt *Hamilton*, therefore he battered and took his Caſtle; *Humes* in the mean Time ravaging the Country about *Dunbar*. The Vice-Roy hearing this, returns to his wonted Invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come back. *Hamilton* accepts it firſt, and *Humes* after; but being ſummoned again to come to Parliament, thinks fit, for redeeming his former Fault, when he laſt abſented himſelf, to appear. He perſuades his Brother *William* alſo to go with him, though many of their Friends oppoſed

it; for as his Brother was equal with him in Power and Authority, ſo the keeping him back would have conduced, perchance, to the ſecuring of both. But he, confident of good Uſage, neglects the Advice, and comes with his Brother to Court; where being ſeiſed on, they were committed to divers Priſons, for Crimes objected againſt them; and particularly againſt *Alexander*, who was thought to have uſed ſome Treachery in *Flodden* Battle, if not to have kill'd the King. All which, though he conceived, either ſuggeſted maliciouſly againſt him, or at leaſt by a long Intermiſſion, to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevailed not; his Head and his Brother's being ſtruck off in *October*, 1516. Shortly after which, as *Leſly* hath it, the King's younger Brother *Alexander* dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtained in Parliament to be declared next Heir: Which being done, he enters, in *January* following, into a League with *Francis*, and ſo returned to that Country, only that he might manifeſt his Pretences were without any Ambition, which might derogate from his Loyalty.

The Queen of *Scots* coming to *London*, *May* 3, 1516. was much welcomed by the King, the Queen, and her Siſter Queen *Mary*; who all enjoy'd therein a Happineſs rare for Princes in that kind, which was to ſee one another after they had been once diſpoſed of abroad: The King, for the more Honour of her coming, commanded a Juſts, in which Sir *William Kingſton* was, both himſelf and Horſe, overthrown by him.

This Year alſo, thoſe who managed any Money for the King in the Wars, or otherwiſe, were, by the Cardinal's Command, call'd in Queſtion. Among whom, ſome by Bribery, and ſome by Cunning, eſcaped; others being condemned in great Sums; ſo that the Cardinal might be ſaid to have in him ſo much of a good Servant, as he willingly ſuffered none other to deceive his Maſter. To accompany this Severity alſo, he cauſed Perjury to be rigorouſly puniſhed, wherein I can never enough commend him: All other Treacheries extending, for the moſt part, but to the depriving of Life, Poſſeſſions, or good Name; but this ſuch a one, as without much Labour, may take away all together. Some Courts alſo were erected in the Favour of poor People, againſt the Oppreſſion of the Great; which at the Beginning were much frequented; but at laſt, the People receiving many Delays and Diſſatisfactions in their Suits, every one left them, and went to the Common Law; as fearing, under this Pretence, an Innovation. I muſt not deny unto the Cardinal, yet, the Attribute of Juſt, in all Affairs of publick Judicature; whereof, if we may believe Authors, he was ever apparently ſtudious: Therefore, where Diſorders were committed, he ſeverely puniſhed, unleſs the Parties found Means to make their private Peace.

I will conclude this Year with a Paſſage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing ſtill the Council of *Lateran*, among other Reformations, propoſed that of the *Calendar*, inviting, for this Purpoſe, our King, to ſend ſome of our moſt learned Divines and Aſtronomers thither; but as it appears not what Anſwer our King return'd to this Breve, dated *July* 10, 1516, ſo neither ſhould I have inſerted any thing hereof, but that it ſeems they were not ſufficiently

ſatisfied

ſatisfied concerning the Principles from which the Calculation ſhould be deduced.

About this Time a Riot and Sedition in *England* happened in this Manner: Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London*, of the poorer Sort, being offended that all their chief Cuſtomers were won from them by the Diligence and Induſtry of Strangers; and, for the reſt, pretending to have received from them divers Contempts, Affronts and Injuries, found ſome Occaſions, and took others, to make an Inſurrection againſt them; and the rather, for that the ſeditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincoln*, a Broker, had not a little incited them; who taking Texts, as near as he could find in the Scriptures, to this Purpoſe, traduced the Senſe thereof, even to encouraging the People to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not ſo witty as the laſt, neither ended it ſo well: For two Apprentices playing only at Buckerels in the Street, late on *May Eve*, contrary to the Lord Mayor's Command, who, upon Notice taken of the Citizens Intent, was charged by the King's Council, to require, under great Penalties, all Houſholders to keep themſelves and their Servants within Doors from Nine at Night till Seven of the Clock the next Morning, an Alderman came to arreſt one of them; but the ſaid Apprentice thinking therein that an antient Cuſtom for taking Liberty at that Time more than any other, was infringed, cried *Clubs*. Hereupon they came forth in ſo great Numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the reſt, finding themſelves in a greater Multitude than to do nothing, broke open ſome Priſons, and took out divers Perſons committed thither for abuſing and hurting of Strangers. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffs then preſent, hinder this; nor Sir *Thomas More*, then Judge of the Sheriffs Court in *London*, but afterwards of the King's Counſel, tho' much reſpected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Priſoners being now ſet looſe, adviſe the Multitude to run to the Houſe of one *Meutas*, a *Picard*, much hated by them; where they kill'd ſome, chaſed the reſt, and rifled his Goods: Hence they went again to other Strangers Houſes, which they ſpoiled in like manner. The Cardinal hearing this, and being not much more in the Peoples Favour than the Stangers, fortifies his Houſe with Men and Ordnance: But the Lieutenant of of the *Tower* proceeded otherwiſe, and diſcharged ſome of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit, this made them not ſo much deſiſt, as that having revenged themſelves as far as the Offence taken ſeem'd to require, they thought good, about Three in the Morning, to ſcatter and go home; but in their Way they were apprehended by the City Officers firſt, and afterwards by ſome Followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surry*, who hearing of this Diſorder, and taking the Inns of Court Men with them, cleared the Streets of this unruly Company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examined, and Dr. *Bele* and *John Lincoln* ſent to the *Tower*. About three Days after, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, his Son, and divers others, with about one thouſand three hundred armed Men, came into the City, and joining with the Lord-Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chief Offenders, to the Terror of the

Citizens; who were the more afraid, in that the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the killing of a Prieſt of his in *Cheap*, was reported to have ſaid, as our Hiſtorians have it, in ſome Paſſion, *I pray God I may once have the Citizens in my danger.* This, tho' perchance a Calumny forged againſt the Duke, wrought ſo, that they thought themſelves over-rigorouſly dealt with in that Statute of 2 *Hen.* V. *cap.* 6. which makes Breakers of Truce and Safe-conducts guilty of High Treaſon, was extended againſt them; for they thought this Offence reached not ſo far, and therefore that a leſs capital Puniſhment might have ſerved: However, much Mercy were ſhewed; for, of two hundred ſeventy eight Perſons, which were Priſoners, *Lincoln* only, who was thought the moſt ſeditious, and three or four more, were drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; the reſt, who were about ten, ſuffered nothing extraordinary in their Death; but that for the more Example, they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the others were thus pardon'd: The Recorder of *London*, and divers Aldermen, coming in black to Court, and deſiring moſt humbly to be heard, the King, after ſome Admonition and Check, as if the better Sort had connived at this Riot, refers the reſt to the Cardinal, then Lord Chancellor. In Concluſion, the King ſitting in *Weſtminſter*, and being attended with his principal Nobility and Officers, and the Lord-Mayor; all the Priſoners in white Shirts, and Halters about their Necks, into which Habit divers alſo, not yet diſcovered, put themſelves, to be capable of the King's Pardon, did, upon their Knees, crave Mercy, which the King graciouſly granted; permitting all the Gibbets, which much ſcandalized the Citizens, to be taken down.

Shortly after the Sweating Sickneſs, (call'd for the Propriety by which it ſeized on the *Engliſh* Nation chiefly, *Sudor Anglicus*) did much infect the Kingdom, being of that Malignity as within the Space of three Hours it kill'd. This cauſed the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Terms, 1517, to remove *Trinity* Term, 1518, to *Oxford*, where yet it continued but one Day, and was adjourned again to *Weſtminſter*. Nevertheleſs divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers in the King's Court died thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others of Quality; the vulgar Sort ſo commonly periſhing, as in ſome Towns it took away half the People, in others the third Part.

Let us look now a while on foreign Buſineſs. *Maximilian* continuing the fore-mentioned Treaties with our King, concerning divers publick Affairs, and particularly that of rendring the Empire, was deſired by King *Henry*, to give him a Meeting in the *Low Countries*. But *Maximilian* returning Anſwer, that to excuſe that Labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Worceſter* and Dr. *Cuthbert Tonſtal* to him, lately then come into *Flanders*. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great Diſſimulation, they obſerved in him, that while on the one Side he entertained our King with the Offer of the Empire, *&c.* on the other, he continued his Treaty, begun in *December*, 1516, with the *French*. Beſides, his Grand-child *Charles* refuſed to confirm the late League with our King; ſo that our Agents thought fit to repreſent to his Grace how little was to be expected, becauſe the Emperor

varied

varied ſo much in his Offers; ſometimes ſaying, he would reſign the Empire to *Henry* VIII. and himſelf remain King of the *Romans*, which Honour his Poſterity ſhould inherit. Sometimes that he would reſign the Empire to *Charles* of *Caſtile*, and make *Henry* King of the *Romans*, and his Grand-child, *Ferdinand*, King of *Auſtria*, and himſelf Marſhal of the Empire, that ſo he may be equal to the Electors: But as Dr. *Tonſtal* acquainted the King, that the Emperor muſt be elect out of the *German* Nation; that King *Henry*, in accepting the Empire, muſt confeſs *England* to be under the Empire; laſtly, that he muſt be firſt King of the *Romans*, when yet the Emperor had declared he meant to hold that Title ſtill: So our King rejected theſe Propoſitions as vain and artificial, only to draw Money from him; and our Agents return'd, having only obtain'd at laſt an Oath from *Charles*, and Queen *Joan* his Mother, for Performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with ſome ſmall Alterations. *Maximilian* alſo, about the ſame Time, departed out of *Flanders*, having firſt concluded a League at *Cambray*, betwixt himſelf, *Francis*, and his Grand-child *Charles*, by which they confirmed the League at *Noyon*, and *Bruxells*, reſolved on a War againſt the *Turk*, as it was now projected in the Council of *Lateran*, and appointed an Interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place alſo was left for the Pope to enter as Protector thereof, and for King *Henry*.

This being told to our King, made him think how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore he cauſed a Cittadel to be built there; not neglecting together to prevail himſelf of the Pope's Mediation for a general Peace; which, as it was willingly embraced, ſo our King was intreated to ſend him two hundred thouſand Ducats, on Security, for that War, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for ſome Affairs in *Italy*: Who alſo ſent a *Croiſade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other Places: The Conditions of which were, That whoſoever performed certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, ſhould have their Sins forgiven. Neither was there, in the Uſe of theſe *Indulgences*, that Diſtinction of Perſons or Sins made, which from ſo grave a Paſtor might be expected; ſo that, promiſcuouſly, all Men who would come to the Price, as ſome Authors have it, were not only promiſed everlaſting Bliſs, but made capable of delivering the Souls of others out of Purgatory.

When thoſe *Indulgences* firſt came forth, no Divine Worſhip in the Weſt Parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* preſcribed, was publickly known. For though ſome Oppoſers of the Papal Authority had appeared long ſince, yet wanting thoſe Supporters who might eſtabliſh and uphold their Doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their Impreſſions were yet derived to Poſterity; tho' in ſo obſcure and perplex'd a Manner, that they ſerved rather to ſhew Errors, than rectify them; forming, for the reſt, no eminent and viſible Body; or at leaſt, no other than ſuch as quickly diſappear'd: So that all thoſe, who for the preſent diſſented inwardly from any Opinion commonly taught, kept yet the Unity of the Church: Of which Kind, tho' I doubt not there were many, yet by diſtinguiſhing in private only the good

Doctrines

Doctrines from the ill, they both conſerved their Conſciences, avoided Schiſm, and maintained, towards God and among themſelves, an Uniformity; being therein not unaptly compared to Sheep, and other Creatures, who in Paſtures, where both wholſome and hurtful Herbs grow, chuſe yet only the better Sort. While thus they might not only reach to Antiquity in all Times, but Univerſality in all Places; ſince not the Men who may err, but the Doctrine giveth the true Denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore, that there was always a Catholick and a viſible Doctrine in the more important Parts thereof. And thus were all Controverſies, ſave thoſe which the Subtilties of the School-men brought forth, declined: Neither did Men think themſelves bound to ſtudy the Intricacies and Sophiſms of Authors, in Matters impertinent to Salvation; but were contented with a ſingle Faith in God, the Comfort of a good Life, and Hope of a better upon true Repentance; taking the reſt, for the moſt Part, upon the Faith of the Church: By which Means, as Peace was generally preſerved, ſo it was not doubted by thoſe who ſearched into the primitive Times, but that together divers new Doctrines, if not Errors, were crept into the Church Diſcipline. Among which, ſome yet might have been more excuſable, had they not been ſo ſeverely commanded, that the common Sort underſtood them for little leſs than neceſſary Articles of Faith. While thus they were held in much Subjection, as being not able ſufficiently to diſtinguiſh the true and eſſential Parts from thoſe that were added only for Convenience or Ornament.

But, as Learning now, by the Benefit of Printing, became publick, ſo almoſt all Men, either through Reading or Converſation, were literate; inſomuch, that they durſt look into the Principles of Religion, and take upon them to diſcuſs the Parts thereof. Among theſe, none was more famous than one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Frier about thirty-two Years old, living at *Wittenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. This Man, having obſerved divers Things, not mentioned in the Belief, called *Symbolum Apoſtolorum*, to be introduced lately, examines all; beginning firſt with the *Indulgences* that came out this Year; though ſo modeſtly, as that he acquainted only his Superior the Arch-biſhop of *Mentz* of ſome Abuſe therein, and prayed Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement Wit, to ſet forth ninety five Concluſions, and preach publickly againſt them; which yet he ſubmitted to the Pope by Letter dated in *June*, 1518. *Maximilian* alſo foreſeeing whither theſe Diviſions might tend, and the rather becauſe he found them favoured, not only by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, but divers other great Perſonages, wrote to the Pope, deſiring him to moderate Things ſo, as all Cauſe might be taken away, not only of Diſputations, but concerning impertinent Points of Religion. But the Pope, having about thoſe Times, betwixt publick Affairs and private Liberalities, ſo exhauſted the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue, as it was neceſſary to ſupply the Wants thereof by extraordinary Means, he purſued his Deſign, uſing therein much the Help of *Lorenzo Pucci Cardinal Sanctorum* the Fourth; who, finding

finding the Schiſm of the Council of *Piſa* ſo far extinguiſhed, as the *Roman* Church needed not fear to re-aſſume her former Authority, confirmed the Pope therein. So that, though for not above four hundred Years, they had taken on them this and divers Authorities, not known before, he perſuaded their Continuance, leſt any Thing of that Kind ſhould ſeem invalid or uſurped; eſpecially where the Pretence was, if not the ſame, yet of a like Condition. Whereupon, looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* II. had not only given *Indulgences* to thoſe who went perſonally to the War of the Holy-Land; but that his Succeſſors had beſtowed them on ſuch, who being not able to go, would maintain a Soldier there: And laſtly, having diſcovered that they were granted even againſt thoſe that were diſobedient to the *Roman* Church, and alſo to thoſe who gave Money for building or repairing Churches in *Rome*, *&c.* He neither queſtioned their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy Kinſmen and Favourites, and as it maintain'd his Authority. Whereupon a War againſt the *Turks* being projected, he ſent forth theſe *Indulgences*; granting beſides, the Liberty of eating Eggs and white Meats on Faſt Days; of chuſing their Confeſſor, and ſome ſuch Habilities. Had this yet been all, leſs Scandal had followed: But without regard to the End for which they were given, he, by way of Anticipation, beſtowed on ſeveral Perſons the Money to be levied; aſſigning, among others, to *Magdalen* his Siſter, and Wife to *Franciſco Cibo*, natural Son to Pope *Innocent* VIII. all that Quarter from *Saxony* to the Seaſide. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himſelf had been made Cardinal at fourteen Years of Age, 1489. and therein given a Beginning to the Eccleſiaſtical Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Medici*. Beſides, he was indebted to *Cibo* for his Entertainment at *Genoa*, at which Time he was forced to fly the Perſecution of *Alexander* VI. They again committing this Buſineſs to *Arembaldo*, a Biſhop, but a covetous Perſon, much Rapine was uſed: The *Indulgences*, as is ſaid, being generally granted to ſuch as gave moſt for them: And as this cauſed much Offence, ſo again the Friers Hermits, by whom they were ordinarily diſpenſed, were not a little troubled, that the Dominicans had now Charge thereof: All which, together with the ſinful and inordinate Life of certain Commiſſioners deputed under *Arembaldo*, for thoſe *Levies*, together with the ſo notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinalſhips, as *Sandoval* himſelf diſſembles it not, *Anno* 1517. being notified, occaſioned theſe following Revolutions, which take up a great Part of this Hiſtory. For, as theſe *Indulgences*, upon further Examination, were found to be no elder than is above-mentioned, nor much confirmed but by a Bull of *Clement* VI. 1350. who abridged *Jubilees* from every hundred Year to the fiftieth, not antiently practiſed at all, but for Relaxation of Penances, or Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, without that they were ſaid to deliver from any Thing twards God, many Exceptions were taken againſt them; ſo that, tho' to the Merits of ſuch Saints as did Works of Supererogation, being a Treaſure which might be conſumed, they had added the Merits of Chriſt, by

way of Supply; yet *Luther*, and others after him, vexed all this again, with that Succeſs which ſhall be told hereafter. Neither did there want ſuch as oppoſed them in *England*; amongſt whom, one who was zealous of God's Honour and the Publick Good, obſerving that not only Sins towards God were pardoned for Money, but Offences towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates, as ſhall be told more particularly in its Place, where it will appear to what Exceſs this Abuſe grew, ſpake after this Manner to ſome of the principal Clergy. That Puniſhments might have been left to God, but that they ſerve to deter others. But who would be afraid now, when he knows at what Rate he may put away his Crimes? Of what Uſe would our Threatnings for Sins be, if they grow ſo contemptible as that a little Sum of Money would diſcharge them? Is not this to make Heaven venal? Doth not this reflect ſo much on Chriſtian Faith, that it makes a new Price for Sin? Believe me, my Lords, to make our Faults cheap, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that Reverence which is due to Virtue, but to diſſolve thoſe Bonds which knit and hold together both Civil and Religious Worſhip. For when Men ſee what they are to pay for their Faults, what will they care for other Redemption? I would I could ſay we were not already fallen under ſome Diſeſteem, when by our enjoining of eaſy Faſting, Prayer, and ſome little Alms, Men find they ſuffer no more than what they would gladly endure to ſin again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our Penances. Let us not then make the Myſteries of Salvation mercenary, or propoſe everlaſting Happineſs on thoſe Terms, that it may be obtain'd for Money, which we find ſo ſeldom got without Deceit or Miſchief: Let Mens Sins rather lie againſt them ſtill, than open ſuch eaſy Ways to remit them; and take this Advice in good part, ſince it ſo much concerns us all. What Effect this Advice took, will appear hereafter.

The Diſſentions of *Italy* being for the preſent compos'd, *Francis* firſt thought himſelf at Leiſure now to reſent our King's aſſiſting of *Maximilian*: But becauſe he conſidered as well that he ſhould get nothing that Way; and that withal, he was inform'd this Buſineſs coſt our King ſo much, that the Loſs thereof might be taken for a reaſonable Revenge; for I find in our Records, that in one Year it coſt our King five hundred thouſand, or ſix hundred thouſand Ducats, he diſſembled the Matter. Therefore, converting Malice into Guile, his only Labour was how to corrupt the Cardinal; whom, at length, between Bribes and Flatteries, he ſo dextrouſly won, that he durſt commit his Deſigns to him; theſe yet were ſuch, as the Cardinal would not abruptly diſcloſe to the King. Therefore he ſaid not much at a Time of them, nor without making the King firſt ſome Preſent, which yet was but Part of that which *Francis* gave him; ſo that while the King conſidered the Workmanſhip or Rarity of the Gift, he would convey his Meaning, and give thoſe Impreſſions he moſt deſired ſhould remain in the King's Mind. At theſe Opportunities, he made no Difficulty to ſay, that *Francis* ſought to him by Letters earneſtly, concealing in the mean while his large Bribes, and that all this did reflect on his Majeſty, whom

that

that King did addreſs himſelf to, by his Mediation. That others, perchance, would ſuppreſs and hide theſe Things, as being enough to breed Suſpicion; but that he would ever proceed clearly and openly with his Majeſty: According to which Liberty, he would take the Boldneſs to adviſe, that ſince the *French* King did ſue to his Majeſty in ſo ſubmiſſive a Way, as to begin at his Servants, he could not but think that he was in earneſt. And for *Maximilian*, as being often diſoblig'd, little Help, or indeed Truſt, could be expected. Our King alſo conſidering that ſo much hereof was true, that if he could not make Friendſhip with *Francis*, it were not amiſs yet to avoid War, embraces the Motion; of which *Wolſey* makes his Advantage, and brings again another Meſſage from *Francis*, to ſuch Effect, that our King ſaid openly, that he ſaw well now *Wolſey* would govern them both. The *French* King having obtained this Intereſt in the Cardinal, beſides new Gifts, ſends him divers Letters, terming him Lord and Father, and his Advices Oracles, till at laſt he thought he might open unto him his Deſign of having *Tournay* re-delivered for a certain Sum of Money. *Wolſey* promiſeth his Aſſiſtance, and hereupon brings the Buſineſs to the King; and from thence, by Command, to the Council; where he openly declares what vaſt Sums it had coſt the King to win *Therouene* and *Tournay*; in the former of which he had got nothing but the gratifying of an unthankful Perſon, which was *Maximilian*; in the other, little elſe but a Number of unuſeful and ſuſpected Subjects; who, that they might be kept in Order and Obedience, would coſt more than they were worth; the Charge of the Garriſon alone being above twelve thouſand Pounds yearly. That, after all this Expence, yet we could hold it no longer than it pleaſed either of the two Princes, between whoſe Dominions it ſtood; ſince, being ſo remote from the *Engliſh* Pale, it was improbable that from thence we could ſuccour it; ſo that it were better to let it go fairly, as for a Sum of Money, or the like, than to ſtrive to hold it under ſo weak and dangerous a Title, as the Sufferance of his Enemies; one of which, being *Francis*, he thought by the Reſtitution thereof, might be obliged to be his Friend, and the Affront he might receive through the taking it by Force, avoided. Neither could *Maximilian* take it ill in point of Juſtice, if we reſtored to *Francis* a Town formerly in his Poſſeſſion. This being done, that it were moſt expedient for all Chriſtendom to join in League with one another, and againſt the *Turk*, who lately had made himſelf formidable. Theſe Reaſons were valid enough, had they not come from ſo falſe a Ground as the Corruption of the Cardinal, which *Polydore* continually inculcates; therefore they were embraced by all, but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Durham*, now Lord Privy Seal; only it was requir'd how much that Money was, and of what Kind thoſe Conditions were? Whereupon it was declared, that if it pleaſed the King to hear the Ambaſſadors of *Francis*, he had already demanded Leave for them to come over, which alſo he had Reaſon to endeavour; for as I find by our Records, he and *Nicholas de Villeroy*, the *French* Reſident, had in a manner concluded the Buſineſs in private already. This being granted,

Guillaume Gouffier, Seignieur de Bonivet, and Admiral of *France*, and *Eſtinne de Pencher*, Biſhop of *Paris*, came with an unruly Number for an Ambaſſage, (their Train being twelve hundred) unto *Greenwich*: The *French* yet, betwixt Pride and Diſſimulation, thought fit not to begin at the Buſineſs they moſt deſired to effect: Therefore their firſt Overture was a Propoſition for a League in general, betwixt all Chriſtian Princes, againſt the *Turk*, projected by the Pope the Year before: That the Authors hereof ſhould be both their Majeſties: That the Pope, Emperor, and King of *Spain*, ſhould be admitted hereunto, as principal Contractors, if they deſired it, within a certain Time, and their Allies and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into Conſideration, upon the ſecond of *October*, 1518, a League was concluded; which, for being ſingular in its Kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to the future Ages, I ſhall more at large recite, both out of our and the *French* Records; and the rather, for that it ſeems to have been the Rule by which our King framed his Actions many Years after, as will appear in this Hiſtory.

That perfect Friendſhip and Amity ſhould continue for ever betwixt them and their Succeſſors, by Land and Sea; wherein likewiſe all their Subjects and Allies were to be compriſed: That they ſhould be the Friends of the Friends, and the Enemies of the Enemies of each other; inſomuch, that if any of the ſaid Confederates, or other, being a Stranger to them, ſhould invade any of the ſaid Confederates preſent Dominions, they ſhould give the ſaid Aſſailant an Admonition to deſiſt and make Reparation; which if he did not within the Space of a Month, accept, they ſhould declare themſelves his Enemies; and two Months after, both by Sea and Land, make War againſt him at an equal Charge; allowing for this Purpoſe free Paſſage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if Civil Wars did ariſe in any of their ſaid Countries, none of the Confederates ſhould meddle; unleſs the ſaid Civil Wars were kindled and maintained by ſome foreign Prince. That no one of the Confederates ſhould ſuffer their Subjects to bear Arms againſt the other, or ſhould levy any Forces upon Strangers, to be employed againſt the ſaid Confederates, upon pain of being held a Violator of the ſaid League; which, notwithſtanding, ſhould hold firm among the reſt. That none of the ſaid Confederates ſhould take the Vaſſal or Subject of the other into Protection, without the Conſent of the King to whom formerly he owed Obedience: That all Rebels, Traitors, or ſuſpected of High-Treaſon, and Fugitives, ſhould not be received, entertained, or favoured, in any of the Dominions of the ſaid Confederates; but that, after twenty Days warning and Requiſition, they ſhould be remanded. That the Pope ſhould have Notice of this League, upon Condition yet, that if he accepted theſe Articles within four Months after, he ſhould be a principal Contractor in this League, and names his Allies alſo. That all the Princes before-named ſhould, within the Space of four Months, be received as principal Contractors, if they deſired it, otherwiſe not, without Declaration and Requeſt to the ſaid two Kings. That any other King, Potentate, or chief Lord,

Lord, might upon his Suit, be admitted to have the Benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principal Contractor. Laſtly, That howſoever other Princes ſhould obſerve or accept the ſaid Treaty, that yet it ſhould remain inviolable betwixt them two.

Leo X. hereupon, though more deſirous of a general Confederacy againſt the *Turk*, accepted this League as an Introduction thereunto upon the laſt of *December* following; naming together ſome leſſer Allies, whom he deſired might be compriſed, the *Venetians* having been nominated already, both by *Henry* and *Francis*. Upon mature Deliberation alſo, *Charles* King of *Spain*, entered into it; and the rather, in that *Maximilian* the Emperor conceived that all Chriſtian Princes might the ſooner be diſpoſed thereby to War againſt the *Turk*; though, as he died ſhortly after, the League ſeem'd reſtrain'd chiefly to *Henry*, *Francis*, and *Charles*, and particularly to the firſt Contractors, tho' not with ſuch Confidence and Fervency as it firſt began. To reinforce this Treaty alſo, which was but an Introduction to another, *Francis* did propoſe a Match betwixt the Dauphin, his Son, and the Princeſs *Mary*, which accordingly was concluded two Days after, upon theſe Conditions.

That our King ſhould give with his Daughter 333000 Crowns, and *Francis* as great a Jointure as any King of that Country ever gave. That within four Months the Sponſals ſhould be made by the two Kings in their Childrens Name. That if the Dauphin died before this Marriage, the next Son of *Francis* ſhould take the Princeſs on the ſame Conditions. And if the Princeſs died firſt, the King's next Daughter, if he had any, ſhould be given. For further Teſtimony of this deſired Alliance, our King condeſcended alſo to reſtore *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and St. *Amand*, and the Territories adjacent, upon the Payment of ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, at certain Terms; for which Payment, as alſo performing of the Marriage, ſufficient Hoſtages ſhould be delivered by the ſaid *Francis*. That yet, out of this Sum, the ſaid *Francis* might detain 333000 Crowns for the aforeſaid Dowry of the ſaid Princeſs *Mary*, in caſe ſhe did not inherit the Crown of *England*. That the ſaid *French* King ſhould pardon, and take into his Favour all the Inhabitants of the ſaid City of *Tournay*, and Places adjacent, reſerving to them all ancient Privileges; and that King *Henry* ſhould thereupon releaſe the Oath of Obedience they had made him. That, whereas the Citizens of *Tournay* did yet owe to King *Henry* twenty three thouſand Livres, which now the *French* King had ſtipulated to pay, he ſhould ſubſtitute the *French* King to receive it of them again. That King *Henry* might carry from *Tournay* all the Artillery, Munition, and Inſtruments of War, either offenſive, or defenſive, Victuals, *&c.* That in caſe the intended Marriage ſhould take no Effect by the Default of *Francis*, that then *Tournay* ſhould be delivered back again to King *Henry*, or his Heirs, together with the Profits received in the mean while, without any Deduction for Reparation of the ſaid Place; and that the Inhabitants thereof ſhould be diſcharged from all Superiority, or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledged to the ſaid *French* King: upon Condition that the ſaid King *Henry* ſhould reſtore the ſaid *French* King the

Sum of ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, or ſo much as he ſhould receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage ſhould happen on the Part of King *Henry*, that then, upon Payment of the entire Sum of ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, *Tournay* ſhould remain to the *French* King. And herein our Records and *du Tillet* do ſo concur, as the chief Differences ſeems to be only about the Sum of 500000 Crowns, which our Records ſay was the Penalty on either Side, for Non-performance of the Marriage. There was alſo at the ſame Time a Treaty concerning the Admiralties in both Kingdoms, having Relation to one made the Year precedent *July* 16. and that of *April* 5, 1515. by which it was agreed, that all Suits, upon Occaſion of Depredation by Sea, might, from the ordinary Judge, be removed to *London*, before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, or their Deputies, and the Maſter of the Rolls of *England*; and at *Rouen* before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of *France*, their Lieutenants, and the firſt Preſident of the Parliament in *Normandy*; who, upon Appeal of the Parties on either Side, were bound to give a definitive Sentence within the Space of one Year; which, in Caſe of Neceſſity, might be executed by ſtrong Hand, or main Force. The ſaid Appeals yet might be brought before the King's Council on either Side, there to be determined definitively within the Space of ſix Months, *&c.* All Things being thus ſettled for future Quietneſs, the Princeſs *Mary* was promiſed and betrothed to the Dauphin in St. *Paul*'s, in *London*. And the Earl of *Worceſter*, with *Nicholas Weſt*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Train equal to that of *Bonivet*, were ſent to require Performance from *Francis*, who thereupon took his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for Payment on the Rendition of *Tournay*, and contracted the Sponſals in the Name of his Son; in Conſequence whereof, *Feb.* 8. following, the Earl of *Worceſter* delivered *Tournay*, though not unwillingly, ſince it was the King's Pleaſure, yet with ſo much ſcruple, (having been by the Name of Lord *Herbert* at the taking thereof) as he would not ſuffer the *Mareſchal de Chaſtillon* to enter it with Banner diſplayed, but rolled up, it being, as he ſaid, voluntarily yielded, and not gotten by Conqueſt: Our Writers add, that by *Francis* four hundred thouſand Crowns wsre allowed our King for the Building of the Citadel; but becauſe neither the *French* nor our Records, (from whom I have taken the Effect of theſe Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the Diſcretion of the Reader: Only I muſt not forget what I find concerning the Cardinal's Satisfaction in this Particular, who had twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois* yearly, for relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. As for the other chief Counſellors, *Polydore* ſaith, a certain Sum of Money ſhould be diſtributed among them by the *French* King, in ſuch Manner as his Anceſtors had formerly uſed to do. Thus was *Tournay* reſtored again to the *French*, however divers concurrent Articles were not performed afterwards, as will appear. And here I muſt obſerve it a little fatal to this Princeſs *Mary*, to be a kind of Author of the Loſs of all our Poſſeſſions in *France*, *Tournay* being reſtored upon Pretence of Dowry now, and *Calais* loſt in the Time of her Match with *Philip* the Second.

Howbeit, It was agreed betwixt them, that *John* Duke of *Albany* ſhould not be permitted to return to *Scotland* any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in Succeſſion to *James* his Nephew, ſhould have Charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed, that this young King ſhould be comprehended in the League: This Particular being reſolved a good while ſince, though not fully ſigned till now, was the Cauſe that Queen *Margaret* returned to *Scotland*, where her Huſband met her at *Berwick*; yet ſo, as there was not thenceforth that entire Love formerly obſerved betwixt them. Our Ambaſſadors being ſtill in *France*, the Biſhop of *Ely* went to ſee the Queen at *Amboiſe*, from whence he certified our King, that he ſaw the Dauphin, now almoſt a Year old, and embraced and kiſſed him. Four Days after the abovementioned Treaty, being the eighth of *October*, 1518. another was concluded for an Interview betwixt the Kings, accompanied with their Queens; and Madam *Louiſe*, the Mother of *Francis*, and their Houſhold Officers. The Time appointed was the laſt of *July*, 1519, at *Sandinfield* in *Picardy*, or ſome other neutral Place, according as their Deputies on either Side ſhould adviſe, which upon the firſt of *April* following were to meet together for that Purpoſe.

While Affairs paſs'd thus with *France* and *Scotland*, the Pope ſent *Laurentius Campejus*, Cardinal, as Legate hither; to procure a general League among Chriſtian Princes, or at leaſt a quinquennial Truce, for a War againſt the *Turk*. Beſides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy; as alſo a Commiſſion, ſpecified in a Bull, wherein Cardinal *Wolſey* and himſelf had legatine Power to viſit Monaſteries. This Legate, called by *Polydore*, the moſt learned of all Lawyers, coming to *Calais*, was deſired by our Cardinal to ſtay there, as our Hiſtorians write, till he had procured from *Rome* that *Wolſey* might be joined in the aforeſaid Commiſſion with him: But, as I find in our Records and *Polydore*, until he had obtained from the Pope, that *Hadrian de Caſtello*, the Cardinal, now in Priſon for a Conſpiracy againſt the Pope, might be diveſted from the Biſhoprick of *Bath*, and the Dignity conferred on him; of which alſo he had the greater Hope, that the Pope, as I find by our Records, had condemned him for the ſaid Conſpiracy. Beſides, it was the Care of our Cardinal, to ſuffer none to have acceſs to our King, whom he had not firſt obliged. Therefore our Cardinal preſented him, together with a Promiſe to aſſiſt him for the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, when it ſhould fall; ſome red Cloth to apparel his Train, which otherwiſe were but poorly cloth'd. To ſuit this alſo, the Night before his coming to *London*, he ſent him twelve Mules, with empty Coffers fairly covered, ſome of which yet were overturned and broken in his Paſſage thro' the City, to the great Shame of *Campejus*. Who finding at laſt his Demand for a Tenth rejected by our Clergy, adverties the Pope, and proceeds to the other Point of viſiting Monaſteries. But our cunning Cardinal thinking himſelf able enough to diſcharge this Office alone, while *Campejus* ſtaid in *England*, diſpatches *John Clarke*, Doctor of Law. to the Pope, both to give account of this Buſineſs, and to obtain the whole Power for himſelf. This *Clarke* coming to *Rome* negotiated, by our King's Com-

Commandment, ſo well on the Cardinal's Behalf, that he obtained from the Pope a Bull, whereby (*Campejus* being now revoked) he was made Legate *à Latere*, and enabled to viſit not only Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and diſpence with Church Laws, for one Year next enſuing the Date thereof: Which, though it gave him great Power, miniſtred much Offence; as abridging the Biſhops Power, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were ſo defam'd by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed given over to a reprobate Senſe, and the like, in the original Bull amongſt our Records, which I ſhould have inſerted entire; but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all religious Perſons. And now the Cardinal's Pride did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe, that on ſolemn Faſt Days he would ſay Maſs after the Manner of the Pope himſelf; not only Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him therein, but even Dukes and Earls giving him Water and the Towel. Beſides, not contented with the Croſs of *York* to be carried before him, he added another of his Legacy, which two of the talleſt Prieſts that could be found, carried on great Horſes before him; inſomuch that it grew to a Jeſt, as if one Croſs did not ſuffice for the Expiation of his Sins. All this yet was but a Kind of Prelude to that which followed; for, erecting a particular Court of Juriſdiction, which he called the Legates Court, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjured, wicked Perſon, all Manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making Enquiry into the Life of every Body, no Offence eſcaped Cenſure and Puniſhment, unleſs privately they gave Money, of which they found two Commodities; one, that it did coſt leſs, the other, that it exempted them from Shame. Thus, as the Rules of Conſcience are in many Caſes of a greater Extent than thoſe of the Law, ſo he found Means to ſearch even into their moſt ſecret Corners. Beſides, under this Colour he arrogated Power to call in queſtion the Executors of Wills, and the like. He ſummoned alſo all religious Perſons, of what Sort ſoever, before him; who, caſting themſelves at his Feet, were grievouſly chidden, and terrified with Expulſion, till they had compounded. Beſides, all Spiritual Livings that fell, were conferred on his Creatures. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* underſtanding how all Orders were thus ranſack'd by the Cardinal, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, that he ſhould not have heard thereof but by him; adding, that no Man is ſo blind any where as in his own Houſe; therefore, I pray you, ſaid he, Father, go to *Wolſey*, and tell him, if any Thing be amiſs, that he amend it. This grave Perſon hereupon admoniſhes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in meddling with the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of the Dead, he aſſumed a Power not ſo much as claimed by the Pope himſelf, and for diſpoſing ſome Benefices in the Gift of the Nobility, and other great Perſons, he thought he uſurped too much upon them: All the Uſe *Wolſey* made thereof, was to hate the Archbiſhop, with whom he was formerly offended, only becauſe (as *Polydore* hath it) he ſtiled himſelf, in the Subſcription of the Letter *Gulielmus Frater Cantuarienſis*. Yet, leſt the Arch-

Archbiſhop ſhould do him ill Offices, he tempered his Speech for the Time: But ſhortly after his Agent, *John Allen*, being accuſed by one *John London*, a Prieſt, it appeared ſufficiently that all the former Allegations againſt *Wolſey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Cardinal ſo ſharply, that after that Time he became, if not better, yet more wary than before. At this Time alſo certain Abuſes about Sanctuaries were taken away by the King's Authority, in regard of a Bull granted for that Purpoſe by *Julius* II. *June* 19, 1503. to King *Henry* VII.

Let us turn our Eyes on foreign Buſineſſes, now ſomewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a Journey into *Spain*, the *French* King offer'd him the Convenience of paſſing thro' *France*, and Hoſtages for Security, together with the Keys of the Cities he ſhould go through; but *Charles* (as our Ambaſſadors write) refuſed, ſaying, if he landed any where it ſhould be in *England*. According to which Reſolution, taking Ship, he came to *Spain*, *Auguſt* 25, 1517, as our Records ſay he ſet not to Sea till the 8th of *September*, where he found Things much diſcompoſed, thro' the Severity of the Cardinal *Ximenes*. Beſides, there wanted not Suſpicion that many would ſet up his Brother *Ferdinand* againſt him, whom therefore he ſhortly after ſent to *Flanders*. Howſoever *Ximenes* died, not without Probability that he was poiſoned, tho' by whom is uncertain. *Charles* his firſt Act, was calling a Cortes, or Parliament, in *Caſtilla* and *Leon*, which paſſed not without Trouble; there being no little Contention whether the People ſhould firſt ſwear Obedience to *Charles*, or he the Obſerver of their ancient Laws, Liberties and Privileges, which yet, at laſt, was ſo temper'd as they came near in time together; though, for preſerving the Royal Dignity, ſome particular Perſons were induced to ſwear firſt. He alſo cauſed Juſts and Tourneys to be held according to the Manner of that Age; into which *Sandoval* ſaith, ſixty Cavaliers entred, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who alſo encountered ſo roughly that moſt of them were overthrown and ſore hurt, and twelve Horſes kill'd; though yet this was little in regard of a Juſts that followed, at which ſeven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein, nevertheleſs *Charles*, though very young, appeared, breaking three Lances in four Careers. After this, eſtabliſhing ſome Laws, and obtaining ſome Money from his People, he went to *Arragon*, where he called a Cortes likewiſe; and ſhortly after, hearing, that ſince the Death of *Horruc Barbaroſſa* (who from a low Fortune and Birth, made himſelf firſt a formidable Pirate, then King of *Algier*) *Hariadin Barbaroſſa*, his Brother, ſucceeded in that Kingdom, and in the Exerciſe of Piracy, ſent *Don Hugo de Moncada*, Viceroy of *Sicily* to *Algier*, with as ill Succeſs as their Expeditions thither have commonly proved: Not long after which, News was brought him of the Death of *Louiſa* of *France*, whom by the Treaty of *Noyon* he ſhould have married, and of the Sickneſs of *Maximilian*; who, now growing old and infirm, determined to make one of his Grand-children Emperor; aſſembling for this Purpoſe a Diet at *Auſburgh*, and propoſing particularly *Ferdinand*; as believing the Electors would ſooner chooſe him than greaten any other Prince with that Acceſſion:

But as he alone could not diſpoſe this Buſineſs, ſo both *Francis* and *Charles* were earneſt in it. Our King alſo not omitting to diſcover how *Germany* ſtood affected to him; and the rather, becauſe the Pope, as I find by our Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilian*'s Death, upon a Dyſentery, *Jan.* 12, 1519. enſuing this while, *Richard Pace* was ſent to *Germany* by our King; who, in his Diſpatches certified, with what Ambition *Francis* and *Charles* aſpired to this Dignity; ſaying, nevertheleſs, that the Electors of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Triers*, ſtood ſo affected, that if our King had put in ſooner, and before they were engaged, he thought his Majeſty might have carried it, ſince the Pope's Nuncio there affirmed, ſtill he had Commiſſion from his Holineſs to aſſiſt him; as being deſirous it were beſtowed on any rather than either *Charles* or *Francis*, but eſpecially on *Charles*: Though at laſt, finding that betwixt Money given, and Forces raiſed by *Charles*, he would prevail, his Holineſs thought fit to comply, and give his Aſſent; and the rather, for that the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refuſed it. Whereupon, *June* 28, 1519. *Charles* was publickly choſen at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcelona*, at firſt rejoiced, but afterwards troubled him; as conſidering what a Burden he had undertaken, eſpecially in a Time when the *Turk* made his Approaches againſt Chriſtendom. Yet were not theſe all his Cares; for, as his Clergy in *Spain* was ſo offended at the Demand of a Tenth of their Revenue towards a War againſt Infidels, that there was an Intermiſſion of publick Worſhip for above four Months, in all the Kingdom: And as the People again began a dangerous Inſurrection for the Conſervation of their Liberties, which endured ſome Years following, with more Method than in ſuch popular Commotions is ordinarily found, ſo he had much to do at home. Beſides, the People in *Auſtria* began another no leſs dangerous, in thoſe Parts, and of little leſs Continuance. Again, *Francis*, who was now in good Correſpondence with our King, preſſed the Reſtitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and raiſed him Troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*; all which important Affairs were pretermitted only to comply with the Ceremony, for it was no more, of receiving the Imperial Crown, ſo ſecure was he of all Things but his Title; only in the Midſt of theſe Afflictions the happy News of the Diſcovery, and begun Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and *Nova Eſpanna* arrived; which, though worthy a particular Relation, I ſhall not inſert, leſt I ſhould too much increaſe the Bulk of this Hiſtory. Though for giving a Taſte thereunto, I ſhall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortez*, Undertaker thereof, going with about four hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, and fifteen Horſe, and ſeven little Field Pieces, into many populous, but diverſly affected Kingdoms, did ſo dexterouſly behave himſelf, that playing the Part ſometimes of an Ambaſſador, and ſometimes of a Soldier, he prevail'd himſelf of all. And in Concluſion, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition both of his Country-men and Enemies, laid a Foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. Before yet I come to the Actions of the new Emperor, I ſhall exhibit the Deſcription

of

of *Maximilian* I have collected out of ſeveral Authors.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and called Emperor, though never crown'd by that Title, gave much occaſion of Diſcourſe concerning the Reaſon thereof; ſome ſaying he declined the Charge and Hazard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands; others believing, that, according to his often Profeſſion, he meant firſt to be Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, which he ſaid was his moſt lawful Title. As for his Education, he was a Prince brought up in much Ignorance, yet ſtudious to repair that Defect by Converſation with the more learned Sort. His Bounty was obſerved ſuch, that it extended even to the diſabling him in the Purſuit of his Deſigns, wherein he made a Royal Virtue criminal. He had treated with the Princes of his Time with ſo ill Succeſs, that he knew not in what Poſture to keep himſelf, being in the ſame Danger for the moſt Part, whether his Faith were broken, or theirs. This made him devout, even to Superſtition; for his Enterpriſes in the War, as they were many, ſo they ended differently; he getting ſometimes more by a bad Peace than a juſt War. His ſpare Time he employed in Poetry, writing the Hiſtory of his Life in *Dutch* Verſe; which Book, by *Pedro Mexia*, is called *Teur Danct*; and another called *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefeſt Happineſſes was, that his Poſterity came to enjoy ſome of the greateſt and beſt Parts of *Europe*. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obſequy was ſolemnly kept in St. *Paul*'s by our King, and the Knights of that Fellowſhip.

I muſt remember now, that at the Concluſion of the Treaty with *France*, *October* 8, 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there ſhould be an Interview in *July*, 1519. which yet took not Effect, becauſe of the Death of *Maximilian*, and the Occaſions enſuing formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520. both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards till they ſaw each other. *Francis* having alſo now a ſecond Son, deſired our King to give him his Name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, afterwards King, and ſecond of that Name. Neither did *Francis* omit any Thing which might argue his Reſpect; therefore he ſolicites our Cardinal, whom he called his Father and Couſin, ſtill with Gifts, ſends Preſents to the Princeſs *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might ſecure him on that Side, knowing well how puiſſant an Enemy he had provoked. *Charles* on the other Side, conſidering how much it concerned him to keep the Cardinal at his Devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own Way. On which Occaſion I ſhall obſerve, that, as ſince the Diſcovery of the *Indies* Coin hath been much more plentiful, ſo greater Matters have been done in theſe latter Times by Bribes, than by the Sword: Thoſe who have Money, that is to ſay, a Seed that will ſpring any thing in corrupt Minds, finding Means either in the Authors or the Actors in Buſineſſes, to diſpoſe them to their Ends, or at leaſt to make Advantage of the Intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* ſuſpecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the *Scots* his Friends; hence, altho' it was his Motion for-

merly to compriſe the Young and that Nation in general within his League with *England*, yet now he ſtrives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King ſent to require their Oath thereunto, they refuſed; ſo that all that Buſineſs ended in a Truce only for one Year. And here I muſt not omit to relate the Cardinal's extreme Ambition; who having a Deſign to make himſelf Pope, did ever comply with thoſe who he thought might be his beſt Aſſiſtants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more Potent, and that beſides it was moſt manifeſt, that to which Party ſoever our King inclined, he would turn the Ballance, he hoped, by favouring *Charles* to obtain his Deſire; neither wanted he continual Preſents on his Part equal to, if not exceeding the others; ſo that now he rejected the Aſſiſtance of *Francis*, though offering him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals, as I find by our Records, and applies himſelf to *Charles*; nevertheleſs the Deſign for the Interview with *Francis* continued; which being minuted by our Ambaſſador, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continued by his Succeſſor in *France*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whoſe Diſpatches, extant in our Records, I find this Paſſage in a Letter to the King, *March* 16, 1519. *I have preſented to the* French *King the Sword, for the nimble handling whereof he hath, nor knoweth no Feat, but thought it not maniable; and called the Admiral to him, and cauſed him to feel the Weight thereof, who ſhew'd him that he had ſeen your Grace weild one more peſant. But for ſuch Promiſe as he had made your Highneſs, he might not diſcover it; ſaving that it was by means of a Gantlet. The* French *King deſires one of thoſe Gantlets, and he will ſend your Grace ſuch a Pair of* Cuiraſſes *as your Grace hath not ſeen, the Secret whereof is for the eaſy bearing of ſuch Weight as reſts upon the* Cuiraſſes, *which is commonly borne by the Shoulders; and in this* Cuiraſſe *the Shoulder bears no Burden.* All which I have ſet down to awaken the Induſtry of theſe Times in ſuch Inventions. I will come now to the Order of the Interview, remitted both by our King and *Francis*, unto the Cardinal's Direction: Who, accordingly, upon the 12th of *March*, 1520. declared this Order, That in Regard his King was to paſs the Seas to his Danger and Coſt, and ſhould leave his Kingdom, only to do *Francis* honour: Therefore, that the Interview ſhould not be in a neutral Place; but that King *Henry*, his Queen, and the Queen *Dowager* of *France* ſhould come to *Guiſnes*; and the *French* King, his Queen, and Madam *Louiſe*, his Mother, to *Ardres*, before the End of *May* next, and then that, before the 4th of *June* following, King *Henry* ſhould go Half a League towards *Ardres*, without paſſing yet the Limits of *Guiſnes*, or the *Engliſh* Pale; and there, in ſome open Place, near the Confines of the *French*, which ſhould be declared by Deputies on either Side, the ſaid *French* King parting from *Ardres* the ſame Day and Hour; and coming to the ſaid Place where no Tent was to be pitched, ſhould meet the ſaid King *Henry* within his own Territories, and there they ſhould ſalute one another, and ſpeak together on Horſe-back, as long as they pleaſed. This being done, that the *French* King ſhould return to *Ardres*, and King *Henry* to *Guiſnes*. The next Day, that the ſaid Kings

ſhould

ſhould meet in ſome neutral Place, to be nominated by their Deputies; where, after Salutations on both Sides, King *Henry* ſhould go to *Ardres* to ſee and dine with the Queen of *France* and his Mother; and the *French* King to *Guiſnes*, to ſee and dine with the Queen of *England* and Dowager of *France*: That the ſaid Interview ſhould be celebrated with *Tourneys* and *Juſts*, and Exerciſes of Arms, as well on Foot as on Horſe-back, in ſome Place choſen by the ſaid Deputies, betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*; which ſhould be ditched, fortified, and guarded by an equal Number of Perſons, to be appointed by the ſaid Kings. And that, during the ſaid Exerciſes of Arms, the Queens and their Train might familiarly converſe together, in the Evening ſtill returning to their ſeveral Lodgings of *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*. That the Honour and Precedence ſhould be given to them ſtill, who came to ſee the other. That the Number of the Perſons and Horſes permitted to be at this Interview, ſhould be ſigned in certain Rolls by the ſaid Kings, and ſhould not be increaſed without mutual Conſent. That two Gentlemen, with an equal Number of Followers, ſhould watch continually upon the High-ways, as well for Surety of the ſaid Kings Perſons, as for the ſafer conducting the Victuals: And that theſe every Night ſhould give account to their ſeveral Kings and Counſellors, of their Charge. That the Soldiers of the Garriſons of *Boulogne* and *Calais* ſhould not come near, without expreſs Licenſe of both Kings. I find alſo that it was agreed, that the Number of Strokes at *Tourney* ſhould be determined by the Ladies; who therefore were required to come thither from all Places, that could furniſh Beauty and Worth enough to deſerve ſo much Honour. This being concluded, the Earl of *Worceſter* on our King's Part, and *Monſieur de Chaſtillon* on the Part of *Francis*, laid out the Ground for theſe Triumphs, betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, but within the *Engliſh* Pale. While theſe Magnificences were preparing, much Diſcourſe paſs'd betwixt both Princes, and the Ambaſſadors Reſident in either Court, concerning the ancient Forms uſed at great Solemnities. Among which it appears, in a Diſpatch of *Wingfield*'s, that *Francis* told him how he had heard that our *Edward*, I think he meant *Edward* III. was uſed at ſuch Times to have his Meat carried up by Cavaliers on Horſe-back. But to let theſe Things paſs, and come to our Hiſtory: I find *Francis* purſued ſtill his Point, and is ſo confident now of the Cardinal's Favour, that he durſt make an Overture to him, for reſtoring *Calais*, and all the other Towns in the *Engliſh* Pale, for a certain Sum of Money; neither was it ill entertain'd by the Cardinal, though the Difficulty of effecting it did ſomewhat deter him. For as the narrow Seas have been, time out of Mind, under the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh*, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the Paſſage over, were a kind of Bridge, ſo it could not but ſeem ſtrange to every Man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion ſhould be made, whereby we might loſe the further End thereof, and therein deprive ourſelves of a Landing Place. Therefore the Cardinal did not think fit to propoſe the Buſineſs at once, nor without firſt diſcovering how it would take with the general Sort. For this Purpoſe, then he would caſt

out

out theſe Words in his ordinary Speech, and at his Table, when ſoever there was queſtion of foreign Buſineſs. What have we to do with this *Calais*, that lies in the Continent, and coſts us more than it is worth? I would we were honeſtly rid of it.

The Time now drew near, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*. This alſo was ſeconded much by the Cardinal, who between Pride and Vanity, deſir'd to ſee theſe two together; whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew alſo his Preſents would not be little; therefore he perſuaded our King to build ſome ſuch Houſe near *Guiſnes*, as might be worthy the Reception of two ſo great Princes. To perform this, two thouſand Artificers were appointed. The Model whereof is ſtill extant in *Greenwich*, among thoſe many rare Pictures, which the moſt virtuous Prince, King *Charles*, my good King and Maſter, hath. The Cardinal alſo ſummons the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that Splendor which might become Perſons of their Dignity. Some of the more thrifty Sort yet, and eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*, repin'd hereat, laying the Fault of this Expence on the Cardinal chiefly, who hearing thereof, for this as well as ſome other Cauſes, hereafter mention'd, reſolv'd his Ruin.

Charles the Emperor hearing now of theſe Preparations for the Interview, thought fit perſonally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other Friendſhip with *Francis*. For thoſe Ambaſſadors whom he had ſent before to the *Engliſh* Court for this Purpoſe, had failed, our King alledging to them for all other Reaſons, his Promiſe given. Neither could they deny, but the Engagement was deep; for a King of Arms had been in the *Engliſh* Court on the Part of *Francis*, with a Proclamation, declaring that in *June* next, the two Kings, *Henry* and *Francis*, with fourteen Aids, would, in a Camp betwixt *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, anſwer all Comers that were Gentlemen, at *Tilt*, *Tourney*, and *Barriers*. The like Proclamation was made by *Clarencieux* in the *French* Court. And yet theſe Defiances ſtopt not there, for they were ſent by our King to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, *Germany*, and by *Francis* into *Spain*, and *Italy*. And now our principal Noblemen had made themſelves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was ſo gorgeous as the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, finding the King yet not ready to ſet forth, went before to ſee ſome Lands he had in *Kent*. But his Tenants exclaiming there againſt one *Charles Knevet*, his Steward or Surveyor, for exacting on them, the Duke diſcharg'd him. This Piece of Juſtice yet prov'd afterwards the Cauſe of his Overthrow, as ſhall be declar'd in its Place, ſo fatal was it to that Houſe of the *Staffords* to ſuffer by their Servants. Our King finding now the Time of meeting to grow near, comes to *Canterbury May* 25, intending there to paſs his *Whitſontide*. This while *Charles* the Emperor had ſo layed his Journey from *Spain*, that the Day following, himſelf, accompanied with divers, not only Lords but fair Ladies, comes unexpectedly to *Dover*. Our Cardinal hearing this, poſted away preſently, to aſſure him of his Welcome. Our King alſo, the next Day after, very early, came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the

Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs; where being ſaluted by our King, and afterwards reconducted to his Chamber, *Charles* continues his Deſign to break this Interview, as well as all other Correſpondence with *Francis*: For both *Charles* and *Francis* had great Deſigns at that Time; *Francis* deſir'd to hold the Territory of *Milan*, and to recover *Naples*, (which the *French* having once got in 1494, under *Charles* VIII. did again ſo ſuddenly loſe in 1495, that it ſeem'd no Place there was ſtrong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in.) Beſides, he purpos'd to re-eſtabliſh *Henry d'Albret* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*. Again, the Duke of *Gueldres* being taken under his Protection, he could do no leſs than defend him againſt *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into Subjection. But eſpecially, the Right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he deſired to preſerve, againſt the Pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other Side, endeavour'd to oppoſe him in all theſe Places; and was, beſides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made before in *Paris* 1515, had extorted from him new Conditions in the Treaty at *Noyon* 1516. Therefore, knowing no Prince could ſo much help or hinder him in theſe Affairs, as our King, he offers more advantagious Conditions than *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both preſented the Cardinal, and promis'd, if ever Occaſion happen'd, to make him Pope. And that he might the better in Gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great Part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the firſt Part our King excus'd himſelf, as being far engag'd in Honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as ſoon as this Interview was paſt. From thence then, our King invited him to *Canterbury*, where he gladly ſaw his Aunt Queen *Katherine*; the Queen *Dowager* of *France* alſo, once propoſed for his Wife, ſeem'd very conſiderable, as being for her Beauty much celebrated by the *Engliſh* and *French* Writers. And, if we may believe *Polydore*, his Paſſion in ſeeing of her was ſuch, as he could not be perſuaded to dance, and kept that *Spaniſh* Gravity, which, in his Age, and amongſt ſuch Company, might well have been laid aſide. Therefore, having paſs'd over the *Whitſontide* Holy-Days in thoſe Sports, and Entertainments, which our King gave him, he departs to *Sandwich* the 29th of *May* 1520, whence taking Ship *May* 30, he arriv'd in his Native Country of *Flanders*, while our King the ſame Day paſt to *Dover*; and thence *May* 31, with all his Train and Company to *Calais*. The 4th of *June*, the King, two Queens, and all the reſt, who were aſſign'd in his Roll or Liſt, remov'd to his Princely Lodging near *Guiſnes*, being a Square of Timber, whereof every Side contained three hundred twenty-eight Foot, with a Savage before it, carrying Bow and Arrows, and theſe Words, *He whoſe Part I take, excels.* The Parts of which great Building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken aſunder, and brought home. This again was moſt ſumptuouſly furniſh'd; eſpecially the Chappel; from which a private Gallery reached to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guiſnes*: The Houſe for *Francis*, near *Ardres*, was a Building rather great than

than coſtly, as being erected with ſuch Materials, as could be gotten in haſte; his firſt Intention being to lodge in a rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold; until the Wind threw it down. Before yet theſe Kings met together, the Cardinal went to ſee *Francis*, and treat with him concerning ſome Particulars, about the *Marriage* betwixt the *Dauphin* and Princeſs *Mary*. The Subſtance whereof was, as I find by the *French* Records, That after the Million of Crowns, agreed on in *May* 1515, were ſatisfied, *Francis* ſhould pay at *Calais* one hundred thouſand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, until the Marriage were ſolemnized in the Face of the Church; and ſo, during the Life of the ſaid *Henry*; after which if the *Dauphin* ſhould in Right of his Wife, be King of *England*, to her and her Heirs. But if the Marriage were not accompliſhed, then the ſaid Payment ſhould ceaſe. As for the Differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, That Madame the King's Mother, and the Cardinal of *York* ſhould determine them. All which were concluded the 6th of *June* 1520.

The Day following the Interview began. The Signal of departing was a Warning-Piece, to be ſhot, when the Kings were ready. This being given, they both iſſued forth royally attended. There was ſome Stay yet, upon a Report, that the Numbers exceeded the Liſts agreed on. *Francis* ſtopt firſt, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergavenny*, that the *French* were twice as many. But the Earl of *Shrewſbury* affirming, the *French* were more afraid of the *Engliſh*, than the *Engliſh* of them, they went on: Our King, being thought the goodlieſt Prince of his Time, appearing ſomewhat before the reſt. The *French* King beholding the Demeanour of the *Engliſh* a while, rode himſelf alſo before his Train, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked Sword before him, and his Admiral and Maſter of the Horſe following him. Our King obſerving this, caus'd the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, who bare the Sword of Eſtate, to draw it, and go on likewiſe. At laſt coming near, and the Trumpets ſounding on both Sides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Andren*, and ſaluted each other, paſſing from thence Arm-in-Arm to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there; the firſt Agreement concerning theſe Points, being, it ſeems, ſo much altered. Where, Compliments being paſt on both Sides, they took leave, and return'd to their ſeveral Lodgings. Upon the 9th, both Kings came to view the Camp or Place of Exerciſe, being 300 Yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, ſave at the Entries; having on both Sides Scaffolds erected for the Beholders. There were alſo ſet up two artificial Trees, the one a Haw-thorn for *Henry* our King, the other a Frambouſier or Raſpis-Buſh for *Francis*, with the Arms of the two Kings and their ſeveral Aids, on which alſo the Articles of Juſts, Tourney, and Barriers were faſtned. The Aiders on the *Engliſh* Side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Sir *William Kingſton*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicolas Carew*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the *French* Party were *Monſieur le Duc de Vendoſme*, Mr. *de Saint Pol*, Mr. *de Montmorency*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de Saint Meſme*, Mr. *de Brucall*, and Mr. *Tabanes*. To encounter theſe again, divers noble Perſons, and good Cavaliers came from foreign

foreign Countries; who, preſenting their Arms to the Heralds, were thereupon admitted to the Exerciſe, being appointed upon *Monday* the 11th, when the Queens on both Sides and Ladies coming to the Place, the Kings armed themſelves with their Aids, who wore ſuitable Liveries on either Side. I will not here particularly ſet down the Courſes of theſe Champions, ſince *Hall*, who ſeems to have been an Eye-Witneſs, relates them at large. And leſs ſhall I recount their Devices, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardy*; according perchance to the Manner of that Time. Let it ſuffice that, among all, none did better, if ſo well, as the two Kings, and eſpecially ours; who diſabled *Monſieur de Grandeville* at the ſecond Courſe to run any more that Day. *Monſieur de Montmorency* held him yet better to it, yet ſo as to get no Advantage. This Exerciſe continued four Days together: The next Day, the *French* King came early to *Guiſnes*, with a ſmall Train; our King alſo, after giving him his Welcome, departing with the like Equipage to *Ardres*: ſo that they paſs'd that Day with Feaſting and Dancing with the Queens and other Ladies on either Side. Only I obſerve our King's Manner was more genteel than that of *Francis*: For, coming diſguis'd in Maſking-Cloths, he not only prevented Treachery againſt his Perſon, when any were intended, but avoided Conteſtations for Precedence in his Return home that Night, when he met *Francis* by the Way. On *Sunday June* the 17th, they repos'd, for the Honour of that Day; and on *Monday* for foul Weather. On *Tueſday* they continued their Courſes with like Honour. On *Wedneſday*, being the twentieth, the *Tourney* began; where with Swords was a rude *Chamaillis*; yet the Kings and their Aids beat the Counter-Party to diſarming. Where our King particularly, got that Honour, that a brave *French* Nobleman with whom he fought, preſented him his Horſe as a Gage of his being overcome. The next Day, our King in Tourney likewiſe broke the Pouldron of Mr. *de Fleuranges*, and made him depart the Camp. But this Sport was ſo rough, that four of the Aids being hurt, others were ſubſtituted in their Places. The 22d the Barriers began; and after it the caſting of Hand-Spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the Two-handed Sword. At which Exerciſe likewiſe much Commendation was given to either King. For celebrating theſe Magnificences alſo, the Cardinal ſolemnly ſung an high Maſs, being attended in the the moſt pontifical Manner. At the Cloſe whereof, he diſpenſed the Treaſure of the *Roman* Church (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo* X.) unto the two Kings, who that Day din'd together by themſelves, their Queens eating together alſo in another Room: This being done, they both turn'd to Barriers, where our King, with a few Strokes, diſarm'd his Adverſary. The next Day our King, with his Siſter Queen *Mary*, went in Maſking Apparel to ſee the *French* Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewiſe going to the *Engliſh* Queen. At the Return they alighted, and after many Compliments, Embraces, and rich Preſents to each other, bid adieu the 24th of *June*. *Polydore* obſerves yet, that there was ſome Abruptneſs in the Farewel; and ſaith, *Francis* told our King, that our Nation did not well

comply with the *French* in their mutual Visits. But our King putting this off discreetly, their Discourse passed no further. And perchance the Occasion of this Misunderstanding, was that the *French* gave forth, *Calais* should be delivered up for Money. The next Day the King and all his Train departed to *Calais*, giving License unto many there to return unto *England*.

Upon the 10th of *July*, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, our King, at their Request, admits another Interview. To this Purpose, going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him in the Way, and conducted him thither, giving to the *English* all that good Entertainment so little a Place could afford. The next Day, the Emperor and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings and Magnificencies passing, Businesses yet were not forgot. For our King, together with *Monsieur de la Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*, read and offer'd to *Charles*, now Emperor, the Tripartite League, signed betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereinto by the Name of Emperor, as I conceive it. But the Emperor having formerly sign'd the League by the Name of *Charles*, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his Designs in *Italy* and elsewhere, than to confirm that Agreement, so deferr'd or avoided this Proposition, that I find not what Effect it presently took. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the Affairs betwixt himself and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his Adversary. He would also have gone out of Town that Night, being the third after his coming; but our King using a courteous Kind of Violence to make him stay, the Rumour went among the Emperor's Servants, that he was detained; but the next Day clear'd this; for the Emperor being conducted by our King some Part of his Way towards *Graveling*, was courteously bid farewel, and presented with a brave Courser, richly trapped. The *French* King, hearing of these kind Passages, and remembring particularly that *Charles*, by his first Agreement, had constituted our King Arbiter of all emergent Differences, took this Interview extremely ill; and the rather for that he heard some muttering of a Match proposed by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperor and the Princess *Mary*, tho' a Child. Which yet was a Mistake, it being not treated of seriously (as the *Spanish* Writers have it) till near two Years after; and not before the *French* had both broken the common League, and given new Provocations by their Practices in *Scotland*. Our King having now no more to do at *Calais*, took the first fair Wind, and with all his Train, came safely into *England*.

I shall return now to the Business of *Luther*, whom *Leo* cited to *Rome*, 1518. giving Order also to Cardinal *Cajetan*, his Legate in *Germany*, to oppose his Doctrine, not omitting Letters to this Purpose, both to *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, and to the Superior of the *Augustines* in *Germany*. Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers Conferences at the Diet of *Ausburg*, labours to convert him, but in vain. At last *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's Name, he appeals to him in the Form usual in these Cases, *As from the Pope not well inform'd, to the same Pope to be more rightly*

rightly instructed; but desires withal that he might answer for himself in *Germany*, and that Caution might be given for his Safety; since, what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this while, to make good his Authority, grants new Indulgences, which no Man should reject unless he would be excommunicate, *&c.* *Luther* finding thus no Hope of Alteration, and besides, that he was branded with the Name of Heretick, appeals from *Leo* to a general Council; yet writes to the Pope, 1519. a very submiss Letter, wherein he protests, That he never intended to fall away from the Church. That all he said, was chiefly intended against those who abused the Power of Indulgences; concerning which therefore he would speak no more, so that his Adversaries were likewise silenced; briefly, that he would omit nothing which might conserve Peace in Religion.

Maximilian dying about this Time, *Luther* had some Respite. Mens Eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed *Maximilian*, than any other Argument. Besides, he seemed now unwilling any longer to dispute the Pope's Authority, to which his Adversaries reduced all the controverted Points. Yet as *Ulricus Zuinglius* appeared about this Time at *Zurich*, to consent with *Luther* in many Things, and that a Letter of *Erasmus* also dated 1519. did much encourage him, so he began to recover Force. That of *Erasmus*, (extant *lib.* 6. *Epistol.*) telling him he had some Favourers in the *Low-Countries*, but many in *England*, and among them divers principal Persons; that yet he should do well to use Modesty and Discretion; *Christ* having thereby both instituted his Doctrine, and his Apostle *Paul* destroyed the *Jewish* Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto Allegory. That he should do well to speak against those rather who abused the Papal Authority, than against the Pope himself. In Conclusion, that he should take Heed of doing any Thing out of Anger, Hate, or Vain-Glory. *Philip Melancthon* also, a learned, pious, and charitable Man, did many Ways second *Luther*. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Scholars, who lived at that Time, it may be observed, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected Singularity in some one Point or other, they might have found more Followers of their Doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the Pope, either to cut off some Points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more Indifferency to the People. Howsoever all these Persons concurring with *Luther* in great Part, gave him that Courage, that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitence, or Penance, the Office or Duty of Charity, and Indulgences and Pardons, he began now to question the Pope's Authority, Images in Churches, the Celibacy of Priests, and some other Points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great Fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom that he might give an Account of his Doctrine, he comes to a Conference at *Leipsick*, 1519. accompanied with *Philip Melancthon*, where *John Eccius* oppos'd him, desiring to begin his Disputation at the Pope's Authority; but *Luther*, conceiving this

was to make him odious, labours to decline the Queſtion; for the reſt, thinking fit only to ſend unto the Pope; to whom, about the Beginning of 1520. he writes to this Effect. That though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a General Council, it was not with an ill Mind, as having in his continual Prayers ſollicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himſelf to be ſharp and cenſorious enough, when Offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holineſs in particular, only it grieved him that he lived in ſo wicked a Court as that of his at *Rome*, which he ſaid was now become another *Babylon* or *Sodom*; that he being amidſt ſuch People as a Lamb amongſt Wolves, it were pity he ſhould any longer reſide there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and deſcend to ſome ſimple Parſonage or Living, or otherwiſe to maintain himſelf with what he had gotten already, than to hazard himſelf to ſuch Peſtilences and Infections. That, in this Advice he did but imitate *Bernard*, who did deplore the Eſtate of *Eugenius*, when *Rome* was far purer than at this Day. In Concluſion he recommends to him his late Book, Entitled, *De Libertate Chriſtiana*. But whatſoever *Luther*'s Advice was, I cannot believe him ſo ſimple, as to ſuppoſe his Words had either the Power of Spells to call the Pope from his Seat, or that Tenderneſs of Conſcience to live among wicked Perſons, was enough to make him forſake, together with his Charge, all his Dignities and Honours; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himſelf underſtood it, only for a Paſquil or Satyr; which made him alſo aſſemble the Cardinals, and conſult with them herein, who all condemned *Luther*; yet not ſo, but it was wiſh'd by ſome, a Reformation of divers Abuſes had either preceded *Luther*'s Admonition, or at leaſt accompanied it at that Time, when in humble and modeſt Terms he ſubmitted himſelf to the Church. That their arrogating Supreme Power in Temporal Things, had made divers Princes diſaffect their Government, who yet embraced their Doctrine. That therefore it was not ſafe to ſuffer them to have an Author for deſerting the Church, who had already ſought Occaſions for it in the late Council of *Piſa*, and elſewhere: Neither was it a good Argument, to ſay that *Luther* was a dangerous Perſon; ſince, the more Hurt he could do, the leſs he was to be forced to Extremities; as having betwixt his Wit and Favourers, enough to trouble all Things: Briefly, that to avoid his venomous Doctrine, the beſt Way was not to urge him to caſt it forth, but rather, if it could be done handſomely, to quiet him by beſtowing ſome eccleſiaſtical Preferment. But ſo haughty were the major Part of the Spirits in this Aſſembly, that rejecting this politick Advice, they condemned *Luther*'s Books to the Fire; but *Luther* growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length excommunicated, and his Books burnt. He on the other Side, ſtriving to revenge this, at *Wittenberg* in a full Aſſembly of Scholars burns the Book called *Jus Pontificium*, *December* 10. 1520. warning Men beſides to take heed of the Papal Government and Doctrines, appealing again to a General Council. *Charles*, underſtanding theſe Paſſages, was much troubled, as foreſeeing the following Diſſenſions. Nevertheleſs, he tempered Buſineſs ſo,

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as he held the Pope thereby in ſome Suſpence; therefore he would not precipitate his Sentence againſt *Luther*, or ſo much as cenſure him, till he were publickly heard. For which Purpoſe (after his being crown'd ſolemnly at *Aix*) he aſſembled a Diet at *Worms*, *October* 23, 1520. whither he called *Luther*, giving him a Safe Conduct alſo, to go and return. Whereupon *Luther* came in his Friers Habit, but refuſing to retract his Opinions, he and his Favourers were proſcribed by Decree or Edict.

Howbeit, as this did rather puniſh than convince him; our King (being at Leiſure now from Wars, and for the reſt delighting much in Learning) thought he could not give better Proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write againſt *Luther*. To this alſo he was exaſperated, for that *Luther* had oftentimes ſpoken contemptuouſly of the learned *Thomas* of *Aquine*, who yet was ſo much in Requeſt with the King, and eſpecially the Cardinal, that (as *Polydore* hath it) he was therefore called *Thomiſticus*. Our King hereupon compiles a Book, wherein he ſtrenuouſly oppoſes *Luther* in the Point of Indulgences, Number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority, and other Particulars, to be ſeen in that his Work, Entitled, *De Septem Sacramentis*; a principal Copy whereof, richly bound, being ſent to *Leo*, I remember myſelf to have ſeen in the *Vatican Library*. The Manner of Delivery whereof, as I find it in our Record, was thus; Doctor *John Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, our King's Ambaſſador, appearing in full Conſiſtory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Preſent he brought, firſt gave him his Foot, and then his Cheeks to kiſs; then receiving the Book, he promiſed to do as much for Approbation thereof to all Chriſtian Princes (which our King much deſired) as ever was done for St. *Auguſtine*'s or St. *Hierome*'s Works; aſſuring him withal, that he would beſtow a publick Title on our King; which having been heretofore privately debated among the Cardinals, and thoſe of *Protector*, or *Defenſor Romanæ Eccleſia*, or *Sedis Apoſtolicæ*, or *Rex Apoſtolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produced, they at laſt agreed on *DEFENSOR FIDEI*.

Such was the Covetouſneſs of the richer Sort at this Time in *England*, that they converted many large Cornfields into Paſture; hereof enſued a general Decay not only of Houſes, but of Perſons, which ſhould do their King and Country Service. Beſides Sheep, Cattle, and Cloths being thus within the Hands of a few, the Price was much enhanced. To Remedy this Miſchief, the King cauſed the antient Statutes, provided on that Behalf, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commiſſion to the Juſtices of Peace, to reſtore all the Tillage Ground that had been encloſed any Time within fifty Years laſt paſt, and to cauſe the Houſes antiently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as *Polydore* hath it) divers by compounding ſecretly with the Cardinal, exempted themſeves.

About this Time *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent for his high Blood, and large Revenue, drew on himſelf a dangerous Suſpicion; which though it was again fomented by the Cardinal, who diſaffected him for ſome Speeches he had caſt forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that ſome Indiſcretion of his own

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concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill Offices of *Charles Knevet*, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appear, till he saw the Duke not only discountenanced, but weakened in his Friends and Allies. And of these I find two principally. One *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Daughter the Duke had married; the other *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, who had married the Duke's Daughter. Against *Northumberland* Cause was taken for claiming certain Wards; which, after close Commitment, yet he was forced to relinquish. Against *Surrey* the Cardinal proceeded otherwise. For though he hated him for drawing his Dagger at him on some Occasion; yet as the Earl was more wary than to give new Offence, he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable Employment, for which he found this Overture.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of *Kildare*, made Deputy in *Ireland* to *Henry* Duke of *York*, (now King, who at four Years old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Country) having done divers good Services against Rebels, was made Knight of the Garter, and enjoyed that Place till his Death; when his Son *Gerald* being substitute therein, so behaved himself, as he likewise got much Credit: Though, as he had the House of *Ormond* his Enemy, and particularly Sir *Pierce Butler* Earl of *Ossory*, secret Ill-offices were done him; nor did it avail, that he had given his Sister in Marriage to the said *Butler*, and help'd him to recover the Earldom of *Ormond*, detained wrongfully since the Death of *James*, by a Bastard of that Family; for it was impossible to oblige him; especially where he found so advantageous an Occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earl of *Desmond* his perpetual Adversary, since the Division of *Lancaster* and *York*, (in which his Ancestors were on the Side of *Lancaster*, and the *Kildares* and *Desmonds* on that of *York*) he discovered more Favours done the present Earl of *Desmond*, (whom he called a Traytor) than he thought due to him; insomuch that he complained to the Cardinal, who thereupon sent for *Kildare*. Though *Polydore* saith, he came voluntarily into *England* to match with some *English* Lady, and there behaved himself so unrespectfully to the Cardinal, that he was cast into Prison. But whatsoever the Cause was, his Charge was bestowed on the Earl of *Surrey*, who going to *Ireland* in *April*, 1520. reduced the Earl of *Desmond* and others to Obedience.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being thus exposed and unfriended, the Cardinal treats secretly with *Knevet*, concerning him; who thereupon discovers his late Master's Life; Confessing that the Duke, by way of Discourse, was accustomed to say, how he meant so to use the Matter, that if King *Henry* died without Issue, he would attain the Crown, and that he would punish the Cardinal. Besides, that he had spoken thereof unto *George Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*, who married the said Duke's Daughter. By what Means yet the Duke intended particularly to effect these Designs, I do not find exactly set down by *Charles Knevet*. Neither do the Authors who write thereof, relate his Pedigree. Only our Heralds say, he was descended from *Anne Plantagenet*, Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Son to King *Edward* III. How far this

this yet might entitle him to the Crown in Caſe King *Henry* ſhould have no Iſſue, I have neither Leiſure nor Diſpoſition to examine. I ſhall only therefore, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, ſelect ſome principal Points out of his Accuſation; leaving the Reader, for the reſt, unto the Search of the Record: In which, the Points that in my Opinion made moſt againſt the Duke, were: Firſt, That at ſeveral times he had ſent to one *Hopkins* a Monk in the Priory of *Henton*, to be informed by him, concerning the Matters he imagined; and that the Monk ſhould return Anſwer, The Duke ſhould have all; and therefore ſhould labour to procure the Love of the People. 2. That the Duke afterwards ſhould go in Perſon to the ſaid *Hopkins*, who confirmed the ſaid Prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the ſaid Duke ſhould give him ſeveral Rewards. 3. That he ſhould ſpeak to *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, his Son-in-Law, that, if ought but Good come to the King, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſhould be next in Blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no Iſſue. That, to comply herewith, he did many Things which argued Ambition, and Deſire to make himſelf popular. That he ſaid to one *Gilbert*, his Chancellor, that whatſoever was done by the King's Father, was done by Wrong; murmuring withal againſt the preſent Government. 4. That he ſaid to *Charles Knevet*, if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof he was in Danger upon Occaſion of one Sir *William Bulmer*) he would have ſo wrought that the principal Doers thereof ſhould not have Cauſe of great Rejoycing: For he would have play'd the Part which his Father intended to have put in Practice againſt King *Richard* III. at *Saliſbury*, who made earneſt Suit to come into the Preſence of the ſaid King; which Suit if he might have obtained, he having a Knife ſecretly about him, would have thruſt it into the Body of King *Richard*, as he had made Semblance to kneel down before him. And that, in ſpeaking theſe Words, he maliciouſly laid Hands on his Dagger; ſwearing, that if he were ſo evil us'd, he would do his beſt to accompliſh his intended Purpoſe. 5. That being in Speech with Sir *George Nevil*, Knight, Lord *Abergavenny*, he ſaid, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realm, in ſpight of whoſoever ſaid the contrary; ſwearing, that if the Lord *Abergavenny* reveal'd this, he would fight with him. This I conceive to be the Subſtance of the moſt ſpecial Articles in his Accuſation; which the curious Reader yet may do well to conſider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet theſe Particulars are proved, and in what Sort, my Authors deliver not. Only I find, out of our Records, that the Duke of *Buckingham* being committed to the Tower, *April* 16. did under his own Hand declare to Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Conſtable of the Tower, the Paſſages betwixt him and *Hopkins*, in this Manner: That is to ſay, that the Summer before our King made War in *France*, *Hopkins* ſent for him; but, not being able to go, he commanded one *Delacour* his Chaplain to repair thither; howbeit, that *Hopkins* ſaid nought to him; yet that himſelf came the next Lent, 1513; where, in Shrift, the ſaid Monk told him, that our King ſhould win great Honour in his Journey

to

to *France*; and that if the King of *Scots* came to *England* then, he ſhould never go home again. And that, when he aſked *Hopkins* how he knew this, he ſaid, *ex Deo habeo:* And that *Hopkins* demanding afterward, what Children the King had, he told the Number; and that *Hopkins* ſhould ſay thereupon, I pay God his Iſſue continue; for that he feared God was not contented, becauſe he made no Reſtitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to adviſe the King's Council to make Reſtitution. Further, that he told his Chancellor thoſe Words, and at his Return out of *France*, came to *Hopkins* again, and ſaid, he had told him true: Alſo that another Time he came to *Hopkins*, together with his Son *Stafford*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and that *Hopkins* aſked who he was, and thereupon ſhould ſay, that ſome of his Blood or Name ſhould prove Great Men. And that, after this, *Hopkins* ſhould ſend to the Duke, to pray him, according to his Promiſe, to help their Houſe (being at *Henton* in *Somerſetſhire*) to make their Conduit; the ten Pounds, formerly given by him, being ſpent. And more than this he confeſs'd not. Notwithſtanding which, when the Indictment was openly read, the Duke ſaid it was falſe, untrue, conſpir'd, and forg'd, to bring him to Death; alledging (as he was an eloquent Perſon) many Reaſons to falſify the Indictment; the King's Attorney on the other Side, producing the Examinations, Confeſſions, and Proofs of Witneſſes. The Duke hereupon deſired the Witneſſes, which were *Knevet*, *Gilbert*, *Delacour*, and *Hopkins* to be brought forth. Theſe confirming their Depoſitions, the Duke was tryed by his Peers, (being a Duke, a Marquis, ſeven Earls, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was for the Time made Lord High Steward of *England*. They condemning him, the Duke of *Norfolk* delivered his Sentence, not without Tears. To which he replied, *My Lord of* Norfolk, *you have ſaid as a Traytor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never one. But, my Lords, I nothing malign you for what you have done to me; but the eternal God forgive you my Death, and I do. I ſhall never ſue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him than I deſire. And ſo I deſire you, my Lords, and all my Fellows, to pray for me.* Whereupon he was brought back to the Tower. Where all the Favour he receiv'd was a Meſſage from the King, declaring his Sentence was mitigated ſo far, that, inſtead of receiving the Death of a Traytor, he ſhould have only his Head cut off. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, (who libel'd the Cardinal for it, calling him *Carnificis filium,*) as being thought rather Criminal through Folly and raſh Words, than any Intention declared by overt Act againſt the King's Perſon; and therefore not uncapable of his Mercy; which alſo it was thought would not have been denied, had he ſued for it in fitting Terms. But ſince at his Arraignment, he did, as it were, diſclaim his Life, the King would not obtrude it; and therefore only cauſed a Letter of Comfort to be written to the Dutcheſs, and Lord *Stafford*. Yet the Tragedy ended not ſo; for though *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, after a few Months Impriſonment was, through the King's Favour, delivered; yet *Hopkins*, after a ſerious Repentance that

he had been an Author of ſo much Miſchief, died of Grief. And here I muſt obſerve, that together with this Duke, that great Place of High-Conſtable of *England* remains extinguiſh'd, unleſs ſome extraordinary Occaſion revive it.

I ſhall return here to ſpeak of *Charles* the Fifth, who having, as is ſaid, kept a Diet at *Worms*, did now levy Forces. And the rather, becauſe he heard War was intended againſt him by *Solyman*; who being a martial Prince, and crowned the very ſame Day at *Conſtantinople*, that *Charles* was at *Aix*, ſeemed to have ſomewhat of the ſame Aſcendant; however they differ'd in their Intereſts. Beſides, it was obſerved, that as *Charles* V. was the eleventh Emperor from *Albertus*, in whoſe Time the Houſe of the *Ottomans* began; ſo *Sueliman* (or *Solyman*) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. Howſoever, on their Occaſion much of their Subjects Blood was ſpilt, and more would have been, had not *Francis* turned the Arms of *Charles* upon himſelf. The Cauſes of Diſſention betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, were, Firſt, That *Claude* eldeſt Daughter of *Lewis* the Twelfth and *Anne* of *Bretaigne*, having by a ſolemn Treaty in 1501. been accorded to *Charles*, *Francis* yet obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his Hopes of *Bretaigne*. Secondly, their mutual Ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, Ill Offices done by their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefly, the Incompatibility of their Demands for their antient Right; whereof I find theſe moſt urged. Homage for *Flanders* and *Artois*, required by *Francis*, as being held antiently of the Crown of *France*, which *Charles* yet refuſed, ſaying, That ſince that Eſtate was devolved to an Emperor, it was in a higher Dignity, than could be ſubmitted to any Inferior. But to this again *Francis* replied, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Beſides, that the Title of a King was greater and more auguſt than that of an Emperor; both as the Power is more abſolute in itſelf, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which Purpoſe a Paſſage was alledged out of *Matt. Paris*, when the Empire having been offered to *Robert*, Brother of *Saint Lewis*, the Council of State refus'd it, for this Reaſon; ſaying further, it was enough that *Robert* was Brother to ſo great a King. For which Cauſe alſo, the *French* obſerve, that none ever aſpir'd to it of the Line of the *Capets*, but *Francis*. Again, they differ'd about *Milan*, of which *Lewis* XII. having gotten the Inveſtiture, *Francis* did in Purſuit of his Right, expel *Maximilian Sforza*; whoſe Brother and Succeſſor yet was protected by *Charles*, and reinplaced. Moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was queſtioned by *Charles*. For though *Lewis* XI. had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto it was alledged, that *John* King of *France* had given it to his younger Son *Philip*, to hold to him and his Heirs Males only; and that *Charles* laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, having but one only Daughter, it therefore reverted; yet *Charles* underſtanding the Buſineſs otherwiſe, claimed it by a long Succeſſion of his Anceſtors in *Burgundy*. Theſe ſo many Pretences on either Side engaged the two Princes into perpetual Wars, which began this Year. For *Francis*, inſiſting ſtill on the Treaty of *Noyon*, prepared to recover

Navarre; and to this he thought the Communidadoes, or Insurrections in *Spain* (begun 1519, and continued still) would conduce. For as the People held their *Junto* or Assembly for Redress of their Grievances, he conceived some might be drawn to his Party. But he was deceived; for they mutined not for his Sake, but their own, as appeared; pretending for their chief Grievances only, that their King lived in foreign Parts, and transported their Money for his Occasions there, and bestowed divers great Places in *Spain* on Strangers. So that though they continued their Demands with much Insolency and Boldness, they persisted nevertheless in their Love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with *Francis*. All which yet could not preserve them. For though they proceeded with more Sobriety and Correspondence, than hath been observed in any popular Insurrections, (as *Sandoval* relates it at large) they were divided at last, and overthrown by the Name of Rebels; their Actions being so bad and dangerous, as their Intentions could not excuse them. Howsoever, *Francis* thought fit to make Use of this Occasion, and therefore, before their Defeat, he levied Forces; and, not long after, sent *Andre de Foix, Seigneur de Asperrant*, and Brother of the famous *Lautrech*, to *Navarre*. Where a War began, that, in divers Places, lasted 38 Years following (as *Sandoval* observes it) and cost the Lives of above 500,000 Men; the *French* speak of a far greater Number. Their first Progress was happy; for in less than fifteen Days they took *Navarre*. But as they would go further to *Catalonia*, and besiege *Logronno*, (or *Greyne*,) the *Spanish* Commanders, attended now with many of the Communidadoes, gave Battle and overthrew them, taking *de Foix* Prisoner: Whereupon also *Navarre* was regained in less Time than it was lost, and *Pampelona* thenceforth better fortified. But not on this Part only did the *French* shew their *Mal-Talent*, but discover'd it on this Occasion also towards another Coast. The Prince of *Chimay* contesting in Law with the *Seigneur de Aymeries* concerning a Castle or Town in the Forest of *Ardenne*, and County of *Luxemburg*, called *Hierge*, gain'd his Cause by the Judgment of the Peers of the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, who determined Businesses in chief; and accordingly enjoyed Possession thereof for many Years. Howbeit *Aymeries*, being not contented herewith, appealed to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, and prevailed so far, that the Heirs of *Chimay* were summon'd to give Account of their Title to the Emperor. But, because the Sovereignty of *Robert de la Mark*, *Duc de Bouillon*, was most concern'd herein, they, for their best Refuge, made Complaint to him; he again addressed himself to the Emperor, and remonstrates his Right; yet, finding the Cause of *Aymeries* likely to prevail, secretly treats with *Francis*, for Assistance and Protection. Being assur'd hereof, he (though a small Prince) sends a publick Defiance to *Charles*, being then at the Diet in *Worms*. The Emperor, judging quickly from whence this Audaciousness proceeded, prepares for War. Neither wanted he a seeming Occasion. For though he ever suspected that *Robert de la Mark*, (as one who had serv'd heretofore the *French* in *Italy*) had his chief Dependance on *Francis*;

Franois; yet now being inform'd that *Fleuranges*, Son to the ſaid *Robert de la Mark*, having rais'd in *France* about 3000 Foot and 400 Horſe, all Volunteers, had beſieged *Vireton*, a little Place in *Luxemburg*, appertaining to the Emperor; he nothing doubted, but that the *French* had aſſiſted him herein. Howbeit, *Francis* conſidering it was not convenient to begin a War ſo near home, and beſides, being adviſed by our King to keep the Peace, ſignifies his Diſlike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon diſmiſs'd his Forces. Notwithſtanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry* Count of *Naſſau* to go with an Army againſt *Robert de la Mark*, not omitting withal to diſpatch an Ambaſſador to *Francis*, with Inſtructions, to proteſt, that *Francis* had firſt broken the Treaty of 1518, by aiding *Robert de la Mark*. He ſent Word to our King alſo of this Proceeding. Who taking the Matter into Conſideration, pronounced Sentence againſt *Francis*, as the firſt Infractor of their Tripartite League: Which being maturely pondred by *Francis*, (who knew well how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who by an Expreſs Article of the ſaid Treaty, was to fall on the firſt that contraven'd.) made him afterwards excuſe the Matter, and undertake that *Robert* ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility. This was not yet ſo accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the ſending of his Army, under *Henry de Naſſau* (and not *Franciſco Sichino* as *Jovius* hath it) to ſeize on the Dominions of *Robert*, who accordingly took divers Places. But *Robert* going to the Emperor hereupon, obtain'd a Truce for ſix Weeks, *Henry* of *Naſſau* in the mean Time putting Garriſons in the Places he had won.

The Emperor yet, and *Francis* levying great Forces, our King takes Notice hereof, and offers *Woolſey*, as his Lieutenant, to compoſe their Differences. Howbeit, *Woolſey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge; both at ſome Jealouſies had paſt formerly betwixt our King and him, as is above related, and that he knew *Woolſey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the Papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd, as much as he could, the Arbitrement of *Woolſey*; but ſhortly after diſpatch'd the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*. Howſoever, *Woolſey* came, *Auguſt* 2. 1521, to *Calais*, and treated of an Accommodation; not neglecting together to write to *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the Treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this Buſineſs; both as it argued his Authority, and gave him Means to chuſe his Friend, when otherwiſe he could not reconcile them. Upon the Part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of *France*, *Antoine du Prat*, *John de Selve*, and *Monſieur de Paliſſe*, Marſhal of *France*, with four hundred Horſe. The Emperor not failing on his Part likewiſe to ſend condign Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara* his Chancellor, and *Monſieur de Berghes*, and others. The Pope had likewiſe a particular and conceal'd *Nuncio* there, being *Hieronymo de Ghinnuciis* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*; though, as he pretended to be without Authority, his Buſineſs it ſeem'd was for the preſent rather to eſpy and obſerve the Proceedings there, than to advance the Peace, as did appear afterwards. Many Things

were repreſented to the Cardinal on both Sides. The Emperor demanded, among other Things, Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and Abolition of the Homage he owed to the Crown of *France* for the *Low-Countries*. *Francis* again not only refuſed this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might be reſtor'd to *Henry* Son of King *John*; and a Penſion of 100,000 Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this again *Charles* his Minority was alledged as an Excuſe; though a weak one in Princes; they being not conſidered under the Notion of their Age but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* grounded his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queen *Joan*, Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinand*, ſo that to have paid this Money would have weakened his Claim; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; eſpecially when he thought *Francis* did no leſs in withholding *Burgundy*. However, that *Francis* himſelf had firſt broken the ſaid Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an antient Enemy of the Houſe of *Flanders*. And for the Abolition of Homage, the *French* Chancellor on the other Side, particularly ſaid, it was not the Work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not to be handled at this Time, when there was Queſtion of Right only. Beſides this, the Dutchy of *Milan* bred no little Alteration among them. In Concluſion, their Demands were ſo obſtinate, and Minds ſo averſe from Peace on either Side, that the Cardinal could or would do no Good. Hereunto alſo did concur a cloſe and private Convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the Nuncio; and a Confidence that *Charles* had, by the Cardinal's Means, that, in Caſe of a Rupture, our King would incline to him, having more Pretence to his antient Dominions of *France*, than to any Thing in the *Low Countries*. Again, *Charles* renew'd his Promiſe to give his beſt Aſſiſtance to the new elected Pope, when *Leo* ſhould die; which prevailed more than any other Gift. Although (to uſe *Polydore's* Words) ſpeaking of both Princes at this Time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quæritabat*. This Hope of the Papacy therefore comforted our Cardinal, now it was likely he ſhould loſe one of his Cuſtomers.

The King of *Hungary* at this Time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's Malice) did much gain upon Chriſtendom, as having lately gotten *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, and knowing there was no Way to defend himſelf, without an Union betwixt Chriſtian Princes, ſends an Ambaſſador, ſo opportunely, as to find our Cardinal at *Calais*, treating of this Univerſal Peace. But ſuch was the Animoſity of theſe two great Princes, that the pious Conſideration of repelling the *Turk* could not prevail with them. So that the Cardinal, by this Time, finding ſmall Hope of Reconciliation, advertiz'd our King thereof, and crav'd his Reſolution; unto which he much prepar'd him by giving Intelligence of what had paſt. To gain this Space alſo, he told the *French*, he would go in Perſon to *Bruges*, and negotiate by Word of Mouth with the Emperor. Our Cardinal departing hereupon, the Emperor met him by the Way, a Mile out of Town, accompanying this Honour with all other Demonſtrations of

Affection

Affection to him and our Nation. After thirteen Days Treaty, and Agreement what was to be done in Caſe of Rupture, (which our Cardinal perceived now would not be avoided) he returns to *Calais*, where the *French* Ambaſſadors impatiently attended him: He doth not yet diſcover his Deſpair of Succeſs to them, and much leſs diſcloſeth his private Treaty with the Emperor; but mediates ſtill a Peace, yet ſo, as to promiſe leſs Hope of it than before, ſince Matters were come to ſuch Extremities on both Sides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperor's, upon private Quarrel with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, had now ſurprized *Amand* and *Mortaigne* in *Picardy*, and the *Bourgonians Ardres*, which they raiſed, but the Count *de Naſſau* taken *Mouzon*, and beſieged *Mezietes*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency* and *Pierce de Terrail*, commonly called *le Chevalier Bayard*, defended, until *Francis* coming with a great Army, the Imperialiſts retired, and *Mouzon* was retaken, while the Emperor, who was at *Valenciennes*, kept himſelf more covert than was expected; ſince *Francis* proceeded ſtill: Though as he diſcontented *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who in Quality of *Conſtable de France*, thought to have the leading of the Vanguard, rather than the Duke *de Alancon*, Brother-in-law to the King, an Error was committed which coſt him dear, as ſhall be told in its Place. Notwithſtanding which, *Woolſey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, ſends to the Emperor the Lord of St. *Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and to the *French* King (lying then with a great Army near *Cambray*) the Earl of *Worceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*; by whom he obtained that the Emperor ſhould raiſe the Siege of *Tournay*, before which his Forces now were, and that he ſhould recal his Army in the *Milaneſe*, and that *Francis* ſhould likewiſe retire his, and the reſt ſhould be referr'd to our King. But the taking of *Fontarabia* by *Bonivet* intervening, *Francis* refuſed to render it, and ſo the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our Cardinal, who now had heard from our King, gives a Kind of Sentence in the Buſineſs. The Effect hereof was; that the *French* King being guilty of the firſt Breach, our King was bound by the common Treaty to aſſiſt the Emperor; to which alſo he was the more diſpoſed, becauſe the ſecret Practices of the *French* in *Scotland* had diſobliged him: Some Hopes of Accommodation yet were repreſented, in Caſe the Emperor and *Francis* might be reconciſed; but ſmall Appearance hereof being given, the Cardinal concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope againſt the *French*, the Pope entring it on Condition that the Emperor ſhould reſtore to him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and aid him afterwards againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*.

Thus was War reſolv'd againſt *France*, to begin at the appointed Time. In the mean while, fiſhing in the narrow Seas, and Uſe of *Engliſh* Ports was allowed the *French* till *February* following. While theſe great Affairs were in Agitation, our Chronicles obſerve, that the Great Seal of *England* being with the Cardinal at *Calais*, many *Engliſh* repaired to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at Home the conſtituting of Sheriffs was ſuſpended, *&c.* which I remember the rather, becauſe it was afterwards urg'd againſt him. And

now all foreign Buſineſſes being done, the Cardinal returns to *England*: Where, to magnify his Negotiation, he preſents our King with the Bull of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*, which the Pope had put into his Hands, together with a Continuation of his Legatine Power, only to gratify him for his Aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*; the King on the other Side beſtowing on him the Abbacy of St. *Albans*, towards his Charges in this Journey. The War thus continued, the Emperor took *Tournay*, to the no little Scandal of *Francis*, who was yet obliged to continue his Payments for it to our King. On the other Side, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Marſhal *Thomas de Foix (Seigneur de Leſcun*, and Brother to *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech)* had now for ſome Time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold Oppreſſions, the People ſought Occaſion to revolt. Which the Imperialiſts under *Ferdinand d'Avalos* Marquis of *Peſcara* underſtanding, requir'd the Pope's Aſſiſtance; who, in Conformity to his League, ſent Forces, whereof *Proſpero Colonna* was chief. His firſt Action was the beſieging of *Parma*, which *Leſcun* defended, until his Brother *Lautrech* coming with an Army of 20,000 *Swiſs*, 7 or 8000 *Venetians*, beſides *French*, to relieve him, the Army of the League roſe, and retired. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for ſome few Days, ſixteen hundred of the *Swiſs* being not well paid, and for the reſt gained by the Cardinal *de Medicis* to the contrary Party, forſook him and ſerv'd *Colonna*, who thereupon marching to *Milan*, whither *Lautrech* had retired himſelf, took it eaſily, the Caſtle yet holding out; howbeit *Lautrech* eſcaping to *Como* with 4000 *Swiſs* and ſome *Venetians*, and from thence to the Territories of the Republick; whereupon *Pavia* and *Parma* yielded, and *Cremona*, all ſave the Caſtle. When the *Venetians*, fearing the Storm might fall on themſelves, deſired *Lautrech* to depart; who being alſo forſaken of his 4000 *Swiſs*, got into the Caſtle of *Cremona*, and ſent his King word of the ill Succeſs. Which the Pope alſo hearing, and being aſſured together that *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*, was ſo overjoyed that he died thereof, *Decemb.* 1. 1521; (ſo can every Paſſion in his Turn kill) though ſome ſuſpected he might die of Poyſon.

I will conclude this Year with the Invention of Muſkets; which *Bellay* ſaith were firſt uſed in this War.

The Cardinal of *York* finding Occaſion now fair, ſends Dr. *Richard Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, to *Rome*, to eſſay if by any Means it were poſſible to make him Pope. He writes alſo to *Charles*, remembring him firſt of his Promiſe; how unjuſt it would be in him openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; there being ſo many Buſineſſes of his to be determined in the Conſiſtory; that the particular Utility which would redound to him thereby, ought not to be laid in Ballance againſt the univerſal Diſhonour that both he and the whole Chriſtian Church would ſuffer in ſuch a factious and ſcandalous Election; eſpecially when his Buſineſs might be done in a more decent and ſafe Way. For if the Papacy were conferred on him, his Imperial Majeſty might be confident he ſhould find the ſame Faithfulneſs he had Experience of in the laſt

Treaty. Since therefore this was the beſt Expedient for giving himſelf Reputation, and ſecuring his Affairs, that he ſhould not fail herein. For as it was the Place of *Henry* VIII. to be Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, it would be his to be the chief Inſtrument thereof. For which Purpoſe alſo, he ſhould be ready ever to diſpoſe King *Henry* to hold good Correſpondence with his Imperial Majeſty. Neither muſt he think that being Pope, he would alter his Language; it being manifeſt, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the only Way to conſerve Peace in it, which our King deſired. Some of theſe Reaſons alſo *Pace* was deſired to ſcatter amongſt the Cardinals at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to repreſent how much Occaſion of Calumny, the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of their Religion would find, if an unfitting Choice were made at this Time. That this muſt follow if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; beſides that it would make their Differences irreconcileable. Or when otherwiſe the Papacy fell into the Hands of one who could not maintain and uphold the Authority of the See, as an *Italian* or ſome other not ſtrongly ſupported Perſon; that then it muſt become a Prey to the ſtrongeſt. That the ſole Way to remedy theſe Inconveniences was to chuſe him, who had a King able and well affected to maintain Religion and Peace in theſe dangerous Times. Our Cardinal alſo did not forget *Francis*; to whom, if not Favour, yet at leaſt Indifferency was promiſed, in caſe he were Pope; and that this was more than he could hope for any other Way. But before *Pace* could come to *Rome*, *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, heretofore Tutor to *Charles*, and for the preſent reſiding in *Spain*, (where he had the Quality of *Governador de Caſtilla*) was choſen Pope, *January* 9. 1521; though not with ſuch univerſal Conſent, but that (as I find in our Records) our Cardinal had ſometimes nine, ſometimes twelve, and ſometimes nineteen Voices. *Guiccardine* ſeems much to wonder at this Election, ſcurrilouſly terming him not only *Pontifice Barbaro*, becauſe he was a *Flemming*, but alledging divers other Incapacities in him for that Place. But the wiſer Sort did not think ſo; *Charles* having given thoſe Teſtimonies of his good Affection to the Peace of *Italy*, eſpecially by his generous reſtoring of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*, that they nothing doubted but that he would prove their beſt Patron and Help for the Expulſion of all Strangers. Howſoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calm Diſpoſition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the Way that *Adrian* was choſen, yet holds on his Journey, as having ſecond Inſtructions to countenance his Employment, when the firſt ſucceeded not; therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Venice* about *July* this Year, he mediated a Peace betwixt *Charles* and the *Venetians*, who had hitherto held with the *French*, remonſtrating to them the many Reaſons which they had to join with the Emperor and King of *England* againſt *Francis*, who had firſt broken the common Peace made 1518, wherein the ſaid State of *Venice* was compriſed, and thereby bound to fall on the Infractor thereof, *&c.* But the *Venetians*, being engaged to *Francis*, took Time only to adviſe thereof.

Adrian being thus choſen, *Julio* Cardinal

Cardinal *de Medicis*, who aſpired to the Papacy, was highly diſcontented; inſomuch, that forſaking the Imperial Party, he joined himſelf with 3000 Foot and 200 Horſe, to the *French*: *Franciſco Matia* alſo, who, upon *Leo*'s Death, had recover'd *Urbin*, adhering to them. So that, with the Addition of 16000 *Swiſs* newly levyed, and ſome Troops *Lautrech* the *Mareſchal de Foix* brought, the *French* had a conſiderable Army, with which he beſieged *Pavia*. But *Proſpero Colonna* coming with the Imperial Forces to relieve it, *Lautrech* raiſing the Siege offered Battle; which yet the Imperialiſts would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, returned; ſo that the *French* now purſuing their Point, the Imperialiſts were forced to get themſelves within a ſtrong Retrenchment at *Breſcia*. And here either Side attended their Advantage; the *French* hoping to drive the Imperialiſts away by Famine, and they again, that the *Swiſs* for Want of Pay would deſert the *French*. That of the *Swiſs* ſucceeded firſt; for demanding either to have their Pay, or Leave to depart, or at leaſt Order to fight, the *French*, who wanted Money, choſe this latter, as the leſs Inconvenience, and ſo gave on. But being repulſed with great Loſs, the next Day the *Swiſs* returned, and the reſt of the Army retired towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and laſtly to the *Venetian* Territories; while the Imperialiſts, making uſe of their Victory, got both theſe Places, the Caſtle of *Cremona* only excepted, which held out for the Space of one whole Year, though the Caſtle of *Milan* yielded preſently. *Lautrech* thus finding all Things deſperate, retires to *France*, laying the Fault upon his not receiving Pay for his Soldiers; which yet, the *French* ſay, was not for Want of Order from the King, but through the Covetouſneſs of his Mother *Louiſe*, or the Default of ſome Officers. And now the Imperialiſts, loſing no Time, marched to *Genoa*; in which were two Factions, thoſe of the Family of the *Fieſchi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialiſts, and thoſe of the *Fregoſi* and *Doria*, *French*. That of the *Fregoſi* govern'd now. Howſoever the Imperialiſts entred and ſack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had depoſed the *Fregoſi*, and ſet up the *Adorni*. *Franciſco Sforza* was reſtored alſo to that of *Milan*, the Emperor not reſerving to himſelf ſo much as one Place in that Country. And ſo *Colonna* concluded the War for this Year of 1522. Nevertheleſs the Treaties with the *Venetians* proceeded, which at laſt took Effect, as ſhall be more particularly related.

The Proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles* were not kept ſo ſecret, but that they became ſufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet inſtantly take Notice of them, as being more unprovided than ſuddenly to bring Matters to Extremity. Therefore he continued a while his ſmooth Letters to the Cardinal. At laſt, betwixt Impatience, and the Order he hoped to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland* to find our King enough to do, he began to declare himſelf. Therefore, his Subjects having made ſome Depredations on the *Engliſh* Merchants, and Satisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delayed if not denied Reparation. Theſe particular Offences were accompanied with a main Breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd.

ceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who ſhould have continued in *France*, was now after five Years Abſence, return'd to his Charge of *Scotland*, as ſhall be told more largely hereafter. Our *Engliſh* foreſeeing thus a Storm likely to enſue, retire themſelves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their Goods from the Port-Towns, and the Scholars their Perſons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Bullen* alſo (who is ſaid by the *French* Writers to have lived in that Court ever ſince ſhe came over with our King's Siſter until this Time) quitted it now, and return'd to *England*; where ſhe did partake afterwards more good and ill Fortune than ſhe could reaſonably imagine. Our King alſo wrote to *Francis* ſharply, telling him that howſoever he excuſed himſelf for ſending over the Duke of *Albany*; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his Direction; and that it was the Manner of his Country, privately to endeavour one Thing, under a Shew of deſigning another; (as *Polydore* hath it,) reproaching him alſo with breach of his Oath. *Francis* much mov'd with this rough Expoſtulation, objecteth to King *Henry* the ſecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor 1521. requiring King *Henry* to declare himſelf. Beſides, he cauſed all the *Engliſh* Mens Goods that remained to be ſeized on, through his Kingdom, and eſpecially thoſe at *Bourdeaux*; which ſeem'd ſo much the unjuſter, in that divers of our Merchants had not only bought Wines there with ready Money, but paid Cuſtom for it. Our King hearing this, commands the *French* Ambaſſador to his Houſe, ſeizeth on all other *French* and *Scotiſh* here, and commits the better Perſons for a Time, or until they had paid a pecuniary Mulct, the poorer ſort being exempt yet upon ten Days Impriſonment. The Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz Williams*, being in *January* laſt recall'd from his Ambaſſage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheyney* ſent in his Place, alſo was commanded to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecure our Merchants, and take what *French* he could. Moreover, becauſe the *French* denied the reſt of the Money due, and detained the *French* Queen's Dower, our King cauſed the *French* Hoſtages to be kept under an honourable, yet ſomewhat ſtricter Guard than before, without uſing further Rigour. And, whereas *Francis* had deſired him to declare himſelf, King *Henry* ſent over *Clarencieux* his Herald, in the End of *March*, with his Declaration; whereby it was ſhewed, that becauſe *Francis* was the Infractor of the Common Peace, the King of *England* muſt take the Emperor's Part againſt him. Upon this, Ambaſſadors were recalled on both Sides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captains died about this Time, not of Poiſon given at *Ardres*, when the Interview was, as ſome would have it; but of a peſtilential Air, as *Hall* relates; ſo our King loſt thoſe whoſe Service he now moſt needed.

And becauſe King *Henry* meant to ſet to Sea a royal Fleet, the Earl of *Surrey* (as being Admiral of *England*) was recalled from his Charge in *Ireland*; where having, among other Services, repreſſed the Irruptions of the *O Neals* and *O Carrols*, he ſo govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable Service, and gain'd the Love

of the civil People of that Country, leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June* 1521. to the End of *March* 1522.) *Pierce Butler* Lord Deputy, who yet kept not long Poſſeſſion of this Honour, as ſhall be ſhewed in its due Place.

The Cardinal, about this Time, whether for Oſtentation of his Power, or redeeming the People's Favour, cauſed the Preachers at St. *Paul*'s Croſs in *London*, to publiſh, that all thoſe who would eat White-meats that *Lent* enſuing, ſhould without paying any thing, be exempt from Puniſhment and Sin. But the People unwilling to be caught by thoſe Baits, ſo contemptuouſly rejected this Offer, that the Cardinal might eaſily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the Manner of the moſt ſubtle ſort of Favourites hath been not to ſtudy ſo much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amuſe and entertain their Princes; ſo this Cardinal, by the perpetual Variation, he ſeem'd to cauſe in the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, held not only the Minds of the People in Attention and Suſpenſe, but made his Counſels more conſiderable to the King, than if he had purſued any one Way. The laſt Change whereof he was Author, had its chief Overture at *Bruges*, where, among other Things, the Emperor reſolved to repair to *England* to ſpeak with our King more particularly, concerning the general Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, and to treat a Match betwixt himſelf and the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter to our King. And finally, which our King took for a ſingular Honour, to be inſtalled perſonally of the Order of the Garter at *Windſor*, while himſelf ſat there as Chief. For after his retaining *Maximilian* the Emperor in Pay, the next great Teſtimony of Reſpect this World could give him, he thought, was, that ſo brave and great an Emperor as *Charles*, ſhould in ſo buſy and difficult Times undertake a Voyage, to be admitted into that moſt noble Fellowſhip. Into which alſo *Ferdinand* his Brother, afterwards Emperor, was elected the laſt St. *George*'s Day, *viz.* *April* 23, 1522. and had the Order and Habits ſent him to *Noremberg*, where being the Emperor's Lieutenant, he held a Diet that Year. And now, for the more magnificent Reception of the Emperor, the Marqueſs *Dorſet* was ſent to *Calais*, and the Cardinal to *Dover*; whither, upon the 26th of *May*, 1522. being about the Time his Forces entered and ſacked *Genoa*, the Emperor arrived. The Cardinal firſt aſſured him of his Welcome; which our King, following preſently afterwards, confirmed. From hence the King conducted him to *Greenwich*, where the Queen, his Aunt, with much Joy attended him. Hence again the King, riding in great Pomp through *London*, conducted him to his Lodging in *Blackfryers*, his Train being placed in the new beautified Palace at *Bridewel*. To relate the Juſt and other Solemnities on this Occaſion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earls, and Lords gave Water to the Cardinal at an High Maſs in St. *Paul*'s, where the Princes were at *Whitſunday*, is not my Intention. Only for the Rarity I cannot omit that on *June* 19, the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and ſitting in his Stall at *Windſor*, accompanied the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites uſual at that Time. Which being done, both he

and our King received the Sacrament together, and ſwore upon the Holy Evangeliſts to obſerve the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this Effect, as appears by an Original, ſubſcribed and ſealed by *Charles*.

Whereas there was lately War begun betwixt Us Charles, *and the King of* France, *and (by Virtue of a League concluded between Us and King* Henry, *and the ſaid King of* France) *both We and* Francis, *by our Letters, required Aid of the ſaid King* Henry, *one againſt the other; and the ſaid King of* England *in the Beginning of this War, to compoſe theſe Differences, ſent to* Calais *the moſt Reverend Father in God* Thomas *Cardinal of* York, *as his Lieutenant; before whom when many Diſputes had been on both Sides, who firſt began the War, and it was found that the Fault was in the* French *King, and that he firſt began with Us, not in* Luxemburg *only, by* Robert de la Mark *ſuborned by him, but by his Captains alſo in* Navarre, *and hired foreign Soldiers which were not his Subjects to break the publick Peace, contrary to the Treaty at* London; *wherefore, when the moſt Reverend Father aforeſaid could not effect at* Calais *either Peace or Truce under any honourable Conditions, the ſaid King of* England *underſtanding, as well by the Relation of the ſaid moſt Reverend Father, as by the Letters of* Francis *King of* France, *written to his Orators and Captains, which were ſhewed to the ſaid King of* England, *that the ſaid* Francis *had broken both the Treaty of* London, *and all other Treaties and Agreements of Affinity concluded betwixt them; not only by ſending the Duke of* Albany *into* Scotland, *(which was againſt his Oath given) but alſo denying the King of* England *his Penſions, and violating his Subjects againſt the League: The ſaid King of* England *hath reſolved hereupon to lend Us Aid againſt him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of* London. *And therefore upon the Treat of a perpetual and ſtricter Confederacy between us and the ſaid King* Henry, *as alſo of a Marriage with the Princeſs* Mary, *We (being on both Sides free from all Agreement made heretofore in this Kind with the* French) *have concluded both League and Alliance with the ſaid Emperor.*

The ſame Day that this Treaty was ſworn, *Charles* gave his Oath alſo to an Agreement, call'd the Indemnity; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himſelf to ſave King *Henry* harmleſs for all the Sums of Money and Penſions, which were or ſhould be due to King *Henry* from *Francis*, (upon former Agreements betwixt them) and now were or ſhould be with-held by the ſaid *Francis*, upon Denunciation of War againſt him.

Laſtly, *Charles* wanting Money for his preſent Occaſions, our King ſupplied him abundantly upon Aſſurance given him of Repayment. *Charles* having diſpatched his Affairs here, and commanded his Fleet, conſiſting of 180 Sail, to meet him at *Southampton*, is accompanied by our King to *Wincheſter*, *June* 22. 1522. Before yet they departed, it was reſolved betwixt them to make uſe of ſome *Venetian* Galleys, then riding in our Ports, upon Pretence of conveying the Emperor to *Spain*. Which Proceeding yet, leſt it ſhould be thought abrupt, and prejudicial to our League with that State, was by Inſtructions from hence to *Pace*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Reſident

there, excuſed in great Part, by alledging, that if they would make good the Confederacy entered into, 1518, they muſt not take it ill, that their Galleys were employed againſt the *French*, as the firſt Violators and Diſturbers of the publick Peace. And when they would not join, it was but a juſt Puniſhment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be underſtood in that Rigour, but they ſhould be reſtor'd in due Time; as in effect I find they were ſhortly after. This being done, *Charles* having taking Leave of our King, goes to *Southampton*, and attends a Wind and the Convoy of our Admiral, who for better complying with the Common Cauſe, according to the League 1518, was likewiſe conſtituted his.

The Earl, having accepted hereof by our King's Conſent, did, upon *June* 13, land his Men in *Normandy* near *Cherbourg*, and after having deſtroyed the adjoyning Country, (ſparing only Religious Houſes) he returned to *Portland*; whence ſetting Sail again, he lands *July* 1. at a Place near *Morlais* in *Bretaigne*, and with 7000 Men marcheth thither; where our Maſter-Gunner having diſcharg'd a Piece ſo fortunately, that he broke the Wicket, ſome of our Men enter'd in the Smoke and open'd the Gate; whereupon the reſt following, the Town was quickly ſack'd, and burnt, and a rich Booty carried to our Navy. After which the Earl commanded ſixteen or ſeventeen *French* Ships, he found on that Coaſt, to be burnt; and ſo leaving his Vice-Admiral to ſcour the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Service, and return'd to *Southampton*, whence he conducted the Emperor to *Spain*, who taking Ship *July* 6. arrived *July* 16. at *Sant-Andero*.

The *Engliſh* Garriſon, this while, in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, and the *French* in *Ardres* and *Boulogne* were not idle, but took many Occaſions of invading each others Frontiers, among which, one related by *Hall* and *Hollinſhead*, ſeems ſo memorable, that I have thought fit to inſert it. Three hundred *French* Horſe lying in Ambuſcado near *Guiſnes*, and ſending ſome Horſe before to draw out the *Engliſh*; a little Band of eight Archers iſſued forth, and maintained a Skirmiſh; at laſt twelve Demi Lances, (which *Hall* ſaith were all *Welſhmen*,) came to their Reſcue; the *French* perceiving this, iſſue forth with all their Horſe; but our Demi-Lances charged them with that Courage, that, killing and hurting divers, they opened their Way to the Town.

Theſe ſo many Occaſions of making War, enforced the King to make Uſe of his Subjects Affections; whereof that he might take the better Notice, he cauſed a general Muſter or Deſcription to be made, this Summer, of all his Kingdom, commanding (as *Stow* hath it out of a Warrant directed to a Conſtable of a Hundred) that they ſhould certify the Names of all above ſixteen Years old; and that they ſhould repair to a certain Place aſſigned, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as alſo who be the Parſons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be the Owners of every Parcel of Land within the ſaid Precincts, and what is the yearly Value of every Man's Land; as alſo the Stock on the Lands, and who is Owner thereof; alſo, what

Strangers dwell there, and of what Occupation they are; alſo the Value and Subſtance of every Perſon being above ſixteen Years old, as well ſpiritual as temporal; alſo what Penſions go thence to religious or ſpiritual Men. Which being certified again, the King (as *Polydore* ſaith) rejoyced, as finding his Kingdom ſo wealthy. Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he borrowed of the Citizens of *London* 20000 Pounds, and ſent Privy Seals to divers other rich Perſons of the Kingdom; in Conſequence hereof, he demanded a Loan, as I take it, of the Tenth of the Temporality, according to the true Value of their Eſtates, to be employed in the Wars, and a Fourth of the Spirituality. But as this cauſed much Grudging, ſo the *Londoners* particularly, alledged ſo many Reaſons why they could not, upon Oath, give Account of their Goods, and Wealth, eſpecially as long as ſo much of their Stock was in other Men's Hands, that the Cardinal at laſt accepted their Valuation of themſelves, upon their ſimple Honeſties. All which extraordinary Ways of furniſhing the preſent Neceſſities yet ended in a Parliament the next Year, as ſhall be told in its Place. The King having thus yet gotten ſome Money, denounced open War to *Francis*, unleſs he made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In Sequence hereof commanding the Earl of *Surrey*, and not the Duke of *Suffolk*, (as the *French* have it) after his Attempts by Sea, to go over to *Calais*, and with convenient Forces to join with *Florence d'Egmond*, *Count de Bure*, General of the Emperor's Troops. Theſe meeting together betwixt *Ardres* (lately demoliſh'd) and Saint *Omer*, ſpoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their Way till they came to *Heſdin*, in which *Odoart Seigneur de Biez*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, commanded. But Autumn being now far come on, and the Weather very unſeaſonable, they could only take the Town; the Caſtle being ſtronger, that it was thought fit not to attempt it. They marched therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they took and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Seaſon continuing ſtill very foul, and our Men falling generally ſick, the Army diſſolv'd, and the rather for that the two Generals could not agree about their Deſigns. Before yet the Earl of *Surrey* departed, he burnt *Marquiſe*, and ſome other Places near the *Engliſh* Pale, which being done, he came Home, and gave our King an Account of his Journey. Whereupon alſo Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Richard Simpſon* Doctor of Law were ſent to *Charles* in *Spain*, to adviſe what further was to be done.

The Duke of *Albany*, whom we left in *France*, was now recall'd by more than one Voice. For he was not only ſent for by the Vote of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, but Queen *Margaret* herſelf invited him. Beſides it is probable, that *Francis* did not unwillingly connive at his Departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to do at Home. The Cauſe why the State deſired his Return, was, that their King was ſo young, and ſome of their Affairs were diſcompoſed. But Queen *Margaret* had alſo her Reaſon. For, being offended with the Earl of *Angus* for forſaking her at *Harbottle*, 1516. and ſcandaliz'd much at the Love he now bore to a certain *Scotiſh* Lady, ſhe had endeavoured, by the

Duke

Duke of *Albany*'s Means, to procure a Divorce at *Rome*, alledging, among other Cauſes, that ſhe heard her Huſband *James* IV. was living three Years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when ſhe married him, (ſo much did that Bruit prevail.) But becauſe our King again oppoſed this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole Paſſage) nothing was preſently done, though afterwards, new Motives appearing, ſhe was divorced from him, as will appear in its Place. The Duke, being now generally welcom'd, baniſhed the Earl of *Angus* with his Brother *George* into *France*, and cauſed his Uncle *Gawin* the learned Biſhop of *Dunkelden* to be cited to *Rome*, for the reſt ſummoning a Parliament to begin 1522, whither our King ſent *Clarencieux*, Herald, to require and command the Duke to avoid the Realm, and if he would not, to defy him. And that he might have juſt Cauſe to uſe this Language, he was to alledge unto the Duke, that he had broken an expreſs Article of the Treaty in coming over; neither could he pretend to have any Commiſſion from *Francis*; who in a Letter to our King, had diſavowed this Action ſo far, as he profeſſed to be neither privy nor conſenting to his Journey. Beſides, that there was Danger of his aſpiring to the Crown, and that the Divorce he procured for Queen *Margaret*, was not without Deſign to obtain her for himſelf. And this is the Subſtance of that wherewith *Clarencieux* was to charge him (as I gather out of ſeveral Collections.) Howſoever, our Records tell us, that the Duke of *Albany* replied, That, ſince his Recal came from the Nobility and States of the Land, he would retain it againſt all Kings. As for his being ſuſpected of Ambition to the Crown, he anſwer'd, that he had rather enjoy his Means in *France*, than pretend to that Regality. And for Queen *Margaret*, he ſaid he had indeed negotiated a Divorce in *Rome*, but with no Intention to marry her himſelf, when he could; as having a Wife of his own. Letters alſo were ſent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he perſuaded them to reject the Duke, But they anſwer'd that they would defend him againſt all. Laſtly, I find by an Original of Queen *Margaret*, that our King writ to her alſo; for ſhe there expoſtulates ſharply with him, for believing thoſe Reports concerning the Duke of *Albany* and her; defending nevertheleſs the ſaid Duke's being in *Scotland*; adding, that if he had not been an unkind Brother, ſhe ſhould not have needed to provide for herſelf, by the Duke of *Albany*'s Aſſiſtance.

Our King finding this took no Effect, in *February* ſent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the *Weſt-Marches*, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred Men, to proclaim that the *Scotiſh* ſhould come into the King's Peace by the firſt of *March* following, or to ſtand to their Perils; which the Duke of *Albany* ſuſpecting would prove a War, had provided by this Time a great Army in the Borders; unwilling yet to do more than to ſhew his Power to offend. For, beſides that many of the better Sort judged wiſely, that if Matters ſucceeded ill, they might be called in Queſtion, when their King came to full Age; they were not ignorant, how puiſſant an Enemy they provoked; eſpecially, at a Time, when their Confederates the *French* had ſo much to do elſe-

elſewhere. Therefore, altho' the Lord *Dacres* made ſome Inroads into *Scotland*, and burnt divers Villages, joining himſelf with the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, conſtituted Lieutenant General for the *North* Parts: And that the Duke of *Albany* himſelf was advanced as far as *Carlile*, yet he retir'd; the interceſſion of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a Conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the preſent was quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as being ſomewhat ſurpriſed at that Time. This Conference yet brought forth a Truce only, for a few Days, upon condition that the *Scotiſh* ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into *England*, to deſire a Peace. But when they required the *French* might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not conſent; howbeit, the Truce was prorogued: whereupon the Governor, as finding the *Scotiſh* Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on thoſe Terms, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave Aid of *Francis*; the Event whereof we ſhall ſee the next Year.

But while theſe Chriſtian Princes were in War thus one againſt the other, the *Turk* who had now long Experience what harm the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* had done him in the *Archipelago*, thought fit to invade the Iſle of *Rhodes*, their chief Strength and Fortreſs at that Time. Hereunto concurred a Requeſt which *Selim* upon his Death-bed made unto his Son *Solyman*, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the Affront his Grandfather *Mahomet* ſuffer'd, when he was repulſed thence, but even as a pious and devout Act recommended this Enterpriſe to him. Such Miſchiefs hath Religion, which ſhould be a new Bond of Peace, authoriſed unto Mankind, in more than one Age or Country. It was not yet without much Danger that *Solyman* made this Attempt. For as he brought near two hundred thouſand Men into a little and barren Iſland, ſo, if ever his Shipping had through firing or ill Weather been caſt away or deſtroyed, he muſt have periſh'd there before the Town could be forc'd. But ſuch was the Diſunion of the Chriſtian Princes that they loſt their fair Occaſion: Thus, upon St. *John Baptiſts* Day, *June* 24, the more to deſpite the Knights, this great Army entered the Iſland, the *Turk* himſelf following in Perſon a Month after, and continued the Siege till *Chriſtmas*, upon which Day *Solyman* with great Pomp entered *Rhodes*, being yielded upon Compoſition by *Philip de Villiers* a *French* Man, Great Maſter of that Religion. Shortly after which, he, together with thoſe Knights that remained, ſailed towards *Rome*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where comfortleſs and errant they continued, till by the Interceſſion of *Clement* VII. (ſometimes Knight of that Order) and the Favour of *Charles*, they obtained *Maltha*, where they now reſide.

In *November* 1521. this Year, a Diet being held at *Nuremberg*, *Adrian* ſends to the Princes of *Germany*, requiring them paſſionately to ſuppreſs *Luther*, according to the decree at *Worms*; confeſſing nevertheleſs many Abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical Government, inſomuch, that he doubted not to give *Cheregat* his Nuncio Inſtructions to ſay, That for ſome Years many abominable Things had been acted in this holy Seat, which he therefore promiſed, by Degrees, to redreſs. But the Meſſage pleaſed neither Side: The Cardinals at *Rome* diſliking

liking *Adrian*'s free Declaration; and the Princes there, as little approving the ſlow and indirect Courſes taken for reforming the many Enormities then uſed in the *Roman* Church, as may appear by their *Centum Gravamina*, or one hundred Grievances; the particulars whereof I have thought fit to inſert, not with deſire to affront any, but only that, purſuing my Intentions, the Reader may find briefly a true Hiſtory of the Times.

The Subſtance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offered to Pope *Adrian* by the *Germans*, was to this Effect:

1. That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers Things the Scripture did not. As certain Obſtacles of Marriage, Differences of Meat, *&c.* all yet to be redeemed for Money.

2. That People, who otherwiſe might juſtly Marry, were yet forbidden it at certain Times, when yet both Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks took then their Carnal Liberty. Nevertheleſs that for Money this Reſtraint might be diſpenſed with.

3. That Indulgences (called there *Impoſturæ*) and Pardon for Sins, not not only paſt but future, did cauſe all Impiety and Wickedneſs, while Men believed, ſo that the right Hand could jingle, they ſhould have perfect Freedom from all.

4. That the Money for Indulgences, *&c.* was not imployed the way it was promiſed, that is to ſay againſt the *Turk*, but towards their Friends and Kindreds Expence and Luxury.

5. That yet the Pope, Biſhops, and other principal Perſons of the Clergy reſerved ſome Caſes to themſelves, which none other can diſpence with, and that this again coſt them much.

6. That the Pardon of Sins for future Times, brought in all Miſchief, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

7. That certain Preachers, called *Stationarii*, went up and down the Country, preaching the Lives of ſome Holy Men or Saints, as *Valentine*, *Hubert*, &c. promiſing the ſimple People, that if they vowed themſelves to thoſe Saints, and paid ſuch an yearly Tribute, they ſhould be free from ſuch Diſeaſes, as they named.

8. That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, called *Terminarii*, conſumed the Alms that the Poor ſhould have.

9. That, at the Inſtance of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, divers Laicks were cited to *Rome*, to anſwer concerning Buſineſſes not belonging to that Court, as namely Matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawns, *&c.*

10. That even Laicks, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Juſtice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their Cauſe to *Rome*, tho' otherwiſe it were proved that Juſtice were done, and the Party perjur'd.

11. That certain Judges called *Conſervatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the Cauſes of certain Eccleſiaſticks, did under Colour thereof trouble all other Places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporal Authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

12. That certain Delegates and Commiſſaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the ſecular Cauſes of any Perſon whatſoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they diſobeyed.

13. That

13. That the Pope, by exempting certain Monaſteries from the Juriſdiction of their Biſhops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate Dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the Diminution of the Imperial Power.

14. That the right of Patronage belonging to divers Laicks and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, was under Colour of Prevention) uſurped by the Pope and his Legates, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did confer them uſually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

15. That theſe Men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were conferred uſually by the Pope, to the Detriment of the true Patrons.

16. That divers undue Means were practiſed to prove Men amply beneficed to be Courtiers, and dependants on Cardinals.

17. That great Benefices or Eccleſiaſtical Promotions could not be confer'd on able Perſons, unleſs Penſions were firſt given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

18. That, under Pretences of making Benefices litigious, the ſaid Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Penſions; and if the ordinary Statutes of Chancery ſerved not, they formed and reformed them as they pleaſed; alſo the Incumbent dying during this pretended Controverſy, the ſaid Pretenders invaded the Benefice, to the wrong of the Patron.

19. That the Collation of Deaneries, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, eſpecially if the former Poſſeſſors were Courtiers.

20. That in granting Benefices they uſed many Arts to get Money, under the Names of Reſervations, Permutations, Surrogations, *&c.* to the Damage of the Patron.

21. That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on them, farmed them out to Strangers who cannot ſpeak the Language.

22. That Archbiſhops and Biſhops were bound by their Chapters to beſtow the beſt vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themſelves only, to the fruſtrating of many able Perſons.

23. That the Houſes belonging to ſuch Benefices were ſuffered to fall, and the People untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not obſerved.

24. That divers Abbies, and Religious Houſes, being delivered in *Commendum* to Cardinals, and Biſhops, did not feed now above five or ſix Perſons, whereas heretofore they nouriſhed forty or fifty.

25. That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Germany*, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at leaſt Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferior Perſons, were received into them for Money.

26. That, whereas in the beſtowing of Benefices divers antient Priviledges and Immunities belonging both to Eccleſiaſtical and Laick Perſons, they were now by the Policy of the *Roman* See, eluded or infringed.

27. That whereas Annats were paid to the Pope by Eccleſiaſticks, and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did alſo pay them for divers Years, upon condition the Money might be imployed in War againſt the *Turk*; now becauſe they

they understood the Money was otherwise disposed of, they desired henceforth to be eased of this great Burden.

28, 29, 30. That Ecclesiasticks do not pay their due Parts, either for a War against the *Turk*, or other publick Affairs; whereas having so great a Portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they should furnish their reasonable Share; And in this Case the Church Ornaments and Treasures are not to be spared, lest they come altogether into the Hands of the *Turk*.

31. That, whereas Ecclesiastical Persons, being by taking Orders exempt from the secular Justice, do thereupon take more Freedom to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coining Monies, to the no little Scandal of Religion, and Derogation of the secular Authority; and that their Superiors likewise never punish them, but being first degraded, to which yet much Ceremony and Time is requir'd, and that the said Superiors by their Chapters, are bound not to punish them otherwise.

32. And whereas the leaving these Crimes unpunished may cause Sedition and Tumult in the Laity, as finding the Ecclesiasticks have not parity of Punishment with them.

33. Therefore, they desired that Ecclesiasticks and Laicks may equally suffer for Crimes of the same Nature; and that no Order may privilege them from the Magistrate.

34. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be used only when Men are convicted of Heresy; that yet Laicks incurred this Punishment for small Faults, and so were driven to Desperation, and excluded from Divine Service.

35. That divers also, who were not properly interested in the Crime of the excommunicated Person, did yet suffer as Complices; and all this only that more Money might be gotten.

36. That when the Priest or Ecclesiastical Person was killed by Chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till Compensation were made, and no regard taken of the occasions given.

37. That Holidays were in such number in Harvest Time, that People could not get in their Corn in due Season; whereas yet, innumerable Mischiefs were then done, rather than God's Service frequented, according to the first Institution.

38. That the Revenues of the Knights of the *Teutonick* Order, destin'd for War against the *Turk*, were applied to Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, which were neither *Germans*, nor of the said Order, contrary to the first Institution.

39. That Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates obtain'd from *Rome* Conservators and Delegates, whence so many Grievances follow to the Laicks.

40. That Laicks Goods and Inheritance might come to Ecclesiastical Hands by purchase, or otherwise; but that Ecclesiastical Goods and Inheritance might never return to the Laicks.

41. That when Ecclesiastical Persons, having Inheritance descending upon them, did die intestate, divers Bishops did claim that Inheritance themselves, to the prejudice of the next right Heirs.

42. That, whereas the Profits of certain Lands and Possessions Temporal, were sometimes casually transferred by Laicks to Ecclesiastical Persons, they laboured

laboured to retain the ſaid Lands as their own for ever, by ſubmitting them to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

43. That Biſhops would not confirm the Foundations of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, unleſs the Founders gave them the firſt beſtowing thereof.

44. That they were forced to purchaſe the Confirmation of them for great Sums of Money.

45. That, when by a Lay Perſon any Man were preſented to a Benefice, he could not be inveſted therein, till he had paid as much as a Year's Profit, or two, to the Biſhop and his Officers.

46. That Biſhops raiſe extraordinary Subſidies on the Prieſts under them, ſo that they cannot live unleſs they get Money again from the People. Inſomuch that they will adminiſter no Sacrament unleſs ſome Money be given.

47. That many are made Prieſts who have not Means to maintain the Charge, to the Derogation of their Dignity, while they exerciſe ſome forbid Trades; and that they who can get ſix Voices for a Certificate, obtain Orders, when yet thoſe Atteſtations were corruptly gotten.

48, 49. That more is exacted from the People for the Conſecration of Churches than is needful; and that, though Laicks beſtow divers Gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces, *&c.* yet Money is required for their Conſecration.

50. That if two or more fight in the Church yard with their Fiſts, to the drawing of never ſo little Blood, the Town muſt pay for the new Conſecration thereof.

51. That Suffragans uſed to Baptize Bells, under pretence of driving away Devils and Tempeſts; and, for this purpoſe, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exorciſed, and its Name invoked, unto which all the People muſt anſwer. And that a Banquet was uſed to be made hereupon, at the coſt of the Laicks, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, *&c.* whereas they deſired that the ſaid Bells might be baptized, not only by Suffrages, but by any Prieſt, with Holy-water, Salt and Herbs, without ſuch Coſts.

52. That, if in any Dioceſs a Solemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Biſhop uſed to take to himſelf a third or fourth Part of the Offering, which yet ought to have been employed in War againſt the *Turk*.

53. That, whereas ſome Nunneries were governed by Provoſts, the Biſhops refuſed to accept the ſaid Provoſts till the Nuns had given them Money.

54. That when any Abbot or Abbeſs was choſen, they muſt be conſecrated anew by the Suffragans, though otherwiſe they were capable of the Charge, and Feaſts made, and great Sums paid. That alſo many Offices were invented in the Court of *Rome*, ſo that Biſhops could not enter their Charge without paying great Fees, which again they were forced to get of the People as they could.

55. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges commonly were Perſons of an idle Life, and intentive wholly to gain.

56. That though the Plaintiff be Eccleſiaſtick, and the Defendant Laick, and that by the Law, *Actor Rei Forum ſequi debet*, yet the Cauſe was revok'd ſtill to the Eccleſiaſtical Court.

57. That though Juſtice be neither delayed nor denied in civil Courts, yet the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons drew Matters of Debt into their Courts, and oppreſſed Men by their rigid Cenſures.

58. That whereas Citations and Monitories are granted againſt Laicks, in many Caſes, which are known not to belong to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, yet that the Perſons ſo cited, either can get no Remedy herein, or that, before the Civil Magiſtrate can avoke the Cauſe, ſo much Time and Money is ſpent, as is intolerable to the poor Suitor.

59. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges drew many Cauſes to their Court, which belonged not to it, as Raviſhments of Virgins, ſome Caſes concerning Baſtardy, *&c.* which yet they could not be drawn to remit the ordinary Juriſdiction.

60. That, when a Man were wrongfully called before Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and at laſt, after much Charges diſmiſſed, yet unleſs his Adverſaries Proctor were ſatisfied to the full, he ran the Danger of Excommunication.

61. That Laicks, though by long Preſcription they paid neither great nor ſmall Tenths, out of certain of their Lands, yet received Citations from Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and were conſtrained to pay, under Penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeal to *Rome*, for fear of more exceſſive Charges.

62. That all belonging to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons laboured alſo to take the Advantage of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, when they had any Suit againſt Laicks.

63. That, on Occaſion of injurious Words only, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons drew the Suit to their Courts, and ſuffered not the lawful Judge to determine it.

64. That, in all Cauſes where Oaths are interpoſed, Eccleſiaſtical Judges uſed to avoke them, upon Pretence that Matters of Oaths were not otherwiſe to be decided; which at laſt yet would wholly fruſtrate Secular Courts; there being ſo many Caſes wherein Oaths intervene.

65. That, when their Judgments concern'd their Eccleſiaſtical Superiors, they dare not exerciſe them, but only let them run againſt the poorer Sort.

66. That they have invented many Reformations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, wholly differing from the uſual and Common Law; which yet tend not ſo much to the Good of the People, as their own private Gain.

67. That, it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spiritual Puniſhments ſhould be inflicted for ſpiritual and manifeſt Sins, Eccleſiaſtical Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggravate theſe Puniſhments ſo far, that Laicks were forced to redeem them without Money.

68. That Men and Women being falſly accuſed, yet upon their Purgation, they were ſo far from receiving Satisfaction, that they were forced to pay for Letters of Abſolution; and Oaths; beſides, taken of malicious and wicked Women, upon Words ſpoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur Perjury, and occaſion much Offence.

69. That, when Buſineſs of Matrimony had proceeded ſo far, that one of the Parties pretended a Contract, which the other denied, and that ſome Gifts as Earneſts of Marriage had paſſed betwixt them, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges

yet ſeparating the Parties, keep the Gifts for themſelves, as Forfeit or eſcheated.

70. That, whereas there are certain Cauſes ſo belonging to both Juriſdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which firſt queſtions them, (as manifeſt Perjuries, Adulteries, *&c.*) yet the Eccleſiaſtical Judges forbad the Civil to meddle herein.

71. That, upon Pretence of Laicks, that they cannot obtain of the Secular Magiſtrate Execution of Juſtice, Citations were uſually granted from the Eccleſiaſtical Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the Space of a Month to end the ſaid Cauſe, or otherwiſe that they would take Order; when yet, the Cauſe being brought before them, depended often the Space of three Years, without that they would grant the like Power to Secular Judges.

72. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges, under Colour of Preſcription, arrogated much to themſelves, when as yet no Preſcription can avail againſt the Pope and Emperor.

73. That Offenders, after private Confeſſion, being required to do publick Penance before all the People, are compelled alſo to pay Money to Eccleſiaſtical Officers.

74. That inſtead of forbidding Uſury, they permit it for Money given them; and that for an annual Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular Perſons to live publickly with their Harlots and get Children.

75. That if one of the married Couple take a Journey, either to the Wars, or to perform a Vow, to a far Country, they permit the Party remaining at Home, if the other ſtay long away, upon a Sum of Money paid, to cohabit with another, not examining ſufficiently whether the abſent Party were dead.

76, 77, 78. That Synodal Judges, going to poor Towns and Villages every where, draw annual Tribute thence, or excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw Money weekly in many Places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, *&c.* under the ſame Penalty.

79. That they ſend Inhibitory Letters to Laicks, forbidding them to proceed in their Suit before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forced to the Eccleſiaſtical Court, or otherwiſe to appeal to *Rome*.

80. That many, not being able to endure the Charges of Law in theſe Kinds, are forced to make ſome bad Bargain and Compoſition, being not able to ſtand out.

81. That whereas Eccleſiaſtical Judges, by giving Oaths to the Advocates and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifeſt their Clients could have little Hope of Aſſiſtance, when the Cauſe any Way concern'd the ſaid Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any Remedy for this, but by their Admiſſion of foreign Advocates, to whom yet ſo ſhort a Time was allowed for bringing them to the Bar, as they could not eaſily come.

82. That the poorer Sort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parſon, were often denied the Communion.

83. That Labourers in Time of Vintage were excommunicated, unleſs they took ſuch Seaſons as the Eccleſiaſticks preſcribed, upon Pretence that their Tenths might ſuffer Damage thereby.

84. That Synodal Judges, going Progreſs yearly under Pretext of Viſitations

tation, and inflicting Puniſhment on Offenders, took only Occaſion to exact Money.

85. That the Canons of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, who had Power to chuſe a Prelate or Superior, would not elect him, until he firſt promiſed and bound himſelf not to contradict them in any Buſineſs, (how foul ſoever and diſhoneſt) and that if they offended, he ſhould not puniſh them.

86. That Livings belonging to Biſhops, Monaſteries, *&c.* were ſet forth to Vicars, at ſo dear Rates, that they were forced to get Money again from the Poor for Confeſſions, Anniverſaries, Obits, *&c.*

87. That, though Prieſts by their Foundation ought to ſing ſuch a Maſs on ſuch a Day, yet they will have Money therefore. Beſides, with one Maſs they think to ſerve divers Benefices.

88. That if any of their Pariſhioners, for Marriage or other Occaſion quitted his Houſe or Dwelling, he muſt pay ſo much to the Prieſt for Teſtimonials, or be excommunicated.

89. That whereas, by the Pope's Canons they only are denied Chriſtian Burial, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortal Sin, yet their Eccleſiaſticks extended the Law further, and denied Burial to Men deceaſed by Chance, as drown'd or kill'd, until ſuch Money were paid.

90. That many Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons mix'd themſelves with the Multitude, dancing and diſguiſing themſelves; wearing Swords, with which they made Affrays, and hurt People, and yet conſtrained them to pay.

91. That in moſt Places, Biſhops, and their Officials not only tolerated Concubinage, upon paying Money, in the more diſſolute Sort of Monks, but exacted it alſo in the more continent; ſaying, it was now at their Choice whether they would have Concubines or no.

92. That at the Dedication of Churches, Permiſſion was given to the Chaplains and Prieſts to ſet up Taverns, Dice, Cards, *&c.*

93. That at the Point of Death, they perſuaded Men by Flattery and Fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them.

94. That Mendicant Friers drew many Cauſes to *Rome* unjuſtly, to the Grievance of the Laicks, getting alſo ſo much Money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hats for their Generals at a huge Rate, and that they much moleſted Nunneries.

95, 96, 97. That the Legates and Orators of Popes made Baſtards and other born *ex damnato coitu* to be legitimate, to the no little Wrong of the right Heirs. And that they made alſo certain Viſcount Palatines as their Subſtitutes, having Power alſo to legitimate and admit Baſtards to Succeſſion; and to make Notaries, when yet ſome of them are ſo ignorant, as they know not what belongs to a Notaries Place. Beſides, the ſaid Legates go about to abſolve Men from their Oaths, Pacts, and Obligations, with Permiſſion to treat *de novo*; than which nothing yet repugned more to Equity and Juſtice. Beſides, that they endeavoured to take Living from the true Patrons, and beſtow them as they pleas'd.

98. That,

98. That, becauſe Religious Perſons ſucceeded ſecular Men in their Inheritance, and not *vice verſa*; there could be no Equality, unleſs that before they entered into a religious Life, they renounced their Succeſſion in temporal Eſtates.

99. That the chief part of theſe Grievances having been repreſented in the late Diet at *Worms* to the Emperor by the Lay-States, againſt Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, that yet no Remedy enſued. And that therefore all the ſecular States of the *Roman* Empire renewed now their Petition to the Pope, that his Holineſs would reform theſe Abuſes.

100. That there are many Grievances more intolerable than theſe, which the ſaid ſecular Eſtates of the *Roman* Empire could ſhew, but, for Brevity, did forbear, as hoping that when thoſe were taken away, the reſt would follow.

Wherefore, by Way of final Petition the ſaid ſecular Eſtates of the *Roman* Empire, both of the higher and lower Sort, did beſeech his Holineſs to take away, amend and abrogate the ſaid Grievances; or otherwiſe that themſelves would take ſuch Courſe as ſhould be expedient for the Remedy thereof.

While that his Holineſs might take the better Notice thereof, they thought fit to digeſt their Grievances into theſe Heads, and ſend them to his Holineſs.

Theſe Abuſes and Grievances (which, as much as through the Obſcurity of ſome Terms uſed there, was poſſible, I have endeavoured faithfully to abbreviate) being publiſhed, *Luther* became more obſtinated, repenting now his Submiſſion at *Worms*; inſomuch that at *Wittenberg*, he doubted not to aboliſh the old Maſs, and to frame a new Liturgy, *&c.* Of which more hereafter.

Our King finding his extraordinary Ways for levying Money to fail, or at leaſt having reſolved to determine them in a Parliament, ſummon'd it to be held in the *Black Friers* of *London* upon the 15th of *April*, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign. And here the Cardinal took Order that the Spirituality ſhould lead. The Buſineſs of Subſidy, therefore, being brought into the Convocation Houſe, found a fair Way for the moſt Part. Yet *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and one *Philips* oppoſed it. But the Cardinal, ſilencing ſome, and cauſing others to abſent themſelves, prevailed at laſt. Inſomuch that one half of the Revenues ſpiritual for one Year, was granted payable in five Years following. Hence the Cardinal went to the Houſe of Commons, where in an elegant Oration, Breach of Faith was laid to the Charge of *Francis* I. upon the League ſworn for the general Peace of Chriſtendom. Beſides, Default of Payment for *Tournay*, and other Things were objected; ſo that the King could do no leſs in this publick Cauſe, than join War with *Charles* the Emperor againſt him. And becauſe the Charge thereof was caſt up to 800,000 Pounds, it was required, that the aforeſaid Sum might be raiſed out of the fifth Part of every Mans Goods aud Lands to be paid in four Years.

This being ſaid, the Cardinal departed. The next Day Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker of the Houſe, inforced this Demand, demonſtrating how it was not much on this Occaſion, to pay four

Shillings

Shillings in the Pound. But the Houſe of Commons anſwered, that though ſome were well monied, yet in general the fifth Part of Mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in Stock or Cattle. And that to pay away all their Coin would alter the whole Frame and Intercourſe of all Things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Landlords in Corn and Cattle only; and the Landlord again could not put them off for thoſe Things he had need of, there would be a Stop in all Traffick and Merchandize, and conſequently the Shipping of the Kingdom muſt decay; and the Nation itſelf for Want of Money, grow in a Sort barbarous and ignoble. To this was anſwered,

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as loſt, or taken away, but only to be transfer'd into other Hands of their Kindred or Nation: Herein therefore, that no more was done, than what we ſee ordinarily in Markets; where, though the Money change Maſters, yet every one is accommodated. Howſoever, that no Man ought to refuſe unto him that fighteth for the Honour and Safety of his Country, ſo much as will maintain him; ſince he denies it not even to his Labourer. That thoſe who are employ'd, muſt have been fed when they ſtaid idle at home, and yet that they aſk'd no more now, to give the uttermoſt Proofs of well-deſerving Patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhauſt the Coin from the poorer ſort; but, to avoid this Objection, let the richer go themſelves. Let them ſhew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater Parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or when they would deſire to be exempt, and lay the Burthen and Hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving ſo poor a Stipend, as ſome of their Servants, at Home, would ſcarcely take to ſtand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themſelves more than others, becauſe they have larger Poſſeſſions, unleſs they imploy it to the publick Good; ſince, in antient Times, and even true Reaſon of State, they deſerv'd not ſo much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defend it. Nor is it well ſaid of you, when you object that this will carry the Money out of *England*, and leave it in *France*; for doth it not carry the Men too, and ſo in Effect prove but the ſame Expence? Notwithſtanding, if you be ſo Obſtinate, as to believe that making War in a Country brings Money to it, do but conceive a while, that the *French* had invaded us. Would the Money they brought over, think you, enrich our Country? ſhould any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aſide thoſe poor Scruples, and do what may be worthy the Dignity and Honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worſt that can fall out, you ſhould yet eat your Beef and Mutton here, and wear your Country Cloth; while others, upon a ſhort Allowance, fought, only that you might enjoy your Families and Liberty. But I ſay confidently you need not fear this penury or ſcarceneſs of Money; the intercourſe of Things being ſo eſtabliſhed throughout the whole World, that there is a perpetual Derivation of all that can be neceſſary to Mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to go far, I ſhall produce our own Merchants only, who,

who, let me aſſure you, will be always as glad of your Corn and Cattle, as you can be of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore, in God's Name, do what becomes us, and for the reſt entertain ſo good an Opinion of our Soldiers, as to believe, that inſtead of leaving our Country bare, they will add new Provinces to it, or at leaſt, bring rich Spoils and Triumphs home.

At laſt, after ſome Debate and Contention, it was agreed by the Commons, that every Man of Eſtate of twenty Pounds yearly and upwards, ſhould pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pound a Year downward to forty Shillings, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings every Head of ſixteen Years Old or more ſhould pay four Pence, in two Years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, ſeem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, He told them, that he deſir'd to reaſon with thoſe who oppos'd his Demands; but being anſwer'd, that it was the order of that Houſe to hear, and not to reaſon, but among themſelves, the Cardinal departed. Yet by the liberal Motion of ſome of the Lower Houſe, thoſe of five Pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one Shilling more, being three Shillings in the Pound, for three Years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth Year, and extended to thoſe who were worth five Pound in Goods, was all that could be obtain'd.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, the fourteenth and fifteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. were theſe.

That our Merchants might have eight Days preference before Strangers, for buying of Broad white-woollen Cloths, brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*; unleſs in Fairs, Ports, Creeks, *&c.* That Strangers uſing a Handy-craft, ſhould take no Apprentices, nor above two Journeymen, unleſs they were the King's Subjects. That they ſhould be under the Search and Reformation of the Wardens and Fellowſhip of Handy-Crafts, and one ſubſtantial Stranger, to be choſen by the ſaid Wardens. That they ſhould cauſe a Mark to be put on the Wares, and Workmanſhip, to be known thereby. That, if they were falſly and deceitfully made, they ſhould be forfeited. That this Proviſion ſhould extend to Strangers, living in other Towns than *London*. That, if Strangers were wrong'd, they might ſeek their Remedy from the Lord Chancellor and Treaſurer of *England*, or the Juſtices of Aſſize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentices or Journeymen might continue as before, and ſo to endure till the laſt Day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to Strangers of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and the Sanctuary of St. *Martins le Grand* in *London*. That, if the Officers refuſed to put a Mark on the Wares, or Workmanſhip of Joyners, Black-Smiths, *&c.* being Strangers; that then it was lawful for the Strangers to ſell them without the ſaid Mark. That Lords and others the Kings Subjects of an hundred Pounds Yearly, might take and retain Strangers, being Joyners and Glaſiers, for their private Service, this Act notwithſtanding. That *Engliſh* Men living under foreign Princes, and being ſworn to them, ſhould pay ſuch Cuſtom to our King, Subſidy and Toll, as other Strangers of thoſe Parts do. And that the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, or the King's Ambaſſadors in foreign Countries, ſhall certify their Names to the Chancery, to the intent that order

may be given therein to the King's Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet if any ſuch *Engliſh* Man, did return to inhabit here, that then he ſhould be reſtored to all Liberties of a Subject.

A College of Phyſicians (among whom was that famous and learned *Linaker*, chief Phyſician to the King) was erected, and certain Authorities and Privileges granted to them.

Moreover the Statute of 6 *Henry* VIII. 13. for ſhooting in Croſs-Bows, or Hand-Guns was diſpenſed with in Men of one hundred Pound *per Annum*. That Coiners who make Money in any Mint in *England*, ſhould Coin of every hundred Pounds of Gold, twenty Pound into half Angels or pieces of ſixty Pence, and of every hundred Pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certain Portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings, the Farthings to have a Mark different from the Half-pence. That they who bring leſs than one hundred Pounds in Bullion or Plate to the Mint, ſhall have the tenth Part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet ſhall not extend to the Mint-maſters of *York*, *Durham*, or *Canterbury*. Concerning which Law, it is worth the Noting, that though it was for the Benefit of the Subjects, to have ſo much of the ſmalleſt ſort of Coin, yet by Reaſon of their Littleneſs, it is all worn out.

That they which be in the King's Service in Wars may aliene their Lands, for performance of their Wills, without any fine for Alienation. And, if any of them die in the King's Service in War, his Feoffees or Executors ſhall have the Wardſhip of his Heir and Lands.

I find alſo in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And another for the Reſtitution of *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to the ſaid Duke.

Alſo an Act paſſed that the King ſhall, for his Life, have Authority by his Letters Patents at his Pleaſure to Reverſe, Repeal, and Annul, all Attainders of High-Treaſon, and to reſtore their Heirs, *&c.*

While theſe Affairs at home were in Agitation, the Cardinal ſending *Thomas Anniball*, Doctor of Law, to Pope *Adrian* then in *Spain*, obtained the Continuance of his Legatine Power for five Years more, which yet, ſaith *Polidore*, he made ſo venial, as if, to recompence the heavy Loans and Payments he had impos'd on the People, he would take order to diſcharge them of their Sins at an eaſy rate.

The King having ſent divers Times into *Scotland*, to require that his Nephew *James*, might have Exerciſe of that regal Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of *Albany* diſcharg'd from his Place of Vice-Roy, receiv'd ſo uncertain and dilatory Anſwers, that he thought fit to deſiſt a while from his Deſigns in *France*, and to purſue this. Therefore he makes a particular Diſpatch to Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Treaſurer of his Houſhold, and Mr. *Richard Sampſon* Dean of his Chappel, Reſident then in *Spain*, requiring them to excuſe him, if he did not proceed ſo roundly to the Execution of the Treaty at *Windſor*, (formerly mention'd) ſince, for defence of his Nephew, he was conſtrain'd to take in Hand the Buſineſs of *Scotland*; yet that he would, in good Time, perform all that could be requir'd on his Part. Together with which they were charged, to intimate ſome Jealouſies he had of a near Alliance propos'd betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*; whereof he would gladly be

be clear'd. Preſently after which, he ſent the Duke of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the Borders, commanding him to join with Marqueſs *Dorſet*, Warden of the Eaſt and middle Marches, and Lord *Dacres* Warden of the Weſt Borders of *Scotland*. Theſe Lords, having gather'd together convenient Forces, took *Iedworth*; and, making frequent Incurſions, did great harm to that Country; without other Intention yet, as the *Scotiſh* have it, than to reduce that Nation to a better Intelligence with *England*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Albany*, who was in *France*, prepares to return to *Scotland*. Our King, advertis'd hereof, ſends out his Navy to intercept him. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* with thirty-ſix great Ships, coaſting *France*, and Sir *Anthony Pointz* with a convenient Navy, guarding the Weſtern Seas. While *Fitz-Williams* attended this Occaſion, he diſcover'd twelve *French* Ships, in which the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* and divers others of Quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had ſent before him into *Scotland*. Giving Chaſe to theſe, two of them were caſt away near the Havens of *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. After which, *Fitz-Williams*, leaving part of his Fleet to ſhut up the *French* Ships, which were fled into thoſe Havens, proceeded himſelf along the *French* Coaſts, landing in divers Places and waſting the Country; till at laſt he came to *Treport*, a Town ſtrongly Situated and Garriſon'd with three thouſand Men; which Fortifications our Men (though a far leſs Number) gain'd, together with divers Pieces of Ordnance, chaſing the *French* that remain'd to the Town; yet finding it was not their Buſineſs to lay a Siege at this Time, they only burnt the Suburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and ſo return'd. The Duke of *Albany*, knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the *Engliſh*, had caus'd all Proviſion for his Return unto *Scotland* to be conceal'd, and made it to be voiced Abroad, that he had no purpoſe to ſtir out of *France* this Year: Which our King underſtanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no ſooner in Harbour, than *Albany* haſting together his Men and Ships, ſet Sail at *Breſt*; and, paſſing along the Weſt Coaſt of *England*, landed in the Iſland of *Arraine*, *Sept.* 24. to the great Joy of the *Scots*, and with him came *Richard de la Pole* and three thouſand *French*. When *Albany* came, the Minds of the Nobility were divided, ſome favour'd the *Engliſh*, ſome the *French*: It being diſputed much before the Coming of the Governor, to whether ſide it were beſt to adhere.

The Favourers of the *Engliſh* Party, which were many, alledg'd the Conformity in Perſon, Manners, Language, and Laws betwixt the two Nations; their living and neighbourhood within the ſame Iſland; the Power the *Engliſh* had, not only to do more good or hurt, but ſooner than the *French* could prevent them: That the *Engliſh* were Maſters of the Seas, and thereby, able to ſtop, and interclude all Succour that could come to them from any other Place. Laſtly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of *Scotland*, wherein he did offer both to maintain Peace there, and to confirm it, by giving the Princeſs *Mary* his Daughter in Marriage unto *James* his Nephew, ſince he had vehement Suſpicions that *Charles* intended a Match elſewhere.

Thoſe who favour'd the *French*, whereof many, ſaith the ſame Author, were gained with large Gifts, and Penſions, or were ſuch, as being of a mean

Fortune, desir'd to make their Advantage in the publick Troubles, replied hereunto, that Credit was not easily to be given to the specious Pretext of a new Alliance, the former having succeeded no better; especially, when all things in *England* were ordered chiefly, according to the Pleasure of Cardinal *Woolsey*, a wicked and ambitious Man, as *Buchanan* hath it. That, the Occasions of falling out betwixt potent Neighbours, being frequent, Friends were to be sought out in any other Place. Howsoever, their antient Ally, the *French*, was to be acquainted herewith; and no Time to be lost for Preparations to defend themselves.

These, though but Cavils of the more tumultuous sort, being joined to the Rancour of others, prevail'd so with the heady Multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor summon'd as soon as he came to *Scotland*, it was presently resolv'd that he should raise a puissant Army. These being gathered, march'd to a Wooden Bridge over *Tweed*, near *Mul-Rosse*, which leads to *England*; here the Duke pass'd over the greatest part of his Forces, intending the rest should follow; but because divers muttered against the Causlesness and Danger of this Attempt, he thought it his best Course, presently to bring them back again. Passing thence, he commanded Siege to be laid to the Castle of *Werke*, lately fortified by the Earl of *Surry*. Some *French* here, that served on the *Scottish* Side, found Means to enter the base Court, in which the Cattel and Corn of the Neighbourhood in dangerous Times were usually kept. But the *English*, for all other manner of Repulse, setting Fire only to the Hay and Straw there, smoaked out the *French*: Hereupon a Battery was planted against the Walls, and sufficient Breach made; wherewith an Assault was given by the *French* and others, but being beaten back with the Loss of many, and the Earl of *Surry* being with a great Army not far off, the Duke desisted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that Year: Shortly after which by the Mediation of Queen *Margaret*, a Truce was concluded. And thus our King quitted himself of the Troubles which *Francis* stirr'd against him, in *Scotland*. Let us now look on *Ireland*, for there also *Francis* had his Projects. And *Tillet* sets down a Treaty between *Francis* and *James* Earl of *Desmond*, in *June* 1523. But, as it took no Effect, by Reason of *Francis*'s Business in other Parts, so it hastned the second Troubles of the Earl of *Kildare*, who though he had freed himself of his Imprisonment in *England*, by the Favour he got upon his Match with *Elizabeth Gray*, Sister to the Marques *Dorset*, and so was remitted home to his former Charge, *Pierce Butler* being upon some Accusations put out, yet being Kinsman to *Desmond*, he could not so behave himself, but that his ill-willers found Arguments to traduce him; but of this in its Place.

While these Things were doing, the Kingdom of *Denmark* suffered a great Change: For *Christiern* II. succeeding his Father *John*, *Anno* 1514, the *Swedes* not long after rebelled, making *StenoStura* their Head; who yet being slain in Battle, and the *Swedes* overcome, *Christiern* commands his Body to be dis-interr'd and burnt; which, with other Cruelties, made the *Swedes* take Arms again under *Gustavus Erixon*, whom they made their King, and separated themselves wholly from the Crown of *Denmark*: *Christiern* having thus lost *Sweden*, and incurred the Hatred of the *Danes* by his tyranni-

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cal Government, fearing Conſpiracy at home, and War from abroad, left his Kingdom to be invaded and taken by his Uncle *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſt*, whom the *Lubeckers* aided in the Enterprize; and, flying together with *Iſabel*, Siſter to *Charles* the Emperor, and his three Children, one Son and two Daughters, as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went firſt to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* with a ſmall Train came hither. Their Misfortune yet did not hinder them to find a Reception worthy their Degree; our Queen, being Aunt to his, taking particular Compaſſion on them. After all manner of Royal Entertainment therefore, for the Space of about three Weeks that they ſtaid, and divers rich Preſents beſtow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon ſome Hopes given them of recovering their Kingdom, to depart hence again into *Flanders*.

The Duke of *Suffolk*, being attended by the Lord *Montacute*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Ferrers*, Lord *Morney*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Berkley*, Lord *Powys*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of ſix hundred Demilances, two hundred Archers on Horſeback, three thouſand Archers on Foot, and five thouſand Bill-men, beſides two thouſand and ſix hundred Priſoners, came to *Calais*. To theſe again the Duke added one thouſand and ſeven hundred more, taken out of the Garriſons thereabouts: With this little Army he marched into the Enemy's Country, taking all Places that reſiſted him by the Way. At laſt *Florence d'Egmond Count de Bure*, General to the Emperor, join'd his Forces; ſo that in all they made about twenty thouſand Men; yet, as it was now about the latter End of *September*, and the Weather prov'd very unſeaſonable, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King *Henry* yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperials ſaid it was impregnable; and that for entring *France*, it were better to coaſt the River of *Soam*, which they did, their Deſign being to come to a Battle, as being advertis'd that the *French* had long ſince attended their coming. But finding no Forces in the Field, they beſieged *Bray* on the River *Soam*. In this Town *Monſieur Antoine de Crequi*, *Seigneur de Pont Dormy* commanded, with a ſtrong Garriſon; but a Breach being made by our Men, and violently aſſaulted, *Antoine de Crequi* having ſet fire to the Town, fled over the Bridge, with the Men that remain'd, drawing ſome Boards after him; but our Men laying on other Planks, and getting over, chaſed him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little ſafe from the Fire but ſome Cellars of Wine, which, in that cold and wet Time, was a great Relief. From hence, paſſing over *Soam*, they marched towards *Roye*, taking by the Way ſome leſſer Places. This Town being ſummon'd, and promiſing to yield, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, with four hundred Men, was ſent to take Poſſeſſion of it. Thence the Army marched towards *Montdidier*, where, by the Way, *Monſieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with ſome of our Horſe ſcatter'd, put them to the worſt: But at laſt, more of our Men coming, his Horſe was kill'd under him; and he, mounting on another, was conſtrained to fly. *Monſieur de Barnieulles* and *de Canaples*, yet ſtood the Shock, to favour the Retreat of the reſt; which Part while they performed bravely, our Men overthrew and took them Priſoners, with ſome others of Note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monſieur de Roche Baron*, with about 1200 Men, commanded. But after ſome

four Hours Battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yielded. The Duke with his Army, had now paſs'd the River of *Oyſe*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*, without meeting with any notable Encounter. The *Pariſians* hereupon were much troubled; neither could the coming of *Monſieur de Vendoſme*, with ſome Forces, exempt them altogether from Fear: But the Time of Year being far ſpent, and the Weather falling out to be ſo extreme cold, that almoſt all the Corn in *France* was frozen and ſpoil'd that Year, as the *French* confeſs, our Men were forced to return: Beſides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries* withdrew Pay from her Soldiers, and let all the Charge fall upon King *Henry*. It was not therefore a Miſdoubt of any Attempt of the *French*, whatſoever they brag, they having no Army in the Field, but only the Cauſe formerly alledg'd that made them retire. They took yet the Caſtle of *Bouchain*, near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet, together with the other Places, was preſently recovered by the *French*. Our King, hearing now the Armies were diſſolv'd, ſeem'd to be much incenſed; his Intention being to keep and fortify the Places that were taken; therefore he had commanded the Lord *Mountjoy*, with ſix thouſand Men, to reinforce the Troops; but before the King's Pleaſure could be certified to *France*, the Duke, who by Reaſon of the foul Ways, left his great Ordnance in the Town of *Valenciennes*, was come, with the reſt of his Army, to *Calais*, where he thought good to ſtay till the King's Anger was appeas'd, by the repreſenting of thoſe important and neceſſary Cauſes, that made him deſiſt from any other Enterprize this Year, wherewith therefore the King at laſt being entirely ſatisfied, he was received into his former Grace and Favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies diſſolved and ruin'd, reſolves in Perſon to bring a third: For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the *French* Forces could command, and that, together, they had not their Pay in due Time, he intended now to remedy theſe Faults; but this Voyage ſucceeded worſt of all, ſo little can intervening Accidents, but eſpecially thoſe of War, be prevented by human Wiſdom. Being on his Way now as far as *Lyons*, he hears three Armies were preparing againſt him; one on the Part of our King, for *Picardy*; another on the Emperor's Part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*; and a third on the *Spaniſh* Side, for *Fontarabia*: That on the *Engliſh* Side yet aſtoniſhed him moſt, as ſuſpecting he had given our King enough to do in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; therefore he ſtays at *Lyons*, and ſends *Bonivet* before with the greateſt part of his Forces, conſiſting of the Flower of the Nobility of *France*; in which alſo *Richard de la Pole*, return'd now from *Scotland*, was, and reſerves the reſt for the moſt urgent Occaſions. Only he wanted *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, whom I find ſo conſiderable a Perſon at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to ſpeak of him with much Particularity. The Cauſes of his Diſcontentment, as the *French* Writers have it, were many.

That, being of great Blood and excellent Parts, he was excluded from the King's ſecret Council.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the Time of *Lewis* XII. *Francis* challenged him to a Duel, which Unkindneſs yet, *Francis* coming to the Crown, effaced by giving him the Place of Conſtable.

That

That he was denied to have *Renee*, Siſter to Queen *Claude*, when yet ſhe deſir'd to marry him.

That, as is before-mention'd, the King gave the Vant-guard from him, being Conſtable, to the Duke of *Alancon*.

That having laid out much Money for the Wars of *Italy* out of his Purſe, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd ſome Penſions and Rents, which were due to him for divers Years.

That a Proceſs, or Law-ſuit, was brought againſt him about the Dutchy of *Bourbon*, being Inheritance devolv'd to him in Right of *Suſan* his Wife, lately dead.

That *Louiſe*, the King's Mother, perſecuted him, becauſe he refuſed to marry her, and was Suitor to *Renee*.

That the Chancellor and others oppoſed him for the Sake of *Louiſe*, who was in greateſt Authority.

Theſe again being induſtriouſly fomented by *Adrian de Croy*, *Seigneur de Bourain*, on the Emperor's Part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, Reſident for our King with Lady *Margaret*; and laſtly, by Sir *John Ruſſel*, who, in diſguiſed Habit often treated with him, as I find by our Records, made him finally revolt: Neither did our King make Difficulty to appear herein: *Francis* having not only ſupported *Richard de le Pole*, but treated with *Deſmond*; ſo that finally, Conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon* to this Effect:

That he ſhould marry *Leonora*, Siſter to the Emperor, and Wife to *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, lately dead.

That he ſhould be King of ſome part of *France*, as ſoon as *Francis* was outed.

That the Emperor ſhould have *Burgundy* and *Artois*; and our King *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, and the Title of King of *France*; and that, beſides, he ſhould renounce all the Claim the *French* pretend to *Italy*.

This yet was not kept ſo cloſe, but ſome Notice of it came to *Francis*; who thereupon, with a ſingular Franchiſe, did viſit him at *Molins*, faining then to be ſick, and diſcover'd the Intelligence given him, promiſing yet that all ſhould be forgotten upon his Confeſſion, and Aſſurance to ſerve him faithfully in his Wars; giving furthermore his Royal Word, that the Inheritance now in queſtion ſhould be reſtored, when it were by Law evicted. *Bourbon* thus ſurpris'd, and counterfeiting his Weakneſs ſtill, confeſs'd he was indeed ſought to, but would never condeſcend to any Diſloyalty. The King hereupon departed well ſatisfied in Appearance; but as the Proceſs or Law-Suit went on, and ſome ſecret Guards were put on him: *Bourbon*, offended, eſcapes in a diſguiſed Habit to *Genoa*, whither the *Seigneur de Beaurain* came from the Emperor to offer him his Choice, whether he would command the Imperial Army in *Italy*, or come to *Spain*, where *Charles* had newly extinguiſhed a Rebellion in *Mallorca*, and given Order to beſiege *Fontarabia*; but *Bourbon* choſe to command the Army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply beſt with both Princes, to whom he was oblig'd, as I find by our Records, to furniſh five hundred Men at Arms, and ten thouſand Foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But *Francis* had alſo other ſtrong Oppoſitions; for though he laboured to retain the *Venetians*, yet, as that State conſidered *Italy* would be quietter when *Franciſco Sforza* held *Milan*, than if it came under the Dominion of the *French*, they eaſily abandoned *Francis*.

Whereupon a League was entred into betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*,

nand, *Francisco Sforza*, *Julio de Medicis*, the *Florentines*, those of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoua*, and the *Venetians*; Place being left also for our King; by which it was concluded, among other Things, that the *Venetians* should furnish six thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse, when *Francisco Sforza* in *Milan*, or the Emperor in *Naples*, were invaded.

That the Emperor would do as much for them in the like Case.

All Parts thus tending to War, *Bonivet* using much Diligence, marched strait to *Milan*, where *Colonna* had retir'd himself, the Army of the League being not yet joined. But *Galeazzo*, Viscount of *Milan*, meeting and desiring him to stay till he had raised a Tumult in the City, whereof he assured him in two or three Days, *Bonivet* lost his Opportunity; *Colonna* using that Space to put the Town in such Defence as *Bonivet* retir'd; yet so as he forgot not to relieve the Castle of *Cremona*, the Garrison whereof was reduced only to eight Persons; neither did he more of Importance, tho' *Colonna* now died, but attended six thousand *Grisons*, and eight thousand *Swisses*; but as the *Grisons*, finding their Passage seised on, returned: So the *Swisses*, because they wanted only four hundred Horse to convoy them, according to the Agreement made, refused to come to the *French*, when the Imperial Army, now united, was approaching. This made the *French* wade through a Water to join with them; but *Bourbon* and the Imperialists passing also, charged the *French* so, as *Bonivet* being hurt escaped, and the *Court de Saint Pol* and *Bayard* sustained the Shock. When *Bayard* having received a mortal Hurt, whereof he died, leaning on a Tree, with his Face turn'd to the Enemy, all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon also *Alessandria*, *Rhodes*, and other Places were rendered: But at *Fontarabia*, *Francis* had no better Fortune; for *Frauget*, Governor thereof, being desirous to save his Goods, yielded the Place without much Constraint, towards the End of *September*, 1523, for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at *Lyons* publickly.

Notwithstanding all these Oppositions, yet *Francis* lost not his native Courage, but proceeded in his Design for *Italy*. For as he knew the Army of the League had different Designs, he hoped some Occasion or other would disunite them; neither did it trouble him that *Sforza* was put in the Possession of *Milan*: For he knew the Imperialists would hold a Hand high and hard enough to disoblige him. Besides, he found that a Design the Emperor had on *Burgundy*, failed, for want of Money to pay certain *Lansquenets*, who thereupon were drawn to his Service.

Adrian's Death this while intervening, through Poison, as some have it, Cardinal *Woolsey* hearing thereof, by a Letter dated *September* 30, 1523. advertiseth the King hereof; adding further, that his not being at *Rome* was the only Obstacle that could hinder him from obtaining that Dignity. Yet, that he thought none there present would be elected, by Reason of the Faction among them. Therefore he humbly intreated his Highness, that, since heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, he would now assist him. This Letter was seconded by another, dated *October* 1, desiring the King to write with his own Hand to the Emperor to this purpose. Notwithstanding all which Endeavours, he being, about two Months after, inform'd that *Julio de Medici* was made Pope,

Pope, by the Name of *Clement* VII. thought fit, for Juſtification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the Buſineſs was not yet ſo clearly carried, but that many of the Cardinals concur'd on him; though, by Reaſon of his Abſence, and the dangerous State of *Italy*, which requir'd preſent Remedies, they inſiſted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal to ſend to *John Clark* now Biſhop of *Bath*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Annibal* Doctor of Law and Maſter of the Rolls, then Reſident at *Rome*, a Diſpatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the Diſaffection he had ever ſhew'd to the *French*, but to give publick Teſtimonies thereof, according to the Greatneſs of that Power which now was in him. The Cardinal alſo, by a particular Diſpatch, deſir'd *Richard Pace* to procure that his Legatine Power might be amplified; proteſting that, by Reaſon of the King's Prerogative, and other Cauſes, it was not a thouſand Ducats Yearly to him, yet if that his Authority and Faculties might be enlarged, that it ſhould be thankfully acknowledged. All which *Clement* condeſcended unto, and the Legatine Power, which *Adrian* granted only from five Years to five Years, was now, by a new Example, given him for term of Life, *Jan.* 9, 1524.

Thus had *Woolſey*, to comfort him for his Repulſe in *Rome*, a kind of Papal Authority in *England*; whereof, alſo, he made the uttermoſt Uſe. Though, while amongſt other Viſitations, he would needs viſit the *Freres Obſervants*, he found himſelf reſiſted, which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having deſir'd him particularly to ſpare them.

While theſe greater Exploits in *France* and *Scotland* paſs'd thus, many brave Actions with ſmall Numbers were perform'd in the Confines of the *Engliſh* and *French* Pale; inſomuch that a Company of Adventurers there, nick-nam'd the *Crakers*, grew very famous thereby; till, being at laſt oppreſſed by the Count *Dun-martin*, who with one thouſand five hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot, aſſailed them, being only one hundred ſeventy-five Foot and twenty-five Horſe, they took their End; which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the laſt Man. The like Feats alſo were done between the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* on either Side, ſome of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as theſe Wars in ſeveral Countries, drove the King to an exceſſive Charge, ſo, in *October* 1514, it was required, from all Men worth forty Pound, that the whole Subſidy, granted in Parliament, and payable in four Years, ſhould be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire Payment.

This the Commons imputed to the Cardinal, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity would ever prove a ſufficient Protection for him againſt the hate of the People. Therefore, he doubted not to be the Author of many raſh Counſels, upon pretence only of furniſhing the King's Neceſſities; neither did he believe, that, when he had precipitated the royal Authority to violent and dangerous Courſes, himſelf ſhould fall: As thinking his Place in the Church ſo high, as would give him leave ever to look ſecurely upon any Ruin; ſome Arguments whereof appear'd in his Deſign to build two Colleges, one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich*, where he was Born, at the Price of throwing down certain Monaſteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this Uſe. The

Deſign for the College at *Ipſwich* was to erect only a Grammar-School, to train up the Youth till they were ready for the Univerſity; but that in *Oxford*, call'd firſt *Cardinals*, then *King's College*, now *Chriſt's Church*, was nobler; for the Building was intended moſt ample and magnificent, the Number of Students, Profeſſors, *&c.* great.

I find alſo, that about 1524, he ſought in *Italy* and elſewhere, for able Men to be his Readers. Among whom at this Time the excellent *John Ludovicus Vives*, a *Spaniard*, was ſent to him to be Profeſſor of Eloquence in *Oxford*. And, for Books, he ſent to have the rarer ſort copied out of the Pope's Library.

Theſe ſo great Preparations made the Cardinal uſe many rigorous Means of getting Monies, as by Viſitation of Religious Houſes, *&c.* and at laſt by the Ruin of divers. To perform this yet, he was to obtain the Conſent of the Pope and his King. The Reaſons repreſented to the Pope, were I ſuppoſe of this Nature:

That his Holineſs could not be Ignorant what diverſe Effects this new Invention of Printing had produced. For as it had brought in and reſtored Books and Learning, ſo together it hath been the Occaſion of both Sects and Schiſms which daily appeared in the World, but chiefly in *Germany*; where Men begun now to call in Queſtion the preſent Faith and Tenets of the Church, and to examine how far Religion is departed from its Primitive Inſtitution. And, that which particularly was moſt to be lamented, they had exhorted lay and ordinary Men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were ſuffered, beſides all other Dangers, the common People at laſt might come to believe that there was not ſo much Uſe of the Clergy. For if Men were perſwaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their native and ordinary Language might pierce Heaven, as well as *Latin*; how much would the Authority of the Maſs fall? how prejudicial might this prove unto all our Eccleſiaſtical Orders?

That there were many Things to be looked to in theſe Innovators, but nothing ſo much as this; ſince it was clear, that the keeping of the Myſteries of Religion in the Hands of Prieſts, had been a principal Means in all Ages, of making the Prieſthood Sacred and Venerable. That theſe Myſteries and Rites thereof, as the greateſt Secret and *Arcanum* of Church Government, ſhould be preſerved. Nay, that the Clergy ſhould rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to Cabala itſelf, than permit that all the Parts of religious Worſhip, ſhould be thought ſo obvious, as to fall eaſily within common Underſtandings, without their Explication; ſince it might well be queſtioned whether the Eſſence of Religion, conſiſting in the Doctrine of good Life and Repentance, might be held ſufficient alone to exerciſe even the moſt vulgar Capacities; unleſs frequent Traditions concerning former Times, and ſuch obſcure Paſſages as need Interpretation, did concur. In which State of Things therefore, nothing remain'd ſo much to be done, as to prevent further Apoſtaſy. For this purpoſe, ſince Printing could not be put down, it were beſt to ſet up Learning againſt Learning; and, by introducing able Perſons to Diſpute, to ſuſpend the Laity, betwixt Fear and Controverſies. This, at worſt yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weighed by his Holineſs, it was not doubted but he would adviſe,

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and commend to all Chriſtian Princes, the erecting of new Colleges and Seminaries for the Advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many Favourers of *Luther*'s Sect, but eſpecially of *Zuinglius*, did appear. Yet becauſe his Holineſs, by our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, had divers Times been informed of the great Expences of his King in the Wars he made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the beſt courſe to deſire any Money out of his Purſe. That therefore he had thought of another Expedient, which, he humbly offered to his Holineſs; which was, that in regard the Number of Monaſteries was greater in this Kingdom, than that there could be found learned Men to ſupply them; that it were not amiſs to diminiſh the one a little, to increaſe the other. That as this would take away the Objection of Ignorance, wherewith the new Sectaries in *Germany* had ſo much branded the Clergy, ſo it would furniſh able Perſons to reſiſt their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the *Roman* Church. Therefore he would be an humble Suppliant to his Holineſs to give him leave to throw down a few ſuperfluous Monaſteries, and to employ the Revenues of them to the Building of two Colleges; one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich*; and to believe, that all Things being rightly conſider'd, the Fall of thoſe few, might be a Means to keep up the reſt, eſpecially ſince in this Kingdom the Number of them was thought exceſſive.

To the King: As he needed not to uſe thoſe Motives, ſo he diſcreetly conceal'd ſuch as might diſcover the Secrets of Eccleſiaſtical Government. For certainly, what Fault ſoever might be objected to the Cardinal, he ſeem'd ſtill a devout Servant to his Religion, as aſpiring thereby unto the Papacy. Therefore, he ſaid little more unto the King than that it was fit ſo learned a Prince ſhould advance Learning, and maintain that Faith, whereof the Pope had made him the Defender. For this purpoſe, he ſhould adviſe him to found more Colleges. Yet becauſe his Wars and other Occaſions had ſo exhauſted his Treaſury, he would ask no more, than that the Care thereof ſhould be committed to him; who, if his Highneſs ſo thought fit, would only ſuppreſs ſome little and unneceſſary Monaſteries, and employ the Revenues to this Uſe. King *Henry* alſo conſidering, that if, for his urgent Occaſions, he were neceſſitated at any Time to ſeize on the other religious Houſes, he might this way diſcover how the People would take it, grants his Requeſt. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in Favour of the Cardinal gave way to this Suppreſſion, that Overture was firſt made, which being purſued afterwards by the King's ſole Authority, became the final Ruin of all Monaſteries.

Clement VII. hearing of the Preparations of theſe great Princes, had ſent in the beginning of this Year an expreſs Legate, which was the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, with Inſtructions to procure an Union betwixt them againſt the *Turk*. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the ſame Difficulties, he was forced to return, without other Satisfaction, than a particular of the Demands by our King made, and the Reaſons of them; which our Cardinal promiſed alſo to certify unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular Diſpatch to *Rome*, he wiſhed our Agents there to ſhew an Inclination to Peace; reſerving, nevertheleſs, one

Ear open to the Exploits of *Bourbon*, whoſe proſperous Succeſs in *France*, he ſaid, might be ſuch as to alter the Caſe. Howſoever, that the Place of Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himſelf offer'd to come in Perſon.

This while, in the beginning of this Year, the Princes of *Germany* held a Diet at *Noremberg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) ſent a Legate Cardinal *Campejus*; much complaining of their *Poſtulata* or *Gravamina* the laſt Year, ſince many Points in it ſmelt of Hereſy. About *April* alſo the Emperor from *Spain* ſends to the Princes at the Diet, deſiring them to ſee the Decree made at *Worms* againſt *Luther* 1521. to be obſerved. (Thus to comply with the Pope it ſeems, whom he deſired to retain on his Side againſt *Francis*.) The Princes nevertheleſs at the Concluſion of this Diet, made a Decree, that as ſoon as might be, the Pope by the Conſent of the Emperor ſhould call a Council in *Germany*; and, in the mean Time, things to be ripened for a Peace in Religion, *&c.* This ſecond urging of a Council, for it was preſſed alſo the laſt Year to *Adrian*, provoked much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our King's Zeal to the *Roman* See, and particular Hate of *Luther*, ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this Behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he ſent him a Roſe of Gold, conſecrated and curiouſly wrought, by *Thomas Annibal*, (who now returned) as alſo a Bull, ſealed with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*.

In the mean Time, by often Diſpatches, the Cardinal, in our King's Name, urged *Bourbon* to undertake his Expedition into *France*; to which Purpoſe our King was to allow him an hundred thouſand Crowns a Month. *Bourbon*, on the other Side, required that our King, or his Lieutenant, ſhould at the ſame time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promiſed: When, having given Oath to acknowledge *Henry* VIII. King of *France*, he advanced towards *Provence*, *June* 24, 1524. on the Emperor's Part *Monſieur de Beaurain* attended him; and on our King's, *Richard Pace*; and in the Beginning of *July* enters *France*; where, proclaiming Liberty to the common People, who willingly came in, he took divers Towns. Nevertheleſs his Courſe was ſtaid; for whereas he had a Fleet of the Emperor's to ſecond him, coaſting along the Shore, to bring Victuals to the Army: Now the *French* Navy being too ſtrong, kept them off, and ſo intercepted their Proviſion. The Supplies alſo of Money to be ſent him by the Emperor and King of *England*, were ſlackend; for each of theſe Princes feared leaſt the other ſhould reap the Fruit of this Expedition: And *Charles de la Noy*, the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, was thought, beſides, to be willing that *Bourbon* ſhould be repulſed, as one whom he envied for being made Lieutenant in his Place; yet, for all this, *Bourbon* lays ſiege to *Marſeilles*, but in vain; for it being ſtoutly defended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*, *Francis* alſo, with a great Power coming to relieve it, at the ſame Time *Bourbon*'s Soldiers mutinied for want of Pay; altho' Sir *John Ruſſel* had newly brought twenty thouſand Pound ſterling from our King: The Siege broke up, and the Duke embarking his Cannon, retired to *Genoua* with ſome Loſs, the Prince of *Orange* being taken Priſoner there.

It was now the middle of *October*, and a Seaſon, in all Probability, not to begin any great Enterprize. Nevertheleſs,

Francis

Francis, who had left *Claude* his Wife in *July* laſt, and left *Louiſa* his Mother, Regent of *France* during his Abſence, purſued his Deſign to conquer *Milan*; contrary to the Advice of the Pope, who perſuaded Peace, and of his Counſellors, who at leaſt adviſed him not to go in Perſon. *Charles de la Noy* hearing this, puts *Antonio de Leyva* in *Pavia*, with twelve thouſand *Spaniards*, and ſix thouſand *Lanſquenets*, and with the reſt of his Army haſtens to *Milan:* But as he found the Citizens there not much affectioned to him, and ſome of the *French* Vantguard was approached, he left the Town, and, together with the Duke of *Bourbon* and *Ferdinand d' Avalos*, Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, with their Forces, retired to *Lodi*. Whereupon *Michael Antoine*, Marqueſs of *Saluzzo*, and *Louis Seigneur de Trimouille* enter'd *Milan*. *Francis* being preſently informed hereof, advances an Army; yet ſo, as according to an antient Military Rule, he would not leave ſo ſtrong a Place as *Pavia* behind him: But the obſerving hereof coſt him dear; while he laid Siege to *Pavia*, the Imperialiſts were but in an ill Eſtate, the Pope at moſt ſtanding at Neuter; the *Florentines* Friends but in Appearance only; the *Venetians* excuſing themſelves, as ſuſpecting the Emperor, in that he would not ſign the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*; and our King, inſtead of giving more Money, requiring that which was due to him, being 133000 Crowns yearly, in regard of the Penſion withheld by *Francis*, which yet, being refuſed by *Charles*, made him averſe. Beſides, he conſidered the Deſigns of the Emperor were only on *Italy*. *Francis*, on the other Side, had a flouriſhing Army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand, whereof yet the moſt Part were Mercenaries and Voluntiers, and therefore particularly mentioned by me, as not remembring to have read in any Hiſtory, that ſo many of this Kind, being irregular, and properly under no Command, ſhould be admitted to the Hazard of diſordering a whole Army. And for the other Part, being Mercenaries, he had found them ſlow, wilful, of ſmall Truſt, and oftentimes venal; though it cannot be denied, that thoſe whom *Francis* in particular now uſed, have been reputed in all Times a valiant conſtant Nation; all which I have the rather obſerved, that the Succeſs which *Francis* had not long after, might ſeem leſs ſtrange unto the Reader. The Nobility that came with him were indeed principal Perſons, *Henry d' Albret*, the Titular King of *Navarre*, the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Longueville*, *Alancon*, and *Albany*, who, the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon Promiſe made him by the Nobility, that nothing ſhould be innovated there till his Return; the Counts of St. *Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *L' Aval*, the Marſhal of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Montmorency*, the Admiral *de Bonivet*, chief Author of this Counſel, *le Seigneur de Fleuranges*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Buiſſy d' Ambois*, *Richard de la Pole*, and many other brave Gentlemen.

The Manner which *Francis* uſed in beſieging *Pavia*, ſeem'd to take up more Time than ſtood with the Seaſon, being now Winter, and the Advantage he had over the Imperialiſts, who were neither in Number nor Virtue ſufficient to repel him. This Leiſure the Pope made uſe of to mediate a Peace, by the Means of the Biſhop of *Verona*; and, when that could not be done, to keep *Francis* yet in good Terms with him, promiſing him therefore Indifferency at leaſt, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as he conceived him the Stronger. But, finding that the Treaty of Accord took no Effect, was

per-

perſuaded by the *French* Ambaſſadors, reſident with him, to make a League with *Francis*. The Perſuaſions the *French* uſed, were Promiſes, and certain Propoſitions of Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as ſhould be very advantageous to both. And thus, at laſt, the Pope, by the ſecret Intervention of *Jo. Matthei*, the Biſhop of *Verona*, made Peace with the *French*, encouraging them together, ſaith *Bellay*, to attempt *Naples*, which yet the Pope diſſembled ſtrenuouſly, both with our King's and the Emperor's Agents; though when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was forced to it by the *French*. Yet it may be, the Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a Meſſage which came from *England*; for I find in our Records, that not long after the Time that *Francis* paſſed into *Italy*, there came from *France* into *England*, on *Louiſe* the Regent's Part, one *John Joachin*, a *Genoeſe*, whoſe coming as Things then ſtood, was much ſuſpected by the Imperialiſts; and the more, becauſe he kept himſelf cloſe, and repaired every Day to the Cardinal, and conſulted with him only; but ſo much was diſcovered, as the Pope's Agent here, by a Letter, adviſed his Holineſs to make Peace with *Francis* in time; which the Pope did, although to his Loſs, as will appear in it Place. And now *Francis*, not fearing the Imperialiſts, ſends the Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about twelve thouſand Men, againſt thoſe of *Lucca* and *Siena*, for the Pope's Service; and after to attempt *Naples*, where all the Places were unprovided of ſufficient Garriſon. Beſides, he had ſent the Marquis *de Saluzzo*, with four thouſand Men, to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoa*. Again, three thouſand *Italians*, their Commander *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt, diſbanded, and ſix thouſand *Griſons*, hearing of ſome Troubles in their Country, returned; ſo that his Forces were much weakned: Which *Charles de la Noy* underſtanding, took the leſs care to defend *Naples*, as believing the *French* unable to ſecond the Duke of *Albany*; and therefore gave Order only to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Country the beſt he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany* and raiſed twelve thouſand Men.

During theſe Paſſages in *Italy*, the Affairs of *Scotland* ſeemed to change Form; for the Duke of *Albany* being now ſo far diſtant from them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the Promiſe exacted of them by the ſaid Duke when he departed, which was in *May* 1524, promiſing to return in *September* following, inclin'd to the Queen's Side; ſo that preſently after they began to conſult of making Peace with *England*, which becauſe they knew King *Henry* would never grant, as long as they acknowledged the Duke of *Albany* Governor, for ſo he had lately intimated, they agreed to abrogate his Authority, and to inveſt the young King in the Exercife of his Regal Power. To this purpoſe the Queen of *Scots* wrote to her Brother King *Henry* to aſſiſt his Nephew herein; who ſent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas* late Earl of *Surrey*, now, ſince his Father's Death, much lamented for his great Virtue, Duke of *Norfolk*, and Treaſurer of *England*, to procure the Liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, aſſiſted by the Earls of *Arran*, *Lenox*, and divers of the chief Nobility, brought the young from *Sterling*, where the Governor had appointed him to reſide till his Return, to *Edinburgh*, where he undertook the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom *July* 29.

Whereupon Allegiance was ſworn to him, and the Duke of *Albany* was exauctorate; yet not with ſo general a Vote, but that the two Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdeen* diſliked it; alledging both the Nonage of the King, and the Promiſe of the Nobility to the Governor of not Innovating till *September*. Upon this they are both confin'd, but ſhortly reſtor'd to their Liberty. Our King ſoon after ſent Ambaſſadors, *Thomas Magnus*, a Civil Lawyer and a Prieſt, and *Ratcliff*, a Gentleman, to reſide in *Scotland*; commanding from thenceforth all Hoſtility to ceaſe. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſadors were to be ſent into *England*, for the concluding of a firm Peace. Alſo, for eſtabliſhing the young King's Power, he offered to maintain a while a Guard for him of 200 Perſons. But this good Correſpondence was a little clouded; for while theſe Things were in Hand, the Earl of *Angus* and his Brother *George Douglaſſe* formerly baniſhed, as we have ſhewed, into *France*, found Means to eſcape into *England*. The Earl deſired our King's Aid, for his Reſtitution; but the Queen of *Scots*, who retain'd her old Grudge to him, and perchance had newly caſt an Eye on *Henry Stuart*, whom afterwards ſhe married, labour'd the contrary; remonſtrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his coming to *Scotland* at this Time would trouble the State. For the Earl of *Arran*, whoſe Power and Reputation was great, being Enemy to the ſaid *Angus*, ſhe ſaid would oppoſe him; but our King ſuſpecting by ſome Actions that *Arran* was *French*, ſuffered about *October* the Earl to enter *Scotland*, to counterpoiſe him; taking of him at his Departure a Promiſe or Obligation, 1. To procure and maintain the young King's Authority, to the Excluſion of the Duke of *Albany*. 2. To ſeek to be reconciled to the Queen with all Humility. 3. To make Friendſhip with *Arran*, as long as he maintains the young King, and averts him from *France*; whereupon alſo our King promiſed, that if he did the contrary, he would maintain *Angus* againſt the ſaid *Arran*, &c. Thus was *Angus* reſtored to his Country for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambaſſadors appointed to be ſent to King *Henry* for Peace, were in Danger to be ſtaid; yet I find that *December* 19, they came, being *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Caſſilis*, &c. and intreated Peace, and the Princeſs *Mary* as Wife for their King. Our King gave Hope of both; for I find that both the Emperor and *Francis* made Overtures of Matches for King *James* at this Time. Howbeit, when our Commiſſioners in private Conference treated of Peace, and the Princeſs, it was upon theſe Conditions, 1. That they ſhould renounce the League with *France*, and inſtead thereof make the like with *England*. 2. That the young King till he be ripe for Marriage ſhall be brought up in *England*. It ſeems yet the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſador's Commiſſion was not large enough to treat theſe Points; ſo, *December* 30. *Caſſilis*, leaving his Fellows here, goes to *Scotland*; and ſhortly after, *March* 19. returns to King *Henry* with the Reſolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen *Margaret*, ſhewing, that the Lords of *Scotland* will be Content to relinquiſh the *French*, ſo that the Match with the Princeſs *Mary* may be made ſure; but they required that the Promiſe, whereby ſhe was engaged to the Emperor, be firſt diſcharged. Our King hearing this, ſaid he would confer with the Emperor about it; and ſo nothing being

being concluded, but a Truce for three Years and a Half, the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſadors departed in *April*.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, diſpatch'd hither *Adolpho de Borgona*, *Senior de Beures* Admiral of *Flanders*, with the Preſident of *Malmes* to require that the Princeſs *Mary* might be delivered to him, promiſing hereupon to declare her Empreſs, and make her Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*; her Dower alſo was required to be paid preſently, and that our King in Perſon would the next Year invade *France*. But before our King could give a perfect Anſwer to theſe particulars, News was brought of the Battle of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis* Priſoner, the Manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a Place eaſy enough to take, had either the *French* preſſed it roundly, or a leſs valiant Captain than *Antonio de Leyva* defended it. But while *Francis*, as being confident he was Maſter of the Field, drew the Siege out in Length, he gave not only Time to the Imperialiſts to join an Army, but at laſt failed miſerably in his Enterpriſe. The Advice he approv'd, after a Breach and Aſſault made in vain, was to open a Way to the Town on the one Side of the *Teſin*; for, as that River divided it ſelf into two Channels, whereof one paſſed by the Walls, which had no Defence on that Part but the River, being not fordable, his Intention was to divert this Current, and ſo to leave the Walls bare: But one rainy Night alone ſo ſwell'd the River, that all the Dams and Works which the *French* had raiſed were carried away by the Violence of the Stream. His ableſt Counſellors hereupon wiſh'd him to raiſe the Siege, and give place to the Seaſon. Beſides, as the Imperialiſts, with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he ſhould be encloſed betwixt the Town, wherein was a ſtrong Garriſon, and the Forces now approaching. It was the even of St. *Matthias* in *February* 1525. being the Day of the Emperor's Nativity, when the Marquis *de Guaſto* leading the Vantguard, the Marquis of *Peſcara* the Battail, and *Charles de la Noy* accompanied with *Bourbon*, the Rereward, came in good Order near the *French* Army. Their Reſolution was to weary the *French* all Night with Alarms and Skirmiſhes, and towards Morning to fall on them with the whole Army; ſo that nothing of Importance was intended till full Day-light; when *Francis*, pointing his Ordnance againſt them, ſo pierced their Squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more covert Place. *Francis*, thinking this was a Flight, draws his Army out of his ſtrong Intrenchments into an open Place, with Intention to purſue them. The Commanders of the Imperialiſts having thus obtained what they deſired, for they wanted both Money and Victuals to ſubſiſt any long Time, encouraged their Soldiers to fight; telling them, that though a King was preſent, there was not therefore more Danger, but more Honours and Riches propoſed to them; that they ſhould but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an aſſured Victory. The Soldiers hereupon, being not ignorant of the Neceſſity they were in, reſolutely promiſed to go on. The Marquis of *Peſcara* having advanced a little to diſcover the Enemy, return'd; and, with a chearful Countenance, turning towards the *Spaniards*, told them that he muſt not conceal from them the cruel Command the *French* King had given, that no *Spaniard* ſhould be received into Mercy. This being a mee

Invention of the Marquis, ſo kindled their Courage, that they required the Signal, promiſing for the reſt to ſell their Lives as dear as they could. Herewith then a furious Battle began, in which yet becauſe the Mercenaries, and eſpecially the *Suiſſe*, did not ſhew their accuſtomed Valour, all the Charge fell on the few *French* that were preſent: None yet fought more bravely among them than the King; inſomuch, that with his own Hand (as his Enemies did afterwards confeſs) he kill'd the Marquis of *Civita de St. Angelo*; which Example ſo encouraged the reſt of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in ſo little Number. During this Brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down ſome Part of the Walls of *Pavia*, iſſued forth with the beſt of his Garriſon, and fell on the Backs of the *French* then Fighting. This wholly routed the Army, inſomuch that all now began to fly: The King had his Horſe kill'd under him, whoſe Fall ſo engaged his Leg, that he could not recover himſelf. In this Poſture one *Juan de Urbieta*, a *Guipuſcoan*, ſeized on him: But the King declaring himſelf, and ſaying he yielded to the Emperor, *Urbieta*, without offering any Violence, received him as his Priſoner. The King's Leg yet lay under his Horſe; *Urbieta*, thinking by this means he was ſure from eſcaping, runs to ſuccour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being kill'd, deſiring the King only to take Notice that he wanted two Teeth before, and that he would remember it as a Mark that he took him firſt. With that one *Diego de Avila* came, to whom the King alſo naming himſelf, and ſaying he was already yielded to the Emperor, *Diego* demanded, whether he had given any Gage thereof? The King ſaying none was required, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword (which was bloody) and his Gauntlet, and therewithal delivered him from his Horſe, by the Help of one *Pita*, who for his Pains took his Order of St. *Michael* from him. This ſo much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himſelf, he offered a great Reward to the Soldier to let it alone, which yet the Soldier denied, ſaying he would carry it to the Emperor. The King being now on Foot, divers Soldiers came in, and as they obſerved ſome Contention among thoſe that took him, would, without further Enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monſieur de la Motte* (or *Pomperante*, as the *French* have it, a *French* Man) coming by chance thither, kneel'd to him; and kiſſing his Hand with all reverence, made them know how rich a Prize they had got amongſt them: The King yet caus'd him to riſe, ſaying only, that he ſhould behave himſelf like that Man he had ever eſteemed him. Herewith, a great Concourſe flocking in, the King was perſwaded to take off his Helmet, which was no ſooner done, but every one took a Part of a great Pennache, or Feather, he wore thereon; others more preſumptuouſly cut Pieces out of a Coat of Arms, or *Sobraveſte*, he wore over his Harneſs: At all which this magnanimous King ſhewed no other Countenance than that of Scorn, as knowing ſufficiently, that in deſpight of Fortune his Valour had made him comply with his Dignity. The Chance of thoſe who deſerted the King was various; many were kill'd, others, thinking to paſs the *Teſin*, were drowned, among whom ſix thouſand Mercenaries, the moſt part *Suiſſe*, are accounted. *Henry de Albert*, thinking to ſave himſelf by Flight, was taken. And now the Report being general that the King was made Priſoner, divers *French*,

who might have eſcaped, out of a ſingular Piety to their King, returned, and yielded themſelves, ſaying, they would not return to *France* and leave their King behind them. The firſt of the chief Commanders that came in, was the Marquis *de Peſcara*; after him, *Guaſto*, and others; at laſt, *Bourbon* being armed *Cap-a-Pee*, and with his Sword all bloody in his Hand, comes towards the King, who hereupon demanded his Name; being told, he ſtep'd, if one may believe the *Spaniard* my Author, a little behind the Marquis *de Peſcara*. He alſo perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and, after he had told him that the King was there, demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon*, without more adoe rendred; and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, caſt himſelf on his Knees, and humbly demanded his Royal Hand to kiſs, which yet the King refuſed. Hereupon *Bourbon*, with Tears in his Eyes, ſaid, Sir, if you would have followed my Counſel, you ſhould not have needed to be in this Eſtate, nor ſo much Blood of the *French* Nobility ſhed as ſtains the Fields of *Italy*. The King hereupon turning his Eyes to Heaven, now replied only, Patience, ſince Fortune hath fail'd me. Further Diſcourſe was hindred by the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who, deſiring the King to mount on Horſe-back, conducted him towards *Pavia*: But the King intreating he might not be kept Priſoner in a Town before which he had lately ſo puiſſant an Army, they brought him to a Monaſtery adjoining. *Henry de Albret*, the Comte of St. *Paul*, and divers other Priſoners, being delivered to ſeveral Cuſtodies. From hence the King was removed to a ſtrong Caſtle, called *Piciquiton*, and there kept with a great Guard of *Spaniards*, under *Hernando de Alancon*, till other Order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this Victory, a Meſſenger was ſent to acquaint him with the Succeſs. In the mean Time *Francis* was uſed with all Reſpect. For more Oſtentation whereof, *Charles de la Noy* brought, before Supper, the Baſon, the Marquis of *Guaſto*, the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towel; which Courteſy he requited, by inviting them to ſit at the Table with him: After which, requiring ſome Money might be furniſhed to him for play, he paſs'd away the Time the moſt chearfully he could.

Charles was at *Madrid* when this great News came to him. The Senſe he ſhewed of it, was ſuch as became a wiſe Prince, and one that was not himſelf exempted from a Quartan. He compared the Afflictions of Fortune with thoſe of Nature; and found the Difference ſo little, that he thought himſelf to want even the Advantages of Liberty as much as a Priſoner. For, if he conſidered *Francis* as in the Cuſtody of his Guards, he look'd upon himſelf as in the Cuſtody of his Phyſicians, and confined to his Chamber by a ſtronger Hand than that which held *Francis*. Moreover, he ſaid, it was not for Chriſtians to rejoice for their Victories againſt each other, but only againſt Infidels.

Our King was not advertiſed hereof ſooner than the ninth of *March*; when a Meſſenger from the Princeſs *Margaret*, Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, informed him of all the Particulars. *Charles de la Noy* not omitting alſo to write to him thereof, as I find by our Records. This being brought to Council, it was thought fit the King ſhould comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving ſome publick Demonſtration of Joy. Therefore the King going to St. *Paul*'s, and cauſing a Maſs to be ſung in a more

ſolemn Manner than Ordinary, ſeem'd to celebrate the Victory, though inwardly not ſo well ſatisfied thereof. For, as he conſidered *Charles* grown now to more Greatneſs than ſtood either with Reaſon of State, or due Terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to ſend immediately Ambaſſadors into *Spain*, with Charge to repreſent unto the Emperor, how that this War being made at a common Charge, it was reaſonable the Fruit ſhould redound to both.

That the Part his Highneſs pretended to, was Inheritance in *France*, which he deſired, upon ſome fitting Treaty with *Francis*, might be reſtored. To which his Highneſs doubted not but the Emperor would afford his beſt Aſſiſtance; as well becauſe it was juſt in itſelf, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be obtain'd by fair Means, to require the Emperor, by Virtue of the ſaid Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make War in *France*, wherein his Highneſs would likewiſe concur. Neither could his Highneſs doubt that the Emperor would refuſe to embrace this Motion, ſince the Benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for as his Highneſs was purpoſed to ratify and make good the intended Match betwixt the ſaid Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*, who was Heir not only to the Crown of *England*, but to his Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought ſo beneficial and advantageous, as he ought not to think it much to deliver up *Francis* to his Highneſſes Hands, upon conſigning of the ſaid Princeſs to his. Eſpecially, ſince by an expreſs Article of the aforeſaid Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all Uſurpers upon each other's Right. All which being founded upon a ſolemn Agreement, confirm'd by Oath, could not ſeem Inſolent, what indiſpoſition ſoever might be found in the Emperor to accompliſh it. Notwithſtanding which, if, as it was moſt likely, this Propoſition ſhould take no Effect, and that the Emperor would derive the total Benefit of his Prize upon himſelf; that his Highneſs yet might make ſo much Uſe thereof, as with more Juſtification to take that Order which pertain'd to his preſent Occaſions, and the Peace of *Chriſtendom*. This Advice being approved by all, a Diſpatch was made, and given to *Cuthbert Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, and Lord Privy-Seal, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, ſent then to *Spain*; wherein alſo an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was propoſed. In which further it was offered, that the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be given into the Emperor's Hands upon fitting Conditions. Many other particularities conducting to the Ends abovementioned were ſpecified therein; tho' for the reſt it ſeem'd not probable to ſome of our Counſellors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being reſolv'd, what Promiſe or Advantages ſoever was preſented to him, to ſuffer none elſe to partake of the Profit or Honour he had acquired in his Victory. This Propoſition finding no Reception in *Spain*, but what was before imagined, our King returns to that brave and wiſe Reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelf Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*, and to fall on him who interrupted the publick Peace. Many Reaſons alſo of great Moment concurred to this Reſolution. For the Lady *Margarite*, Regent of *Flanders*, who ought by the late League to have raiſed Forces againſt the *French*, began already to Treat with

them concerning an Accommodation. Beſides, the *Flemings* being grown ſtrong by Sea, had not only very inſolently treated divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonſtrance made in that Behalf, had inhanſed our Coin, and thereby ſecretly deriv'd great Sums into their Country. Again, when demand was made only for re-payment of that Money which was lent the Emperor in his greateſt Neceſſity, nothing yet was return'd but a dilatory and frivolous Excuſe. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the Ranſoming of *Francis*. Nor of a Match purpoſed with *Donna Iſabella* of *Portugal*; which reflected on his Daughter's Reputation. Laſtly, the Pope's Breve, repreſenting the Danger of *Chriſtendom* through the Proſperity of the *Turk*, who had now taken *Belgrade*, and *Rhodes*, and thereby open'd ſeveral ways to *Italy* and *Germany*, and, together exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to join againſt the common Enemy, had ſo prevail'd with our King, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in *France*, and to endeavour an univerſal Peace. In the furtherance of which good Deſire, as the Remembrance of the kind Interview betwixt him and *Francis* did operate not a little, ſo the Reputation that *Francis* had gotten by his Courage ſhewed in this late Action, had kindled in the Mind of our generous King a compaſſionate Zeal for his Delivery. Therefore, at the Requeſt of the King's Mother of *France*, who by the mediation of *Giovanni Joakim* had much diſpos'd our King to return to his antient Friendſhip with *Francis*, he ſent to *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the delivery of *Francis*; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to *Charles*; where, after an Excuſe of his not ſooner writing, becauſe they who had Charge of him would not permit it, he ſaid that the greateſt Comfort he found in this his miſerable Condition, was, that he had fallen into the Hands of ſo generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to any thing, which might be unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to perform. That he hoped therefore ſufficient Security would be accepted for his Delivery, ſince thereby, inſtead of detaining an unuſeful Priſoner, he ſhould make a King his Slave. Howſoever, that it was more Profit to have him a faithful Friend, than to ſuffer him to die deſperate. None yet was ſo Vigilant and Intentive either for his delivery, or the general good of the Kingdom, as Madam *Louiſe* his Mother, Regent of *France*, who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambaſſades and Treaties, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republicks to favour the deliverance of her Son. Through her Care alſo *Andrea Doria*, General of the *French* King's Galleys, reconducted the Duke of *Albany*, who, though far ingaged in the Enemies Country, did yet, without any conſiderable Loſs of his Men, return to *Marſeilles*, *April* 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chief Princes and Eſtates in *Chriſtendom* would puiſſantly labour for the delivery of *Francis*, ſent *Adrian de Cray Seigneur de Beaurain*, with certain Propoſitions dated *March* 25, 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the Sum.

That an univerſal Peace and League ſhould be concluded betwixt all Chriſtian Princes, and Security on every Side be given, for the Continuance thereof.

That either of them two, with twenty

thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe ſhould invade the *Turk*.

That, for further Security, the *Dauphin* ſhould Marry with the Princeſs *Maria*, Daughter to the King of *Portugal* and the Queen *Leonora*, and the Dowry ſhould be a mutual Diſclaim in each others Inheritance.

That the King of *France* ſhould reſtore and leave the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in that Eſtate and Manner as it was in the Time of *Charles* the laſt Duke thereof; and *Therouene*, *Heſdin*, and all that was uſurp'd in *Artois* ſhould be re-deliver'd.

That *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould re-injoy his former Eſtate, and particularly have the County of *Provence* confer'd upon him, which thereupon he ſhould hold under the Title of King thereof.

That the King of *England* ſhould have all reſtor'd that appertain'd to him, or otherwiſe was agreed upon.

That all the Followers of the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould be reintegrated in their former Poſſeſſions.

That the Prince of *Orange*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, the *Seigneur de Bonze*, and *de Autroy*, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and all reſtor'd to the Prince of *Orange*, which was taken from him in the Wars of *Bretaigne*.

That Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, and *La Reyna Germana*, ſecond Wife to *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with divers other Princes and great Perſons, particularly nominated in the ſaid Articles, ſhould be righted in their juſt Demands, for Reſtitution in all Things taken ſince the War.

That all Commerce betwixt the Subjects ſhould be renewed hereupon.

That the chief Parliaments of *Paris* and elſewhere in *France*, ſhould ratify the Agreement.

That the King himſelf, being at Liberty, ſhould with all due Solemnity, confirm it, as alſo the *Dauphin*, as ſoon as he came to the Age of fourteen.

When theſe Articles were preſented to *Francis*, ſome of them ſo diſpleas'd him, that he is ſaid in a Fury to have drawn his Dagger, and ſpoken the Words, It is better for a King of *France* to die after this Manner. Inſomuch that *Hernando de Alancon* who was preſent, haſtily took it from him. Yet, to gratify the Emperor, he gave order that the Prince of *Orange*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada* ſhould be ſet at Liberty. *Moncada* coming to Court, brought two Letters, one from the King, the other from Madam *Louiſe*, his Mother, by which, as alſo by the intervention of the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Brion*, and others who were deputed Ambaſſadors upon this Occaſion, theſe Conditions following were offered.

That *Donna Leonora*, Siſter to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of *Portugal*, ſhould not be given in Marriage to *Bourbon*, howſoever promiſed him, but to the King of *France*, and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, her Daughter, unto the *Dauphin*.

That the Dukedom of *Burgundy* ſhould be held by *Francis*, as the Dowry to the Queen *Leonora*, and ſhould be left to the Heirs-Males betwixt them. If no ſuch Iſſue yet ſhould happen, that the Dukedom ſhould then deſcend to the ſecond Son of the ſaid Emperor; if the Emperor ſhould have no Sons, but Daughters, that then the ſecond Son of the King of *France* ſhould Marry one of the ſaid Daughters, and have *Burgundy* for her Portion.

That *Francis* would renounce all the Right and Intereſt he had in *Milan*, *Genoua*, and *Naples*, together with all

Debts

Debts and Penſions could be demanded on that Occaſion.

That he would releaſe the Superiority and Dominion that he pretended over *Flanders*, and *Artois*, and for this purpoſe would obtain the Conſent of all the Eſtates of *France*.

That he would reſtore *Heſdin* and *Tournay*.

That, for the Lands he held near the River of *Soam*, he would pay the Emperor a juſt Price.

That, when the Emperor ſhould go to his Coronation into *Italy*; or otherwiſe that if he or his Brother *Ferdinand* ſhould make War, he would pay half the Charges of his Army, and go alone in Perſon.

That, if the Emperor would paſs into *Italy* by Sea, he would command all his Galleys and other Shipping to attend him at *Barcelona*.

That, if the Emperor would make War againſt the Infidels in *Africa*, or *Greece*, he would pay half the Charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Perſon.

That all the Emperor had capitulated with the King of *England*, and all that was due by way of Borrowing or Penſion to the ſaid King, ſhould be paid and accompliſh'd, in ſuch Manner that the Emperor might be altogether diſcharg'd, and free thereof.

That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon*, all his Eſtate, and pay him his Penſions, and moreover give his Daughter in Marriage to him, together with ſuch a Portion as was fitting her Degree and Quality; and that when any Army ſhould be rais'd by him for the Emperor's Service, the ſaid Duke ſhould be General, in Caſe the King went not himſelf in Perſon, and that all former Diſſervices, and Unkindneſſes ſhould be forgotten.

That ſufficient Security by the Parliament of *Paris* ſhould be given of theſe Particularities.

Upon mature Deliberation taken concerning theſe Propoſitions, the Emperor reply'd, that the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was his Inheritance, and therefore not to be diſpos'd of, or alienated according to any Man's Fancy or Arbitrement. Concerning the Marriage propos'd between *Francis* and *Leonora* his Siſter; that he could reſolve nothing without the Conſent of *Bourbon*, to whom ſhe was promis'd. That for the Buſineſſes of *Italy*, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for *Naples*, ſince *Francis* had no Right thereunto, there was no Occaſion to make Uſe of his Diſclaim. That it would content him much to have *Burgundy* reſtor'd in the ſame Manner that his Great Grand-Father *Charles* injoy'd it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would think fit to go and receive his Crown in *Italy*. The *French* on the other Side inſtead of *Burgundy* offered great Sums of Money; but *Charles* inſiſting ſtill upon *Burgundy*, nothing was concluded. So that, leaving *Madrid*, the Emperor went to hold his Cortes, or Parliament, at *Toledo*; where, among other Things, it was petitioned by the Eſtates aſſembled, that the Emperor, being now of Age to Marry, ſhould take to Wife *Donna Iſabella* Infanta of *Portugal*, and not the Princeſs *Mary* our King's Daughter.

While Affairs paſſed thus betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, our King, who knew he might have uſe of Money on theſe Occaſions, and, howſoever, did well underſtand that the Maintaining of a ſure Peace at home, was almoſt as coſtly

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as the making of a War abroad, adviſed with his Counſel how to provide himſelf. Yet, as the Cardinal had undertaken the King ſhould never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs, ſo they gladly diſcharged themſelves on him. But Princes ought to take heed, into whoſe Hands they commit their extraordinary Power, leſt it hazard their ordinary; it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not raſhly to be put into another's Hand. Neither ſhould they enforce any thus violently, when Buſineſs may be done in a calm and gentle Manner. The Harmony of Government conſiſting in ſuch a delicate Proportion, that no one Part can ſafely be ſtrained higher, unleſs the reſt may well be tuned and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this Year, being the ſeventeenth of the Reign of our King, when, Commiſſions being granted forth into all the Counties of *England*, for the levying of the ſixth Part of every Lay-man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergies; the People in general took it ſo ill, that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; alledging, *Firſt*, That theſe Commiſſions were againſt the Law. *Secondly*, Their own Poverty; and that the King, ſince the fourteenth of his Reign, had of them twenty fifteens. But as this ſeem'd to be done, without that the King was fully inform'd thereof, ſo when the Sequence appear'd, it was reſolv'd to diſavow the whole Proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters ſent through all the Counties of *England*, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by Way of Benevolence: This got the Cardinal many a Curſe, and the King as many Bleſſings. Notwithſtanding, under this Title of Benevolence, he required great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of *London*. But one of their Lawyers anſwered, that by the Statute 1 *Rich.* III. *cap.* 2. ſuch Benevolences were forbidden: But it was replied, That Laws made by Uſurpers oblige not legitimate Princes; that *Richard* the Third was not only a Tyrant, but a Murderer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to ſuffer by the Law, than to make any. Therefore his Intentions were, only by popular and licentious Ways, to obtain the Favour of the Commonalty, as having no other Means to ſubſiſt. That our King, being the true and undoubted Heir of the Crown, could be tied hereby no further than it pleaſed himſelf; it being abſurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious Aſſembly, and approved no otherwiſe than by a Cardinal in the higheſt Degree, ſhould bind an abſolute and lawful Monarch; wherefore, if they had no better Evaſion, it were not fit to mention this. Thereupon the Cardinal propoſing to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, he begins with the Lord-Mayor; but the Mayor deſiring Leave not to declare himſelf fully, till he had ſpoken with the Common Council of the City; the Cardinal wiſh'd him and the reſt of the Aldermen to come to him privately, and give what they would. In the Country yet, where they ſeem'd more obſtinate, ſome Ring-leaders of the People, who had taken Arms, upon the Perſuaſion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to *London*, and there impriſoned. The King yet perſiſting in his Intention not to puniſh any on this Occaſion, as being advertis'd that the common Sort of his Subjects excuſed themſelves by their want of Means, and not of Affection, to ſupply his Majeſty's Occaſions, brought the Matter to the Council-

Council-Table, where the Cardinal, by way of Apology, ſaid, that he had done nothing herein, without adviſing firſt with the Judges, who affirm'd poſitively the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council of State confirm'd this Courſe: But the King ſaying that he was made believe his Subjects were richer than indeed he found them by this Commiſſion, all the Fault was laid on the falſe Informers, and Pardon given to all thoſe who had denied the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where, after a ſharp Charge laid againſt them by the King's Council learned, the Cardinal ſaid, That notwithſtanding their grievous Offences, the King, in Conſideration of their Poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition that they would give in Sureties for their good Behaviour henceforth: But they replying that they had none, the Cardinal firſt, and after him the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſaid, they would ſtand bound for them; wherewith they were diſcharged.

The Cardinal, who by a Concurrence of the papal and regal Authority, had ſuppreſſed divers Monaſteries, and given that Terror to the reſt, that he drew large Sums from them; would not yet deſiſt ſo, but continued ſtill his Purpoſes of converting the Profits of all thoſe which, by any Colour, might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other Uſes; among which, while he reduced the Monaſtery of *Beggam* in *Suſſex*, a diſguiſed Company, in ſtrange Vizors, taking the Canons along with them, re-implaced them, and ſo departed; promiſing, at the Ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all Times to their Succours. But theſe Apparitions did not long haunt the Houſe; for the King's Council underſtanding hereof, ſo examined the Canons, that they at laſt confeſſed the Authors, who therefore were ſent for, and grievouſly puniſhed. The Cardinal thus every way eſtabliſhing his Authority, was thought by this Time, between Viſitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, Diſpenſations, and many other Ways; beſides the great Penſions he had from foreign Princes to have made his Treaſury equal to the King's, notwithſtanding the Sums he often tranſmitted to *Rome*; in which Way of enriching himſelf, one *John Allen*, Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompanied with a great Train; and riding from one Religious Houſe to another, in kind of perpetual Progreſs, or Viſitation, did the Cardinal no little Service. But as this at laſt became a publick Grievance, ſo the King took Notice of it in ſo ſharp a Manner, that the Cardinal was enforced, not only to excuſe himſelf with much Submiſſion, but to promiſe never to do ſo any more; proteſting withall, that he had made a laſt Will or Teſtament, wherein he had left a great Part of his Eſtate unto his Highneſs: Upon which Submiſſion of the Cardinal's, as I take it, the King ſent him this Letter, all written with his own Hand, as we find it in our Records.

AS touching the Matter of Wilton, *ſeeing it is in no other Strain than you write of; and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly, with the falling ſick of your Servants, afraid, and troubled; I marvel not that it overſlipped you as it did. But it is no great Matter, ſtanding the Caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my Hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your Default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election was but conditional. Wherefore, my Lord,*

ſeeing

ſeeing the humbleneſs of your Submiſſion, and though the Caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my Monitions and Warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your Behalf, promiſing you, that the very Affection I bear you caus'd me thus to do. As touching the help of Religious Houſes to the building of your College, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the World, and the Occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill gotten is beſtow'd upon the College, but that the College is the cloak for covering all miſchiefs. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken by him, which I ſo intirely Love. Wherefore, me-thought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little methinketh toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that you have received Money of the Exempts for having of their old Viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with a good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take Money? And if they were ill, it were a ſinful Act. Howbeit your Legacy herein might, peradventure, apud Homines *be a Cloak, but not* apud Deum. *Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed by him who ſo intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from this, if Conſcience will not bear it, but from all other Things, which ſhould tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will Sing,* Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus. *And thus an end I make of this, tho' rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, and I pray you think it ſo, that there remaineth, at this Hour, no ſpark of Diſpleaſure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the Hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend,*

HENRY Rex.

One of the Liberties which our King took at his ſpare Time, was to Love. For, as all recommendable Parts concur'd in his Perſon, and they, again, were exalted in his high Dignity and Valour, ſo it muſt ſeem leſs ſtrange, if amid the many fair Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom, becauſe Miſtreſs *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature, and Education, to be the Beauty and Miſtreſs-Piece of her Time, that entire Affection paſt betwixt them, as at late ſhe bore him a Son. This Child, proving ſo equally alike to both his Parents, that he became the beſt Emblem of their mutual Affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and ſo much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the Age of ſix Years, he was made a Knight publickly, and the ſame Day created Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, and Lieutenant-General beyond *Trent*, and Warden-General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and ſhortly after Admiral of *England*. After which he was firſt bred up together with *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which the Earl elegantly deſcribes in a Sonnet extant in his Works, from whence, *November* 1532. they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which Acquaintance and Friendſhip was indear'd again by a Match of the ſaid Duke with *Mary* the Earl's Siſter; by whom yet he had no Iſſue.

Howbeit, I find, he was very perſonable and of great Expectation, inſomuch that he was thought, not only for Ability of Body but Mind, to be one of the rareſt of his Time, for which Reaſon alſo he was much cheriſhed by our King, as alſo becauſe he had no iſſue Male by his Queen, nor did, perchance, expect any.

The Cardinal had now built his fair Palace at *Hampton Court*. But as he wiſely conſidered, that it would but add unto that Envy for which he had already ſuffer'd ſo much, he gave it the King, who, in Exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond* Houſe.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this Time, had gotten among thoſe *Germans*, who were either weary of their Obedience to the ſtricter Parts of Eccleſiaſtical Government, or deſirous to reform the Errors and Abuſes of it, now ſo general, as even Pope *Adrian* himſelf confeſſed that many were crept into *Rome*, had prevail'd far. Yet as others examin'd which way he took to make his Reformation, ſo they thought Religion yet not ſo exactly formed, but that it might be caſt in a better Mold. Therefore not only *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, began a Reformation ſomewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, oppoſite enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many Things, publiſh'd it with much Applauſe of the inferior ſort. For, as he fain'd he had power from God to depoſe Princes, and ſubſtitute others, and that, again, he taught, all Goods ſhould be common; and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, he was followed by huge Multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, he preached Auſterity of Life; counſelling Men to Prayers, Faſtings, and all other Devotions, which might argue, his intention was not ſo much to invade other Men's Poſſeſſions, as to eſtabliſh a moderate Equality. Thus did he ſeaſon Falſehoods with Truths, and ill with good, while the vulgar Sort, who could not diſtinguiſh betwixt them, admired, and followed all. To remedy theſe ſo dangerous Aſſemblies and Opinions, the chief neighbouring Princes raiſed ſome Forces; and prevail'd ſo far, that, at laſt, they diſſipated, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their beſt Defence, ſinging only a Pſalm, whereby they invoked the Holy Ghoſt, while *Muncer*, who it ſeems truſted leaſt to his own Doctrine, fled away; yet being purſued and taken, together with his Companion *Phifer*, they ſhortly after loſt their Heads. His Sect yet took not its End ſo; as being reviv'd again, in Part, not many Years after, by *John* of *Leyden* and *Knipperdoling*, who, to his other Impieties added this, that in a Throng of People, being born upon Men's Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghoſt.

Such was the generous Diſpoſition of our King, that not only for *Francis* then a Priſoner, but the expulſed King of *Denmark*, *Chriſtiern*, he interceded with his beſt Offices. Therefore, this Year, he ſent *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight, to perſwade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chaſed him ſo much as the Guilt and Horror of ſhedding ſo much Blood there, ſo great a Perſecutor is Cruelty of itſelf: But the angry *Danes* obſtinately denied. The next Inſtance then was, that at leaſt his Son, who was Nephew to *Charles*, might ſucceed. But this alſo was refuſed; they alledging they

they durſt not commit the ſupreme Power over themſelves, into the Hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The *French* King being weary of his Reſtraint in *Italy*, had deſired he might be remov'd into *Spain*; both as he hoped the Emperor might be perſwaded to come to the Speech with him there, and as he reputed change of Priſon to be a ſecond Liberty. *Charles de la Noy* alſo concurr'd in this Requeſt, as fearing he might be taken out of his Hand. Having obtain'd this Favour, he found not yet the Emperor ſufficiently diſpoſed to ſee him, though otherwiſe he could not complain of being either debar'd the Pleaſure of Hunting, or any other reaſonable Exerciſe. Finding yet ſtill that the Emperor did eſtrange himſelf ſo much, as not to vouchſafe him one Viſit, he fell Sick; for he did not think that his Misfortunes had made him forfeit his Dignity; or that, for being a Priſoner of War, he had extinguiſhed his Title to be a King. *Charles* underſtanding this, whether out of Compaſſion, or fear of loſing *Francis*, reſolves to go to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his Chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, and wiſh'd him to have a care of his Health, which he much deſired, and that his Buſineſſes would ſucceed well. The Emperor not thinking this Courtiſy ſufficient, returns to ſee him the next Day again; which ſo comforted *Francis*, that he amended ſuddenly. Whereupon the Emperor reſolv'd to return to his Buſineſſes at *Toledo*. But Madam *Marguerite* Dutcheſs *de Alancon*, Siſter to *Francis*, hearing of his Sickneſs, made haſte to ſee him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteouſly entertain'd, and accompanied to her Brother's Lodging; where, after many affectionate Proteſtations, he left them together, and ſo held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whither Madam *de Alancon*, not many Days after, followed him, mediating ſtill the delivery of her Brother, to whom ſhe deſir'd the Emperor to give his Siſter *Leonora*, upon the Conditions abovemention'd; and that the King, her Brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a Match equal to this; wherein ſhe was thought to have intimated her ſelf, as being newly made Widow by the Death of her Huſband, the Duke of *Alancon*. As for the Right of *Burgundy*, ſhe deſired it might be determined by way of Juſtice before the twelve Peers of *France*; but the Emperor diſlik'd this, ſaying, that he was contented that learned Perſons in the Law on both Sides ſhould treat hereof, and that the Pope ſhould be Umpire; but Madam alſo did not approve this. The *French* Writers add, that Promiſe was made by *Francis* at this Time alſo, that the King of *England* ſhould receive intire Satisfaction. Madam *de Alancon*, finding at laſt how little her Intreaties prevail'd, deſired leave to return, and by the way to ſee her Brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might eſcape; which was at laſt reſolv'd, by changing Cloaths with a *Negro*, who carried Wood and Coals to the King's Chamber, and blacking his Face with Coleduſt. Which Invention as it is like enough to be a Lady's, and ſomewhat better than the lending him her Mask, I have thought fit to give her the Honour of. This Plot was kept Secret, only betwixt the King, his Siſter, one *Clement Chappion* his Chamberlain, and another Treaſurer. But Monſieur *de la Roche-pot* ſtriking this *Chappion* on ſome Occaſion, he, as being diſcontented and without Remedy, flies to the Emperor, and diſcovers

all. The Emperor yet would not ſuddenly believe it, nor without better Inquiry into the Buſineſs; as not thinking, if one may believe the *Spaniard* my Author, that the King of *France* would, in ſuch an undecent and unworthy Manner, procure his Liberty. Therefore, in Favour of this Conceit of the Emperor's, he ſo repreſents the Crime, as if *Francis* ought to believe, that it was more Honourable for him to ſtay in Priſon, than eſcape it; howſoever it ſeems his antient Courage was ſo far from being abated, as it increaſed rather by his cloſe keeping. Therefore he ſent Monſieur *de Montmorency* to tell *Charles*, that he was reſolv'd to endure any thing ſooner than to reſtore *Burgundy*, or yield through Conſtraint that which did not become him, ſo that he deſired only to know the Place of his Impriſonment, and Number of his Attendants. The Emperor anſwer'd, that he was content to appoint him a Place, and to nominate thoſe that ſhould guard him; for the reſt, proteſting that it griev'd him much that *Francis* ſhould refuſe to do that for the Ranſom of his Perſon, which he was bound to do, for the ſake of Juſtice only. But ample Commiſſion and Conſent being come from Madam the Regent and Parliament of *Paris* to tranſact a further Agreement, *Francis* demanded that he might have *Donna Leonora*, and, for her Portion, the Counties of *Maſcon* and *Auxere*, promiſing, in conſideration thereof, to reſtore the reſt of *Burgundy*. But to this demand of *Leonora*, *Charles* anſwered again, that being obliged to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him firſt: Yet, to ſatisfy the King, he ſent to *Bourbon*, to let him know how much it concern'd him, that *Francis* might have *Leonora*. But *Bourbon*, it is doubtful whether out of his former Contumacy and Stubbornneſs, or out of a violent Affection to the Lady, anſwer'd, that he had loſt great Poſſeſſions in *France*, only to have the Honour to match in that nearneſs of Blood to the Emperor. This ſeem'd much to trouble *Charles*: At laſt, ſending for *Bourbon*, he offer'd him, in recompence of *Leonora*, the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, which *Bourbon* accepted; the Writings or Patent for which my Author ſaith he ſaw in *Simanca*, not expreſſing in the mean while, how this concurr'd with the Inveſtiture, which a little before, he ſaith, the Emperor gave to *Franciſco Sforza*. To reconcile which Difficulty, I ſhall produce, out of a Diſpatch extant in our Records, the Reaſon, as I conceive it; for though *Charles* had, together with the Poſſeſſion, granted *Sforza* the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, yet it was upon Condition, that *Sforza* ſhould pay him twelve hundred thouſand Crowns towards his Charges, and that the ſaid Inveſtiture ſhould remain in the Hands of *la Noy*, till the War of *Italy* were ended. But *Sforza* finding this too hard, joined with the adverſe Party, and gave Occaſion to the Emperor to beſtow the Inveſtiture on *Bourbon*. And he had Reaſon to be content therewith; for *Donna Leonora*, hearing of this Competition about her, decided the Controverſy in favour of *Francis*; ſending Word to the Emperor, that ſhe had rather be a Queen of *France* than Wife to *Bourbon*.

This while, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and Princes of *Italy* on the one Side, leagued together for the Defence of *Italy* againſt the Emperor, inviting alſo our King into the Treaty; our King on the other, mediated for *Francis*; neither did it diminiſh the Suſpicion entertained by them that *Charles* pretended to an univerſal Monarchy in *Chriſtendom*, becauſe, preſently,

preſently upon the making of *Francis* Priſoner at *Pavia*, he had written to our King as well as to all other the ſaid principal Perſons, that he ſhould take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Eſtates of *Francis*, ſince, being his Priſoner, he could do no leſs than protect him againſt all others. While theſe Treaties proceeded, *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his Guards. The Count *de Saint Paul* alſo devis'd Means to eſcape without paying any Ranſom.

Madam *Louiſe* the *French* Regent continuing her Meſſages and Ambaſſades, ſolicites our King's Aſſiſtance for the redeeming of her Son. To which purpoſe a Treaty was concluded at *Moore*.

This Treaty was concluded *Auguſt* 30. by the Commiſſioners on both Sides, *viz.* For our King, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cardinalis Ebor*; *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Henry* Marquis of *Exon*, *Charles* Earl of *Worceſter*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*. For the Regent of *France*, were *John Brinon* Premier Preſident *de Rouen*, and *Giovanni Joachim*, Seigneur *de Vaulx*, Mr. *de Hoſtel* to *Louiſe*. And was proclaim'd in *September*; and, in *October*, *John Taylor*, Doctor of Law, and Sir *William Fitz-William* were ſent into *France*, to take the Regents Oath. By another Treaty this Year at *Lyons*, I find the Regent obliged her ſelf to pay all the Arrerages due to *Mary* our King's Siſter out of *France*, by Reaſon of her Marriage with *Louis* the Twelfth, as alſo to ſuffer her to enjoy the Profits and Rents of all the Lands left her in Jointure, according to the Treaty *October* 8, 1514.

Franciſco Sforza being informed now that a ſtrong League was intended by the Pope, *Venetians*, and divers others, againſt the Emperor, was perſwaded to enter into it, upon pretence that by their Aſſiſtance he might ſufficiently defend his Country. But this was his Ruin; for the Marquis of *Peſcara* underſtanding hereof, or, as others ſay, ſuppoſing it only, queſtions him: But *Sforza* denying conſtantly that ever he gave his Conſent thereto, the Marquis demanded the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* for Security. But *Sforza* utterly refuſing this, the Marquis of *Peſcara* took *Milan* and laid Siege to the Caſtle, which only remained to *Sforza*, and after *Peſcara*'s Death, (which happen'd by Sickneſs) the Duke of *Bourbon*. The Concluſion hereof was, that *Sforza*, by conſtraint, yielded the Caſtle upon Conditions, and ſo retired at length to the Army, raiſed by the League againſt *Charles* the Year following.

The Emperor who had now treated of Marriage in many Places, concluded it at laſt with his Niece, *Donna Iſabella* the Infanta of *Portugal*, and Daughter of *Manuel* and *Maria*, Infanta of *Caſtile*, whom yet he married not till *January* 2, 1526. alledging for his Excuſe to our King, that at the Requeſt and Petition of his Cortes or States aſſembled at *Toledo*, he had preferred this Lady before our Princeſs *Mary*, which therefore he deſired might be underſtood for no Breach of Friendſhip. Our King alſo conſidering the tender Age of his Daughter, not yet fit for Marriage, and that it was an Incongruity to ally himſelf with a Prince againſt whom he might have ſo ſoon Occaſion to draw his Sword, as may appear by the League above-mention'd, ſeemed very well Content to relinquiſh the Match, upon this mutual Conſent. After which Time the Friendſhip betwixt them grew ſo remiſs, that at laſt it

diſſolved

diſſolved wholly: Inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors of both Sides were recalled Home, and *Charles*, who before was accuſtomed to Sign his Letters to King *Henry* always your Son and Kinſman, from henceforth ſubſcribed only *Carlos*.

But I the leſs wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, ſince a richer Booty than that of *Francis* fell into his Hands, that is to ſay *Peru*, where the Mines of *Potoſi*, and many others which for want of Labourers remain to this Day buried and unuſeful, were firſt diſcovered. Which began in this Manner.

Ulaſco Nunnez having firſt diſcovered, from a high Rock near *Darien*, the *South Sea*, *Hernando de Magellanes*, a *Portugueze*, but ſet forth by *Charles* V. afterwards found out the Straits that bear his Name, and paſſed through them with two Ships to the Iſle of *Zebut*, and others in that Sea; but dying in the Voyage, his Companions went on to *Borneo* and the *Moluccaes*, and many other Places, whence one of the Ships returned to *Spain*, by *Capo de Buena Eſperanca*, and ſo firſt compaſſed the Globe, *Juan Sebaſtian de Cano* a *Biſkayan* being Pilot. The other Ship was taken by the *Portugueze*. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknown ſtill, *Franciſco Picarro* a *Spaniard* living at *Panama*, being the furtheſt Part of Land, where it is narroweſt, betwixt the North Ocean and the South Sea, firſt attempted the diſcovery of that Coaſt, bending at laſt to *Peru*, which afterwards he Ranſackt; for Landing his Men at a Time when there was Diſſenſion betwixt *Guancar* the lawful Heir, and *Atabaliva* his younger Brother, he made his Advantage thereof, to the Overthrow of both, and of *Atabaliva* firſt, in this Pretext. *Picarro* having his Forces in a readineſs, ſent a Dominican Frier, with a Croſs in one Hand, and a Breviary in another, who, as the *Spaniſh* Writers have it, told *Atabaliva*, then in the head of his Army, that God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of Nothing, and that he ſent his Son down to be Born of a Virgin, and to die for our Sins upon a Croſs, like that he bore; and that he roſe the third Day, and left St. *Peter* his Vicar, and the Pope his Succeſſor, who had given the Emperor that Country, if he would not believe this; commanding him alſo to make War, and deſtroy him and his Religion. *Atabaliva*, who tho' full of ſuperſtitious Worſhip, did yet venerate a ſupreme Deity, confeſſed in theſe Parts by the Name of *Viracocha*, or *Baracocha*, as in *Mexico* by that of *Teuth*, and in *Guatimala* by that of *Cabovil*, in *Neuva Eſpanna* by that of *Yocabuvaguamaorocoti*, and together acknowledged Virtue and Vice, Reward and Puniſhment, after this Life, as believing the Soul Immortal; found this Ambaſſage ſtrange, and ſaid, he believed no Power on Earth was ſuperior to himſelf, yet that he would be glad to hold Friendſhip with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wondred at him, becauſe he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not diſpute it, ſince it was ſo antient, and received in his Country. And, for worſhipping of Chriſt that died, he ſaid, he thought he had done better in worſhipping the Sun and Moon that never died, as believing, which I find by the Hiſtory of the *Incas*, written by one of that Blood Royal, that the Sun did go about the World on God's Errand. Laſtly, he demanded, who told him that God had made the World on that Faſhion: To which the Dominican anſwering, the Breviary, and together putting it in his Hands; *Ata-*

baliva turning over a few Leaves, as if he expected ſome ſuch Expreſſion from thence, but finding he underſtood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the Dominican exclaiming that the Goſpel was on the Ground, and demanding Vengeance, *Picarro* diſcharged ſome great Ordance, and his ſmall Shot againſt him, wherewith the terrified *Indians* fled, and *Atabaliva* was taken Priſoner. *Atabaliva* hereupon offers for his Ranſom as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Room where they were, which being accorded and almoſt performed in Effect, *Picarro* upon falſe Pretences moſt cruelly put him to Death, tho' Baptiz'd; for which alſo the Conſpirators and *Picarro* himſelf came at laſt to ill Deaths, as the *Spaniſh* Writers obſerve. Howſoever for the preſent, the *Spaniards* proceeded in their Cruelty to others, of all Sorts, eſpecially of the Blood-Royal, and got infinite Treaſure, their Temples being planked with Gold, and their Graves full of Treaſure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have inſiſted too long upon theſe Barbariſms.

The Year of our Lord 1526, was now entred when *Charles* required his Council to adviſe him whether it were beſt to deliver *Francis*; and if ſo, upon what Terms? *Charles de la Noy* Vice-Roy of *Naples* did not think fit the Emperor ſhould loſe the Benefit of ſuch a Prize; therefore, though he perſwaded the Delivery of *Francis*, yet he wiſh'd that the moſt advantageous Conditions that could be made thereof ſhould be taken ſuddenly, and before the League, which was now forming againſt him, could be concluded. That, this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the Buſineſs of *Germany*, to reſiſt the *Turk*, and to ſuppreſs *Barbaroſſa* and other Pirates that infeſted his Seas. Others and among them *Guattinara* the Chancellor, ſaid, that there was leſs danger of *Francis* being in Priſon than Abroad; eſpecially, ſince it did not appear ſufficiently, the new League would be broken off, when *Francis* had his Liberty, but rather ſtrengthned and confirm'd, as being not directed ſo much for the Delivery of *Francis*, as oppoſed to the Greatneſs of *Charles*. That many Things might be done while *Francis* was unſettled, which would take no Effect when he were reſtored to his former Eſtate. Therefore, his beſt Courſe were to find ſome Means to have the Children of his Priſoner, and other Affairs in *France*, within his Power, that ſo nothing might interrupt his Deſigns elſewhere. And that himſelf ſhould undertake his Journey to *Italy*, before he let go ſo dangerous an Enemy, who if once looſe, would rather make War for redeeming his Loſſes, than improve them by ſtanding to any ſervile Conditions. Laſtly, that his Imperial Majeſty ought to believe, that if *Francis* being in Priſon would not make Reſtitution of *Burgundy*, he would much leſs do it when he were free. *Hernando de Vega* ſaid, that *Francis* was very well in *Madrid*. To which *Guattinara* replied reſolutely, there might be Uſe both of detaining and letting him go; only, ſince he ſaw ſo little Hope of Performance, what Security ſoever were given, he thought it beſt either to let him go freely, and therein put a perpetual Obligation upon him, or to keep him ſtill where he was. This was a wiſe Advice. The Emperor yet choſe rather to adhere to them who counſelled him to prevail himſelf of the Occaſion. Therefore, conſidering *Francis* offered his two Sons for Hoſtages, while himſelf going to *France*, mediated with

with the Eſtates for reſtoring *Burgundy*; and that, without this perſonal Interceſſion there was little Hope of any Satisfaction or Peace; he thought it beſt to deliver *Francis*, as that which at leaſt would declare to the *Chriſtian* World, that he deſired the Quietneſs thereof. So thar upon the fourteenth of *January* a Treaty, called the Concord of *Madrid*, was concluded.

The Treaty betwixt them being thus concluded, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, for the laſt Seal and Solemnization thereof, ſaid Maſs. This being done, *Francis* coming to the Altar, and putting his right Hand upon the Book of the Evangeliſts, which the ſaid Archbiſhop held, did ſwear by the Sacrament, and the holy Evangeliſts, not to break this Capitulation all the Days of his Life, nor to give Counſel or Favour that any other ſhould break it. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, and the Secretary *Aleman* in the Emperor's Name. For the Emperor in Perſon did not think fit to Balance his free Oath, with that of *Francis*, then in Reſtraint. This being performed on both Sides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and *Pleytolomenaie*, being a kind of Homage, of *Francis*, who as a Prince and the moſt Chriſtian King, promiſed and gave his Fidelity and royal Word to return into *Spain* a Priſoner within the ſpace of ſix Months, in caſe he did not accompliſh all that was there capitulated betwixt them, given his Hands thereupon to be held betwixt thoſe of *Charles de la Noy*. This being ended with much ſeeming Content on all Parts, the Emperor's Commiſſioners went to *Toledo*; where, upon Relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to ſend the *Seigneur de Praet*, Chevalier of the *Toiſand*, or who had been in *England*, and was now his Ambaſſador in *France* to meet with the *French* King at *Bayonne*, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample Ratification of his Oath.

Some few Days after this Treaty, commonly called *Concordia de Madrid*, *Charles de la Noy* having Power and Commiſſion from the Queen *Donna Leonora*, privately contracted a Marriage with *Francis* in her Name, and then having Commiſſion from him again, went to the Queen *Leonora* and contracted a Marriage with her in the Name of *Francis*. After which Time the Emperor treated no more with *Francis* as a Priſoner, but a near Ally; inſomuch that at the next Viſit, he offered him the right Hand. I obſerve yet the Emperor would not permit *Francis* to enjoy *Leonora* his Siſter till he had fully accompliſhed the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his laſt Words to *Francis*, being then licenſed to depart, ſeem ſo ſenſible of any Thing, as of her Honour. At which Time alſo, for further Obligation of *Francis* unto this Agreement, I find by *Sandoval*, he demanded of *Francis* whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them? *Francis* anſwered, Yes; for further Confirmation repeating the moſt particular Articles. *Charles* then demanded, are you willing to perform them? *Francis* anſwered again, Yes; adding, he knew no Man in his Kingdom would hinder him. And, when you find that I do not keep my Word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for *Laſche & Meſchant*. *Charles* replied, and I wiſh you to ſay the like of me if I do not give you Liberty. Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long Farewel. This being done, *Charles* returned. There

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was much Difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt *Francis* and his two Sons, neither could they, almoſt deviſe how to ſecure it from Jealouſy on either Side. At laſt theſe Articles were agreed.

1. That no Man at Arms, or other Soldier, might within ten Days before or after the exchange and delivery, be permitted to come within twenty Leagues of the Place; and that thoſe who were come already ſhould retire.

2. That no Gentleman of the *French* King's Houſhold ſhould paſs *Bayonne*, till the King were come to St. *Juan de Luz*.

3. That the Number of Foot Garriſons in either Frontier ſhould not exceed a Thouſand. And that when Madam *Louiſe* the Regent had declared whether ſhe would give the two eldeſt Sons of *Francis* in Hoſtage, or the Dauphin only with the twelve others above mention'd, that then it ſhould be adviſed whether the Number were to be increaſed.

4. That at the Day of the delivery neither Man nor Woman, Neighbour nor Stranger ſhould be near the Place.

5. That ſix Days before the delivery, *Charles* ſhould appoint twelve Perſons to viſit the Coaſt, on that Side where the River of *Fuenterabie* joins with *France*: And that four Perſons appointed by Madam *Louiſe* ſhould be ready there to do whatſoever was required for Performance of theſe Articles. And that for this purpoſe Madam *Louiſe* might alſo appoint twelve on the other Side of the River, whom four on *Charles*'s Part ſhould likewiſe attend.

6. That neither on one or other Side of the ſaid River, paſſing near *Fuentarabie*, there ſhould be any Boats or Pinaces, but two, which muſt be of the ſame Bigneſs, to paſs *Francis* to the one, and the Hoſtages to the other Side, and that the twelve Deputies on either Part ſhould take order herein.

7. That there ſhould be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the Place appointed for the Delivery.

In Conſequence of which Capitulation, it was further agreed, that *Charles de la Noy*, with twenty-five armed Men, with Swords and Daggers only, for guarding of the *French* King, and as many with Monſieur *de Lautrech*, in like Manner weapon'd for conducting the two Hoſtages, ſhould come to the Sides of the above-mention'd River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Bark faſtned with Anchors, ſhould be Built, on which yet no Body ſhould Stand; and that two Boats of equal Bigneſs, fitted for twenty Oars a-piece, ſhould be ready there, of which *Francis* ſhould chuſe one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all *French* and unarm'd, ſhould enter his Boat, and bring it to the Side of *Spain*, at the ſame Time, that the other with twenty *Spaniards* unarm'd likewiſe, ſhould be brought to the *French* Coaſt. That thereupon *Charles de la Noy* conducting the King, and taking ten Perſons only with him, ſhould paſs to one Side of the ſaid Bridge, at the ſame Time that Monſieur *de Lautrech* with the Hoſtages, and ten Perſons, ſhould likewiſe come to the other. That none of the ſaid Perſons yet ſhould put themſelves upon the Bridge, but *Charles de la Noy* with the *French* King and one other, and Monſieur *de Loutrech* with the two Hoſtages, and Madam *de Briſac* and *Chauvigny*. That thereupon the Exchange ſhould be made in one Inſtant. Before yet any Thing was done the ſame Day, that a Boat with four Rowers *Spaniſh* and four *French*, and a Gentleman of either Nation,

tion, ſhould viſit the Coaſt on both Sides, and take Order that every thing ſhould be prepar'd. For fear yet leſt ſome ſuppoſitious Children ſhould be tendred inſtead of the Dauphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the Seigneur *de Praet*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, ſhould come along with them, while another *French* Man was allowed to attend *Francis* in his Paſſage.

Thus upon the eighteenth of *March* 1526. after one whole Year and ſome Days Impriſonment, was *Francis* delivered to his Boat, and by mutual Conſent at the ſame Time accompanied with twelve *Spaniards*, whereof *Charles de la Noy* and *Hernando de Alancon*'s Guardian were two, to the *French* Shore, while the Hoſtages, accompanied with the like Number, came to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt; neither was there any Thing more that might be thought remarkable in the Performance of all this, but that a ſtay was made while the two Children kiſſed their Father's Hands, and that his laſt Words to *la Noy* confirmed again his Promiſe to the Emperor. As ſoon as *Francis* came to his own Ground, he got haſtily upon a *Turkiſh* and ſwift Horſe, and ſuddenly putting Spurs to him, if we may believe *Sandoval*, and caſting one of his Arms over his Head, and crying *Je ſuis le Roy*, *Je ſuis le Roy*, poſted to St. *Juan de Luz*, and the next Day to *Bayonne*, where the Lady his Mother and many other principal Perſons with much Anxiety attended him.

I am the more particular in the Relation of theſe Paſſages, both as the Example is rare, and as it leads to the Underſtanding of that which followeth in our Hiſtory; and the rather, for that it was the Subject that chiefly took up the Time and Thoughts of our King, whenſoever his Proſpect was turn'd on foreign Affairs; inſomuch that he might be truly ſaid a principal Actor in them. And now he held it his Part to relieve *Francis*. Therefore as he had ſent *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, long ſince into *Spain* to mediate his Delivery with the Emperor, ſo now hearing he was in his way Homewards, he diſpatches Sir *Thomas Cheyney* to congratulate his ſafe Return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore* above-mention'd, which *Francis* accepting, ſent a Meſſenger immediately to advertiſe our King of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge that he owed him chiefly his Liberty, as both *Sandoval* relates it, and our Records, under his own Hand, confirm; which fair Times produced, afterwards, a more firm Correſpondency betwixt them.

Charles de la Noy & Hernando de Alancon having in vain ſollicited *Francis*, at *Bayonne*, to accompliſh that Part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, ſeem'd yet to receive ſome Satisfaction, that they were referr'd until their coming to *Paris*. (The King pretending he could do nothing, Effectually, till he had ſpoken with the principal Perſons of the Eſtate and Parliament.) Here again they preſſed *Francis* unto the Performance of that he was bound to by ſo many Oaths and Promiſes. But *Francis*, for a Concluſion, poſitively anſwered, that it was not in his Power to diſmember any Part from the Kingdom, without Conſent both of the ſame Part, and the whole Kingdom; and therefore, with many loving Words, deſired that his Ranſom might be changed to ſome equivalent Sum of Money. But *Charles* would by no Means hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by Treaty happily detained the Queen *Leonora* from paſſing into *France*, ſo he determined

termined rather, at what Price ſoever, to take off the Pope, *Venetians*, *Franciſco Sforza*, and the *Florentines*, from a League they were entring into with *England* and *Francis* againſt him, than to decline any Way the leaſt Article of the late Concord and Agreement.

This League, called *Clementina & Sanctiſſima*, was begun, as the *French* have it, by the Inſtigation of our King, during the Impriſonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded till about two Months after his Delivery. To give this a more auſpicate beginning, the Pope, as the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory hath it, ſent to the *French* King a Relaxation of the Oath he made to obſerve the Concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon Pretext alledged by *Francis*, that thoſe of *Burgundy* would not conſent, by any means, to be alienated from the *French* Crown. *Charles de la Noy*, and *Hernando de Alancon*, finding Matters thus diſtemper'd, and unlike to come to any good End, deſired Leave to return, which *Francis* granted, upon Condition that they would go to *Spain* immediately, and not to *Italy*, whither, in Regard of his Government, *la Noy* deſired much to paſs through the *French* Territories. Though others write, and our Records confirm it, that they departed not till the following Treaty was ſworn at *Cognac*, in their Preſence; which that they might make more ſpecious to the Emperor, they offered him place to enter into it upon certain Conditions.

Our King finding himſelf choſen Protector of the Leagues, adviſes what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Council, it was reſolved moſt prudently, that he ſhould not be a Party where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor alſo, inform'd hereof, proteſted againſt *Clement* VII. as an ungrateful Perſon, he having been by his Favour firſt made Cardinal; and after Pope, in deſpite of Cardinal *Soderino*'s Allegation, that he was a Baſtard, and therefore uncapable of either of the ſaid Dignities: Neither had he other Evaſion to clear himſelf, but that he produced Witneſſes how his Father, *Julian de Medicis*, before his death, which he received by a Stab as the Prieſt lift up the Hoſt, had at laſt married his Mother. Againſt the *French* King he exclaimed as perjured and falſe, and againſt the *Venetians*, as unconſtant. Howſoever, his greateſt Care was how to divide them; therefore, though in *Italy*, upon publiſhing of the League, *July* 8, 1526, ſolemnly, by the Pope, they levied their appointed Numbers, yet *Francis* being put in hope of the Reſtitution of his Children, delay'd ſo much on his Part, that, at laſt, the Imperial Army conſtrained *Sforza* to yield *Milan*, reſerving yet the Revenues thereof to his Uſe, as hoping thereby to content him. But the deſpited and diſtruſtful Duke, not ſatisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on foot in *Italy*, of which the Duke of *Urbin* was made General. This while the Emperor was advertiſed, how, in ſequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis*'s Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and King's Council had diſannull'd and annihilated the Concord of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Perſon who was conſtrain'd, and in Priſon. To colour yet this Refuſal, *Francis* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Granada*, where the Emperor was, to tell him again *Burgundy* could not be alienated from the *French* Crown; and that if he would return his Sons at a reaſonable Ranſom, which I find by the *French* was two Millions of Crowns, he would take his Siſter *Leonora* for his Queen; if not,

that he would recover them by force. The ſeveral Ambaſſadors alſo of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, and particularly the *Engliſh*, concurred herein; requiring further, that he ſhould recal the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, and reſtore *Franciſco Sforza*; leave his Pretence to *Naples*, and not go to *Italy* with an Army; and that he ſhould pay the King of *England*, all the Contractors of the League, in caſe of Refuſal, denouncing War. The Emperor anſwer'd, that the *French* King ſhould do ill not to keep his Oath and Promiſe. Neither could he excuſe himſelf ſufficiently, by laying the Fault on his Parliament or Kingdom, they being privy and conſenting to it. That he would detain the Hoſtages; and, for the Queen *Leonora*, ſhe was not demanded in ſuch Terms as it was fit to ſend her. For *Franciſco Sforza*, that he would chaſtiſe him as his Vaſſal: That he would hold his Right in *Naples*: That he would go to *Italy*, when and how he liſted. And that, if all made War againſt him, he would, by the Help of his good Subjects, defend himſelf againſt them all, and that he would pay the King of *England* with *French* Money.

I muſt return now a while to ſpeak of home Buſineſſes, that the Reader may ſee wherefore our active King prevail'd himſelf no more nor otherwiſe of theſe great Occaſions. It was only want of Money, the Scarcity whereof alſo was the Excuſe his People made, for not furniſhing thoſe Contributions he demanded. Hereupon our King enquires into the Cauſes: Among which, becauſe ſecret Tranſportation of Money was thought one of the greateſt, he adviſes concerning the Remedy. All his Counſellors yet did not concur in the ſame Opinion; for ſome affirm'd, no Merchant would carry away Coin unleſs he found Gain by it; and that this, returning home again, inrich'd the Country. Others ſaid, they were Subtilties yet, which, if Order were not taken, would drain away our Monies inſenſibly; it being manifeſt to all, that would take the Pains to conſider it, that, unleſs the Commodities and Coin of our Country kept both Standard and Proportion with thoſe with whom we traffick'd, there would be Loſs. That the crafty *Flemings*, therefore, when they deſired to raiſe the Price of their Commodities, enhanced likewiſe the Value of our Money, eſpecially Gold, leſt our Merchants ſhould be diſcouraged to buy, when they find the Price of the Commodity ſo much rais'd. The Conſequence whereof was, that our Merchants deſired, by ſtealth, to convey over their Money in Specie, as having thereby the Benefit of enhancing; whereas, if they received it in the *Low Countries* by Bill of Credit or Exchange, they ſhould not only loſe this Benefit, but pay ſomewhat to thoſe which furniſh'd them. Again, that when our Merchants had occaſion to return from the *Low-Countries*, they were not ſuffered to carry back their Monies in Specie, but were forced to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they loſt again. Thus, notwithſtanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great Sums were conveyed over, to the impoveriſhing of the Kingdom: The only Remedy whereof was, to cry up our Money at home, at the ſame Rate that it paſſed abroad, which will both keep our Money from tranſporting, and make the Exchange without Loſs: Neither was there other Means to prevent theſe Inconveniences, which had now extended ſo far, that our Gold was as frequent and current among our Neighbours almoſt as at home; where-

as,

as, yet, little or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary Payments. Beſides, they made another Advantage hereof; for as their Standard was baſer than ours, ſo they coined our Gold again, and made no little Profit that way. Thus did our Neighbours many Ways procure the Wealth of their Country, and Damage of ours; and would do more if timely Order were not taken; which our Hiſtorians have thought worth the ſetting down, and myſelf have the more inſiſted on, both to ſhew the Rate of Gold and Silver in thoſe Times, and to help the Reader to underſtand the ſecond enhancing under this King, *Anno* 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angel-Noble of Gold was hitherto in Weight one-ſixth of an Ounce, in Eſtimation 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of Silver, which Silver was two Ounces. Thus the Proportion of Gold to Silver is twelve to one. Again, an Ounce of Silver, or Half-Angel, paſs'd for 3 *s.* 4 *d.* ſo twelve Ounces, or a Pound was juſt 40 *s.* which is 2 *l.* as we commonly count our Money.

But *Henry* VIII. now, by Proclamation, advancing the Value of both one-tenth Part, the Angel was raiſed to 7 *s.* 4 *d.* which was the Rate at which it paſs'd in the *Low Countries*: And, conſequently an Ounce of Gold eſtimated at 44 *s.* and an Ounce of Silver 3 *s.* 8 *d.* and a Pound Weight at 44 *s.* the Proportion being, *ut ſupra*, twelve to one. The ſudden Benefit of this appear'd ſuch, that in *November* following there was another enhancing of one forty-fourth Part: So that the Angel was 7 *s.* 6 *d.* the Ounce of Gold 45 *s.* and the Ounce of Silver 3 *s.* 9 *d.* And, by theſe Means, much of our Gold, as our Hiſtorians obſerve, was brought back again: But in the Year 1544, theſe Metals were again enhanced one fifteenth Part; ſo Gold came from 45 *s.* to 48 *s.* an Ounce; and Silver from 3 *s.* 9 *d.* an Ounce to 4 *s.* and a Pound Weight of Silver was 48 *s.*

This while *Solyman* brought two hundred thouſand Men into *Hungary*, with which, near *Buda*, he wholly defeated the Army of *Lewis*, King thereof, being forty thouſand, and conſtrained him to fly away; 'till, by the fall of his Horſe, having his Leg engaged, he was drown'd in leſs than a Span deep of Water and Mud; ſo that it concern'd all Chriſtian Princes to make Peace, but chiefly the Emperor, whoſe Siſter King *Lewis* had married; and whoſe Brother *Ferdinand*, in the Right of his Wife *Anne*, Siſter and Heir to the ſaid King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, claimed to ſucceed in both Kingdoms. *Francis*, being not ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevail himſelf of the Occaſion; therefore he ſent in *September* 1526, the Arch-biſhop of *Bourdeaux*, with whom alſo the *Nuncio* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors join'd Offices, to deſire the Emperor to ſend back his Children, and to accept ſome honeſt Ranſom in Money; promiſing, withal, his Love and Friendſhip: But *Charles*, now incenſed, told the Arch-biſhop, that if he would have his Children, he muſt, according to his Oath and Promiſe, return Priſoner himſelf; adding, that his Kingdom could not hinder him herein: However, he pretended they would not conſent to the Reſtitution of *Burgundy*; wherein yet he ſhould but imitate the Example of King *John* his Predeceſſor; who, being Priſoner in *England*, and permitted to go home upon the like Terms, did, when he was not able to pay his Ranſom, moſt faithfully return again, and yield his Body unto Cuſtody, where he died. Then, taking the Ambaſſador aſide, as *Sandoval* hath it, he bid him tell the *French* King, his Maſter, that

that he had done knaviſhly and daſtardly in breaking the Concord of *Madrid*; and that, if he denied it, he would make it good in Perſon againſt him: But *Francis* wanted not Courage to reply in the ſame Language, as will appear afterwards.

In the mean time, as he thought it concern'd him to defend his Reputation in any probable Way, rather than to confeſs in himſelf ſo notable a Falſhood, he cauſed an Apology, penn'd by the Chancellor of *France*, to be publiſhed, and ſent to all Chriſtian Princes, the Effect whereof was:

That the Emperor had firſt broke the Confederation of *Noyon*, in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Reſtitution of *Navarre*, and divers other Rights: Beſides, that he had made War in *Milan*, which was his by Inheritance, the Conceſſion of Popes, and Donation *in Feud* by *Maximilian* the Emperor. And, which was worſt of all, had enticed his Vaſſal, the Duke of *Bourbon*, to rebel againſt him, and invade *Provence*. That thereupon he had, indeed, drawn his Sword, and chaſed the Imperial Army from before *Marſeilles*, and followed it to *Italy*, where he was unfortunately taken Priſoner; yet, that he had proteſted to thoſe who kept him there, that if the Emperor requir'd unjuſt or impoſſible Things, he would not perform them; but rather that he would revenge himſelf when he was free. That as he doubted, leſt, through his Abſence ſome Troubles might ariſe at home, he had procured his Liberty the beſt Way he could: In the whole Frame whereof, if any Thing were to be diſlik'd, it muſt be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreaſonable Conditions, than to him who found no other Means to eſcape. Notwithſtanding that, at his Return he had, for the Satisfaction of his Honour, required of his chief Nobility and Counſellors what he ought to do, both according to Equity, and the Maintenance of his Royal Dignity; who, upon mature Deliberation, anſwered, That inſolent Factions and Contract, which comprehend in them notable Damage, and Detriment to the Contractor, as being impos'd on him by one more powerful, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary, and therefore in themſelves void: Beſides, that when he was ſacred at *Rheims*, he was then ſworn not to alienate any Patrimony of the Crown; from which Oath therefore, as being formerly made, and more obligatory, he could by no means depart; eſpecially when the Inhabitants of *Burgundy*, which was the Country demanded, would not conſent thereunto: Wherefore, if the Emperor preſſed him to any thing contrary to theſe Duties and Obligations, he muſt think it was not without a ſpecial Providence from above that he recovered his Liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant that he was tied by the greateſt Bond of Religion not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he believe that the Preſidents of the Parliaments of *France* would conſent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howſoever, that none could think him falſe or perjur'd, as long as the Hoſtages, as the counter Value of all that was capitulated, had been deliver'd to the Emperor. Neither was it enough to ſay, that, in demanding *Burgundy*, the Emperor did but require his own; ſince that Dutchy was long ſince annexed to *Normandy*, and incorporated into the Crown of *France* by King *John*, and conſequently govern'd by the ſame Laws; among which the *Salick* being principal, the Emperor's Title, as being claimed from

from a Daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this Affair had been communicated to ſome out of this Kingdom, who underſtood well what was to be done in ſuch Caſes, and that we had received much Comfort. In concluſion, as there remained nothing elſe for him to do, ſo he had offered a condign Ranſom in Money, and other good Conditions, which might both Redeem his dear Children, and teſtify the Deſire he had to recover his lately marrried Wife, who was alſo detained from him; yet that he was ſtill refuſed. All which Premiſes being duly conſidered, he appealed to all Chriſtian Princes and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the Fault was his, and not rather the Emperor's, who, by his injurious and impoſſible Demands had fruſtrated himſelf.

Thus, as many thought, did *Francis* ſtrive to elude his Oath with Reaſon of State; and to cover the Breach of his Faith under a pretext of Impoſſibility; without making any good excuſe at all, that is extant, for his not returning, tho' more eaſily palliated than the reſt; both as Suſpicion of ill Uſage might be held a kind of natural Defence and Evaſion in this kind, and as his Kingdom would leſs conſent hereunto, than to any other Condition. And certainly, had the Emperor ſufficiently conſidered all theſe Circumſtances, he would have followed their Council, who adviſed him, either to detain *Francis* till he had made ſome Advantage thereof, or elſe have let him go freely. Neither ſhould the *Clementine* League, begun during the Impriſonment of *Francis*, have deterr'd him; as being not concluded ſo much in Favour of *Francis*, as directed againſt him, whoſe Greatneſs did then many ways appear. So that to let *Francis* go, was but to fortify his Adverſaries againſt himſelf. He thought fit yet, to command an Anſwer to this Apology; wherein the Title, by which he claim'd all his doubtful Poſſeſſions, eſpecially that of *Naples* and *Provence*, is ſet down, and the Fault laid on *Francis*, with as much Bitterneſs as the Cauſe requir'd; all which is ſet down by *Sandoval*.

Francis, finding now there was no other way to recover his Children, but by Force, makes all the Friends he can: Wherefore, about the End of *July*, ſending ſome Ambaſſadors to our King, a League was concluded the eighth of *Auguſt*, Anno 1526. by which both Kings did oblige themſelves reciprocally, not to treat or agree apart, or ſeparately with the ſaid Emperor, concerning the Reſtitution of the two Children of *Francis*, when yet they were freely offered, nor they Money due from the Emperor to our King; but jointly and together. And as for all other Buſineſſes, they ſhould paſs without Derogation or Prejudice to their former Treaties, which were underſtood to remain entire. And that neither of the ſaid Kings ſhould in any Kind aſſiſt the Emperor, when he was invaded by the other.

The Perſons who chiefly procur'd this, were *Giovanni Joachim*, now ſtiled *Monſieur de Vaulx*, and *Jean Brinon* the *premier* Preſident of *Rouen*: who being, as is before ſaid, diſpatched by *Francis*, came to King *Henry*, *April* 28. and being admitted the Preſident in an eloquent Oration in *Latin*, before our King, ſet in his Throne, and attended by the Ambaſſadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Venice* and *Florence*, who at this Time laboured to draw him into the League of *Italy*, profeſſed publickly, that it was the King's Goodneſs meerly that made him abſtain from *France* at this Seaſon, the

Occaſion of invading it being ſo fair, during the Impriſonment of the King his Maſter. This being ended, Sir *Thomas More*, in the ſame Language, wittily anſwered him; concluding at laſt, that ſince they acknowledged this Goodneſs in the King, it ſhould be an Obligation on him to continue it; wherewith the Ambaſſadors departed, much ſatisfied. Our King alſo, conſidering the Difficulties he found to procure Money, divided his Time betwixt Buſineſſes at home and his Pleaſures, not neglecting yet the publick good of *Chriſtendom*: For which Purpoſe he ſent Sir *John Wallop*, not only to the Princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to join againſt the *Turk*, but to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to comfort her for the Loſs of her Husband; adding withal ſuch a Supply of Money, as might teſtify his Zeal to that Cauſe, who by Kindred and Neighbourhood to the Danger were more concerned therein.

The Army of the late League having now begun a War, with ſome doubtful Succeſs in *Italy*, the Pope for his Juſtification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, *June* 23, 1526, a Kind of Apology for his taking Arms; alledging, that as he was *Pater Communis*, he thought himſelf bound, by all the Ways he could, to procure a general Good before any Particular, exhorting him for the reſt, to moderate his immenſe Ambition, to give Peace to *Italy*, Pardon to *Franciſco Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, and Contentment to all the Confederates in their juſt Demands. To which *Charles* ſharply anſwered, by Letter dated the 17th of *September* following, laying the Fault of that Diſſention among Chriſtian Princes (which had given Occaſion to the *Turk* to conquer ſo much in *Hungary*) from himſelf, and on the Pope chiefly; telling him, among other Things, that regularly he ought not to draw his Sword, when even it were againſt the Enemies of our Faith. Then taxing him, as if he were ungrateful, falſe, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the Peace of *Italy* and the Chriſtian World, and among others, for *Franciſco Sforza*, proceeding thence to a bitter Expoſtulation with the Pope, as is more at large ſet down by *Sandoval*; by whom alſo I find, that *Charles* ſollicited all the Cardinals, openly, to call a general Council for the Good of Chriſtendom, as of themſelves, when otherwiſe the Pope would not conſent thereto.

This while *Don Hugo de Moncada*, coming into *Italy* to offer ſome Conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they took no Effect, treated ſecretly with *Pompeo*, Cardinal *de Colonna*, and others of that Family; who ſuddenly, with three thouſand Men only, or as others ſay, ſix thouſand, entred *Rome*, ſacking Part of it, and cauſing that Terror to the Pope that he fled to the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*. Neither could he free himſelf, till he had agreed with *Moncada* for a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of *Lombardy*, and a Pardon to all the *Colonneſi*. Whereupon *Moncada* alſo withdrew his Forces out of *Rome*.

Our King being not yet inform'd hereof, had ſent to *Charles* to offer his beſt Endeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, proteſting, that if he accepted his good Will herein, he would diſclaim all Intereſt in the *Clementine* League, altho' that Ambaſſadors from all the Confederates were, at that Inſtant in his Court, ſufficiently authoriſed to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon ſends Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador's Reſident in *England*, to treat accordingly of an End; to which purpoſe alſo

alſo he diſpatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to our Court *January* 14. to treat hereof. Howbeit, as Matters were likely to be ſpun out into a greater Length than ſtood with his Maſters Occaſions, he ſhortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spiceries of the *Eaſt-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with Particularity. For whereas by the due Deciſion of Pope *Alexander* VI. 1493. the *Eaſt-Indies* were given to the *Portugals*, and the *Weſtern* to the *Spaniards*, ſo that the firſt Bound was a Line drawn from North to South, diſtant from the Iſlands of *Cape Verde* the ſpace of four hundred Miles Weſtward, all on this Side being allotted to the *Portugal*, the other Side being permitted to the *Spaniard*, this Line yet in Favour of the *Portugals*, who by their Riches, Power at Sea, and Conqueſts in *Africa*, had made themſelves much redoubted, was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty Miles Weſtward; whereby betwixt theſe two Neighbour Princes alone, a new World, with the immenſe Wealth belonging to it, was divided; yet with this Honour to the *Portugal*, that his Diſcoveries and Poſſeſſions gave Denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occaſioned antiently the calling theſe Parts after its Name, and the new Conqueſts on the *Spaniſh* Part, though hugely diſtant, following the Stile. Notwithſtanding which large Empire, able to ſatisfy any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not Emulation betwixt thoſe Princes. Inſomuch, that neither Alliance, Neighbourhood, nor the Danger they ſhould incur, if other Princes prevailed themſelves of their Diſſentions, could keep them in good Terms. Therefore I find, by a Letter from *Edward Lee* our King's Almoner, and now Ambaſſador in *Spain*, dated at *Medina del Campo*, the twenty firſt of *January* 1527. The Emperor laid claim to ſome Spiceries in the Eaſtern Parts, which I find, by *Sandoval*, to have been the *Molucca's* lately diſcovered, as we have ſhewed, by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugal*, who, to buy out the King of *Spain*, offered two Millions of Ducats; which yet the Emperor accepted not for the preſent, but choſe rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King; and, thereby, either to draw a great Sum of Money from him, and together, to ingage us in a Quarrel againſt the *Portugals*, while himſelf continued his Navigation ſecurely to the *Weſt-Indies*; or, at leaſt, to detain him a while, from a League he was now entring into with *Francis*. I do not find yet what Anſwer our King return'd thereto. But as no Effect followed, I believe the offer, though advantageous, was out of ill Information concerning theſe Parts rejected.

And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and underſtanding beſides what rough Uſage the Pope had received from *Moncada*, reſolves, according to his former League, to join againſt that Prince which appear'd moſt Refractory. Therefore, conceiving the Fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd preſently into a ſtrict League with *Francis*, chuſing rather to concur with him particularly, than to embrace the *Clementine* accord, as containing many Articles in it, that no way concern'd him. Therefore ſending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he propoſes to *Francis* the Princeſs *Mary* in Marriage, ſince *Charles* had denied him *Leonora*. And beſides, offers to enter an offenſive League with him, ſuch as his Confederates in *Italy* had made, for the Recovery of his Children,

and forcing the Emperor to reaſonable Conditions. *Francis* gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princeſs *Maria*'s Picture, which, together with our King's is granted, and the Match treated in *France*, by our Agents, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he married her, requir'd ſhe ſhould be preſently given up into his Hands: But our King not agreeing thereunto, by reaſon his Daughter was yet but eleven Years old, *March* the ſecond, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, the Viſcount of *Thurenne*, and *Antoine Veſey*, the Preſident of *Paris*, came into *England*; where, on the laſt of *April*, as I find by the *French*, and our Records, three Treaties were concluded.

Theſe Treaties being concluded and ſworn, yet ſo as the Biſhop of *Tarbe* made not a few Doubts concerning the Princeſs *Mary*'s Legitimation, which we ſhall find afterwards occaſioned the Divorce, they were diſmiſt, and honourably rewarded, and afterwards, as I find, ſent by *Francis* to *Spain*.

While theſe Things paſſed, the Pope, as ſoon as the Imperials had quitted *Rome*, and left him at his Liberty, ſends to our King a Letter, *September* 24, complaining of the Indignities offered to his Perſon by *Moncada*, and the *Colonneſi*, deſiring his Grace to ſet his Hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the Apoſtolick See. Moreover he told our Ambaſſadors, as they write, that if the King of *England*, by whoſe Incouragement, he ſaith, he enter'd this Labyrinth, will yet effectually aſſiſt him, and the *French* King amend his former Slackneſs, *&c.* he will do as he did before, notwithſtanding his late Agreement with *Moncada*, to which he holds himſelf not bound, becauſe he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our King in *November*, ſent him about thirty thouſand Ducats for a Preſent. The Pope being thus heartned, cites the Cardinal *Colonna* to appear at *Rome* upon Pain of Deprivation of his Dignity: he, on the other Side, threatning to call a Council againſt him, and Depoſe him as a *Semoniac*: The Pope, hereupon, gathers an Army, and with about ten thouſand Men, led by the *Comte de Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorain*, to whom the Pope now pretended to give *Naples* as the right of his Family, enters the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers Places belonging to the *Colonneſi*, and approacheth the very Gates of *Naples*. But now new Succours coming from *Spain*, the Pope was diſtreſſed and glad to treat again with *la Noy* the Vice-Roy, and to give the Imperialiſts ſixty thouſand Ducats, whereupon alſo it was agreed, that the Armies ſhould retire on either Side, and a Ceſſation of War ſhould be accorded for eight Months. But the Pope finding this Accord alſo too diſadvantagious, as having diſarm'd himſelf thereby, and diſcontented both the *French* and our King, intends to diſavow it, and to provide himſelf of Money by creating fourteen Cardinals, for which he had three hundred thouſand Ducats; but *Bourbon* prevented his Attempts. For being actually General of the Imperials, who for want of Pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage, he takes a pretext to invade *Rome* itſelf; For, as the Intelligence in our Records hath it, coming near that City, *May* 5. he ſent to the Pope for leave to paſs through it, and his Territories into the Realm of *Naples*, and to have Victuals for his Money: But the Pope denying it, *Bourbon* reſolves to aſſault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri* an old Commander defended. But *Bourbon* having an Army of thirty thouſand Men, upon

May

May 6, 1527. marches directly to the Walls; where carrying a Ladder before the reſt of the Soldiers with which he meant to Scale the Town, a Shot kill'd him: Which kind of Death, ſome Writers ſay, he call'd upon himſelf by a kind of Imprecation, when the laſt Year, being at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their quiet at a great Price; wiſhing he might be ſhot to Death the firſt Time he went to the Field, if they ſhould be oppreſſed any more by ſuch Payments, which yet he forced them unto ſoon after. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Orange*, threw a Cloak over his Body, as fearing it might diſcourage his Soldiers. But they whether out of Indignation for this Loſs, or Greedineſs to ſack the Town, enter'd it with Fury; killing in the Way divers Biſhops, and ſurprizing ſome Cardinals that were flying to the Caſtle *St. Angelo:* The Pope and *Renzo de Ceri* being already retir'd thither with ſeventeen Cardinals, and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Soldiers. The Prince of *Orange*, who now took upon him the Charge of General, did all that was poſſible to reſtrain the Soldiers, from their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwithſtanding which, their Impetuoſity was ſuch, that without making a Difference betwixt Holy Places and Profane, they ranſack'd the City for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven Days, killing above five thouſand Men. Not content with this yet they laid Siege to the Caſtle, and brought the Pope to ſuch Neceſſity, that to free himſelf from further Danger, he and thirteen Cardinals, that now remain'd with him, agreed, that four hundred thouſand Ducats ſhould be paid to the Army within two Months, and the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, together with thoſe of *Oſtia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, and other Places, ſhould be deliver'd into the Hands of the Imperialiſts. That the Pope with the ſaid Cardinals ſhould remain in the Caſtle, till part of the Money were paid, and good Hoſtages given for the reſt. Which being done, that he ſhould go to *Cajeta*, or ſome other Place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Emperor's Pleaſure.

Hereupon the Guard and Service of the Pope's Perſon was committed to *Hernando de Alanzon*, and Victuals put into the Caſtle; where the Pope remain'd under ſome Reſtraint, not free from Danger, though otherwiſe reverenced in all Appearance, according to his Dignity. And now the Cardinal *Colonna*, and others that ſided with the Emperor began to treat concerning a general Council, conformable to a late Bull of Pope *Julius* the Second, by which it was declared, that a Pope might be deprived from his Place, and another ſubſtituted, when there were Cauſe for it: And they pretended to prove this Pope a *Simoniac.*

It was now the Beginning of *June*, 1527, when the Emperor being at *Valledolid*, took Notice of this Succeſs divulg'd already over all Chriſtendom. Nevertheleſs he ſhew'd not any other Senſe thereof than ſuch as might be expected from one to whoſe Ambition and Power nothing could ſeem either great or new: Yet as he knew that all Chriſtian Princes muſt needs be highly intereſted in the Impriſonment of the Head of their Church, ſo he thought fit to ſatisfy them herein; among all which none ſeem'd ſo conſiderable as our King. To whom therefore, in a Letter dated from *Valledolid*, *Aug.* 2, 1527, he made a kind of Aplogy for theſe Proceedings; beginning firſt with giving an Account thereof, then demanding our King's Ad-

vice; thereupon declaring alſo the Cauſes why his Army could not be withheld from invading of *Rome*; yet ſo as he diſclaimed any Part, either the counſelling or authoriſing thereof: Notwithſtanding which, as God could draw good out of evil, ſo he hoped a Benefit might redound to *Chriſtendom* thereby. Wherefore, that he ſhould intreat him again as his good Uncle and Brother, that he would ſend his Opinion what further was to be done in this Caſe; and particularly, that he would aſſiſt him againſt the Enemies of our Faith, againſt whom, when their inteſtine Wars were compoſed, he reſolved to employ his Blood and Life. He forgot not alſo, upon the Inſtance of ours and the *French* Ambaſſadors for the Pope's Liberty, to write gently unto his Holineſs, offering his Love and Friendſhip in caſe he deſired it: But to the chief Officers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, and *Franciſco de les Angeles*, General of the *Franciſcans*, he ſent Inſtructions, which for ſome Space amuſed them; for he commanded to ſet the Pope at Liberty, yet ſo as together they ſhould provide, that from a Friend he ſhould not become an Enemy. The Prince of *Orange*, *Hernando de Alanzon*, and ſome other prinpal Commanders, met hereupon; where, after a long Conſultation how to reconcile and interpret this Riddle, they reſolved at laſt, that to deſpoil the Pope firſt of his Money, and then to deliver him, was the beſt Way to comply with their Inſtructions. After therefore having extorted great Sums, not only for the Emperor's Occaſions, but their own; and forcing him to give Hoſtages for his Security, he was diſmiſs'd out of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, as ſhall be told in its Place: Yet ſo, as they ſuffered him not to depart out of their reach, neither did he think fit to do otherwiſe; ſo that although by the former Convention he was to be removed to *Cajeta*, ten Miles diſtant thence, or ſome other Place belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*, whither not only the burning of his Palace, Library and Records, did ſeem to compel him; but the Peſtilence then raging in that City, whereof alſo *Charles de la Noy*, Viceroy of *Naples*, died; into whoſe Charge therefore *Hugo de Moncada*, much againſt the Pope's Will, ſucceeded; yet, ſaith *Guiccardine*, with much Diligence, Intreaty and Art, he procured to ſtay in *Rome*: From whence, upon the firſt Surrender of the Caſtle, he complained, as I find by our Records, to our King and Cardinal; proteſting, that all the Help and Succour he could expect in this Extremity, was from hence, and therefore implored his Aſſiſtance; which Petition therefore he cauſed to be ſeconded by the thirteen Cardinals then with him, and to be diſpatched hither by *Gregory de Caſalis*, our King's Agent in *Rome*, and now returning to *England*.

This while the Ambaſſadors of our King in *Spain* mediated potently for Delivery of the Hoſtages upon more reaſonable Terms than had been hereunto propoſed; and in Concluſion, ſo prevailed, that, as *Sandoval* hath it, *Charles* proteſted to our Ambaſſadors, that for his ſake only he would relinquiſh his Demand for the Reſtitution of *Burgundy*, in which the Difficulty of the Peace conſiſted. Adding further, that for the ſame Reaſon he would accept, as well for the Ranſom of the two Sons of *Francis*, as for the Recompence of the great Expences he was at for breach of the Concord of *Madrid*, the Sum only which *Francis* had offered voluntarily long before to *Charles de la Noy*, which were 2000000 Crowns; upon Condition

yet that *Francis* ſhould obſerve the reſt of the Articles in the ſaid Concord. But all this again was interrupted by the continual Intelligence of the Pope's Impriſonment, which ſo incenſed our King, that he would not ſo much as vouchſafe an Anſwer to the above-mentioned Letter of *Charles*, but prepared to join in a ſtricter League with *Francis*, as judging that *Charles* would never in ſo inſolent a Manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to univerſal Monarchy.

This while *Ferdinand*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, ſent Ambaſſadors hither to invite our King to join againſt the *Turk*: Notwithſtanding which, as *John Sepuſe*, *Vayvod* of *Tranſylvania*, pretending that he was choſen King of *Hungary* by the greater Part of the Nobility, had lately complained of *Ferdinand*'s Uſurpation to divers Chriſtian Princes, and particularly to our King; ſo no other Satisfaction was returned, but a Proteſtation made by Sir *Thomas More*, that the Fault was not our King's if more were not done therein; all theſe Miſeries which he ſo much lamented, being occaſioned by the Ambition of *Charles* the Emperor, his Brother; who, notwithſtanding his Mediation, could not be induced to accept the Overtures generally propoſed him for a Peace; and that till this was done, the *Turk* muſt needs prevail. Whereupon the Ambaſſadors were honourably rewarded, and diſmiſs'd.

Our King, at this Time, intended to proceed according to his Treaty with *Francis*; but as he now heard that *Rome* was ſack'd, he made, *May* 29, a new Confederacy with him, by which they agreed mutually to deſiſt from their War in the *Low-Countries*, and to tranſport it into *Italy*; according to which, *Francis* obliged himſelf to ſend an Army of 30000 Foot, and 1000 great Horſe to join with the *Venetians*, and others of the *Clementine* League; and that *Henry* ſhould contribute thereunto, monthly, 32222 Crowns *de Soleil*, to be deducted out of the Money which the ſaid *Francis* owed him; and that this Contribution ſhould be underſtood to be in lieu of thoſe Forces which by the late Treaty he ſhould have furniſhed for the Wars in the *Low-Countries*; and that therefore all the other Articles of the ſaid Treaty ſhould remain in full Effect and Virtue. It was agreed alſo, that *Henry* might ſend a Commiſſary which ſhould viſit the Army in *Italy*, and acquaint him with all Paſſages; for the better Accompliſhment of which Treaties, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Knt. afterwards made Viſcount *Rochfort*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, being joined in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Bath*, then reſident at *Paris*, were commanded to ſee *Francis* ſworn thereunto, which accordingly was performed. Sir *Francis Pointz*, Knt. alſo, upon the 10th of *May* 1527, was ſent to *Spain*, where Dr. *Edward Lee*, and *Hierome*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, lately come from *Rome*, and diſpatched to the Emperor, were Reſident on the Part of our King; to accompany him in which Journey and Negotiation, *Clarencieux*, King of Arms, was ſent to act his Part; when the gentle Perſuaſions of our Ambaſſadors could not prevail. The Propoſition on their Part to be made, was briefly this; That in regard our King was at half the Charge of the War, *Charles* ſhould ſend him half the Prize and Booty taken at *Pavia*, and one of the two Hoſtages; and that if he denied, *Clarencieux* ſhould denounce him War. To this rough Meſſage *Charles* anſwered with much Gravity, That the Propoſition made was of great Moment on either Part; ſo that whether he accepted

cepted or refuſed it, it was fit he took Time to adviſe with himſelf, both that his Good-will to our King might be conſerv'd, and *Francis* might be uſed according to his Demerits, who had ſo perfidiouſly behaved himſelf, that he had broke his Promiſe almoſt before he made it: Therefore, that he would declare his Reſolution by Letters unto *Henry*; and that, till then, he would make them no abſolute Anſwer; all which was done purpoſely by *Charles*, that he might gain Time. Our King and *Francis* being advertiſed of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Pope's Diſtreſs, would no longer intermit to give Order for their own, as well as the general Affairs of *Chriſtendom*. Therefore our Cardinal was commanded to *France*, both for concluding the Marriage of our Princeſs *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleance*'s Son, as is before-mentioned; as alſo for other Occcaſions, which ſhall be hereafter declared. Tho' whatſoever they treated concerning her Marriage in ſo many Places, and with Perſons of ſo different Ages, her Huſband *Philip* II. was now but newly born at *Valledolid*, *May* 21, 1527.

The Cardinal having kiſs'd the King's Hand, and received his Inſtructions, arrived at *Calais* with a noble Equipage, being near a thouſand Horſe, the 11th of *July*, 1527, departing thence toward *Bologne*, leaving yet the Great Seal behind him in *Calais* with Dr. *Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls, where he was met by *Monſieur de Byron* with a thouſand Horſe; and after by *John*, Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the Chancellor of *Alanzon*, who accompanied him in his Way to *Monſtreuil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*. *Francis*, in the mean time, aſſuring him by Letter, that himſelf and Madame *Louiſe*, his Mother, would meet him at *Amiens*, as ſoon as he had confiſcated the Lands of *Bourbon*, and extinguiſhed his Title and Dignity. This occaſioned the Cardinal's Stay for ſome Days, yet ſo as he wanted not a juſt Exerciſe for that Power which *Francis* had given him, whereſoever he went to releaſe all thoſe Priſoners he thought capable of Mercy. While he ſtaid thus at *Abbeville*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee*, our King's Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, ſent him the Emperor's Demands, in caſe the Reſtitution of *Francis*'s Children were propoſed; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highneſs ſo thought fitting. Hereof therefore, by a Letter, dated the 29th of *July*, 1527. he advertiſed our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperor were determined to train the Pope to *Spain*, to which alſo he heard the Pope was inclin'd, yet that the Project was ſo dangerous as it was not by any means to be ſuffered; ſince thereby *Charles* might both eſtabliſh the Imperial Authority in *Rome*, and ſeiſe on the Patrimony of the Church, or at leaſt conſtrain him to furniſh what Money he would, and together compel him to make ſo many Cardinals of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to elect what Succeſſor he pleaſed: Neither did he ſee how this could be avoided, unleſs *Andrea Doria* were commanded to uſe the Fleet he had then at Sea for intercepting of the Pope; who, what ſhew ſoever he made of Willingneſs to come to the Emperor, complained yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Pope's own Hand in Cyphers, to his Highneſs, and conveyed by *Gregory da Caſalis*, might appear, which alſo was confirmed by divers Cardinals then attending him. Beſides, that it were convenient that the Forces his Highneſs was bound to furniſh for the

the Wars of *Italy*, ſhould be joined with *Lautrech*, who was now deſigned by *Francis* to purſue the War there, and employed to hinder the Pope's Paſſage; in which Affair alſo ſome Princes of *Italy* might be drawn to concur, when his Highneſs would write to them; all which was the rather to be ſpeeded, for that the Biſhop of *Worceſter* had written from *Spain*, that the Emperor went to ſow Diviſion betwixt him and *Francis*. This Letter was ſeconded by another of the ſame Date, which yet contained only an Overture for a Meeting betwixt Madam *Louiſe* and himſelf, on the one Part, and the Emperor on the other, at *Perpignan*; wherein all theſe Difficulties ſhould be reſolved. Moreover, by a Letter dated from *Abbeville* the 31ſt of *July*, he certifies the King, how *Monſieur de Boclans* had propoſed on the Emperor's Part, a Match betwixt the Duke of *Richmond*, natural Son to our King, and the Daughter of *Portugal*, with *Milan* for Dowry; which yet, as being colourable only, he thought fit ſhould not be much inſiſted on. Only, becauſe it was neceſſary to keep a good Correſpondence with the Emperor, he thought it not amiſs to entertain Speech thereof. And together, by a Letter the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1527, to deſire our Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to quench all Rumours concerning a Divorce, bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to aſſure the Emperor, that the firſt Original thereof aroſe only from the Objection which the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, when he was lately in *England*, made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*. At laſt, *Francis*, together with Madam *Louiſa* his Mother, coming to *Amiens*, the Cardinal with all his Train ſets forth from *Abbeville*; whereof Notice being given, *Francis* being royally attended, meets him a Mile and Half out of Town; and after Proteſtations that he owed his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his Lodging. Shortly after which, the Cardinal obtaining Audience, declared his Buſineſs, conſiſting principally in three Points.

Firſt, *To require the Reſolution of* Francis, *concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before mentioned.*

Secondly, *To adviſe concerning Means of making Peace with the Emperor, upon ſuch Terms as the Reſtitution of* Francis's *Children might be procured.*

Thirdly, *To determine how the Pope might be delivered out of Captivity*; (for which Purpoſe our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Cardinal carried over with him 240000 *l.* of our King's Treaſure.)

To the firſt it was anſwered, *That the Duke of* Orleans, *as more ſuiting in Years, ſhould be recommended to the Princeſs* Mary.

To the third, little more was ſaid,

To the ſecond, *That* Francis *for re-obtaining of his Children, among other Things, renounce his Claim in* Milan.

than *That the Pope, as ſoon as poſſible, ſhould be ſet free, by Mediation or Force.*

Beſides which Points, an Interview was propoſed on our King's Part, betwixt him and *Francis*, but *Francis* excuſing himſelf by Reaſon of the great Charges he muſt be at till his Children were redeemed, the Motion was urged no farther.

After this, *Francis* brought our Cardinal to *Compeign*; from whence he wrote to the King, that howſoever *Francis* did promiſe to renounce *Milan*, yet that was beſt not over ſtrictly to tie him to it, until his Highneſs diſcovered whether the Emperor would really confer it in Dowry upon the Match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much Satisfaction by the Cardinal's Negotia-

tion, writ a Letter with his own Hand, acknowledging therein the good Service he had done him and the Kingdom divers Ways; and particularly in three Treaties, concluded, *Auguſt* 18, 1527, which, by the *French* and our Records, I find thus related.

The firſt Treaty was concerning the Princeſs *Mary*; who, according to the Reference formerly made, was to marry the Duke of *Orleans*, reſerving notwithſtanding unto a further Time, the particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Tranſportation of the ſaid Duke into *England*, the Charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermore it was declar'd, that if the ſaid Marriage, either by Death, or Conſent of both Kings, or any other accident, took no Effect, that yet the other Treaties betwixt the ſaid Kings, being of the thirtieth of *Auguſt* 1525. and of the laſt of *April* 1527. ſhould remain in full Force. The interview of the two Kings, which the laſt of *April*, was agreed to be at *Calais*, was remitted to a further Time. The Contribution, to which the ſaid *Henry* obliged himſelf for the War of *Italy*, was expreſſed to be twenty thouſand *Eſcus de Soleil* for *June*, and for *July* thirty thouſand, and for every of the Months of *Auguſt*, *September*, *October*, thirty thouſand two hundred twenty two Crowns. Upon condition yet, that the ſaid Contribution ſhould be abated proportionably, if the Number of Soldiers employed in the ſaid War were diminiſhed. That, after the ſaid Month of *October*, *Henry* ſhould contribute no more; and that, if Peace were made ſooner, he ſhould be diſcharged of the ſaid Contribution. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his Money ſpent in this War, as long as the perpetual Peace was conſerved.

By the ſecond Treaty it was agreed, that the ſaid *Henry* ſhould not charge himſelf with the Protection and Aſſurance of the Peace, whenſoever it ſhould be concluded betwixt *Francis* and *Charles*; but in caſe only, that the ſaid Peace could not otherwiſe be made, which therefore ſo happening, the ſaid *Francis* did agree, that he ſhould take the ſaid Protection and Warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing ſhould be attempted by him by Reaſon thereof, either againſt him, his Kingdom, or Subjects. Moreover, the ſaid *Henry* conſented, that for the good of the intended Peace, the Marriage betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora* Siſter to *Charles*, ſhould be validated and confirmed; upon condition yet, that thereby no Prejudice ſhould follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any Peace were made with *Charles*, by which *Franciſco Sforza* ſhould enjoy *Milan*, it was declared by the ſaid Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certaiu Penſions affigned to either of them, upon the ſaid Dutchy, by the League of *Italy*, when *Franciſco* ſhould refuſe to pay them. That if War were commenc'd by the ſaid Kings againſt *Charles*, upon his refuſal of the Conditions offered to him, than the like Privileges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the *Engliſh* Merchants had, a Year ſince, in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, they ſhould now have in other Places under the Obedience of *Francis*, as long as the ſaid Wars ſhould laſt; the ſaid Places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter.

By the third Treaty it was concluded betwixt the ſaid Kings, that no Council-General, ſummon'd by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperor's Authority, ſhould take Effect; and, that for this purpoſe they ſhould cauſe their Clergy

Clergy on either Side, by publick and ſolemn Proteſtations to renounce and deteſt all ſuch Convocation. That any Commandment, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the ſaid Pope, being in Captivity, and tending to the damage of the ſaid Kings or Subjects, and eſpecially to the prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinal of *York*, ſhould neither be obeyed by them, nor ſuffered to be obeyed; but that they ſhould be declared as of no Effect, and the bringers of them puniſhed. That during the ſaid Captivity of the Pope, whatſoever by the Cardinal of *York*, aſſiſted by the Prelates of *England* aſſembled and called together by the Authority of the ſaid King, ſhould be determined concerning the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in the ſaid Kingdom of *England*, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the ſaid *Henry*, ſhould, the Conſent of the ſaid King being firſt had, be decreed and obſerved. To confirm which Power, the Pope ſent him a Bull, to be Vicar-General throughout all the King's Dominions. It was alſo agreed, that *Francis* and his Clergy ſhould have the like Power in *France*, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the Taſte that our King took of governing, in Chief, the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, it ſeems the firſt Arguments and Impreſſions were derived from the Cardinal; who having now in a Conference with certain Cardinals at *Compeigne*, reſolved that the aforeſaid Order for the Government of the Church was in theſe Times requiſite, took on him the Charge of our Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, tho' *Guiccardine* writes that he ſent for a Bull to be Legate in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and the Imperialiſts gave out that he attempted to make himſelf Pope of the *Engliſh* and *French* Church, by a Schiſm from the See of *Rome*. The Paſſages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to *Rome*, *September* 16. *Woolſey* prepared to return. Whereupon *Francis* not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his way about a Mile, being accompanied with the titular King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinal now haſting homeward, came to *Calais*, where having eſtabliſhed a Mart, he arrived at Court toward the End of *September*, where much Demonſtration of Affection was given him by our King. To correſpond with this Ambaſſade, *Francis* ſent *Anne de Montmorency*, Grand Maſter, *John du Bellay*, Biſhop of *Bayonne*, *John Brinon* the Premier Preſident *de Rouen*, and the Seigneur *de Humieres*, as his Ambaſſadors to ratify the ſaid League here. Theſe, with divers other Cavaliers, being in all about ſix hundred Horſe, were conducted to *London*, October 20. and lodged in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace. After which, Audience being given them, they were, *November* 10. entertained by our King at *Greenwich* with a Feaſt, the moſt ſumptuous, ſaith *Bellay*, that ever I ſaw, and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princeſs was an Actor. On this Day alſo the King of *England* receiv'd at the Hands of *Montmorency*, the Order of St. *Michael*: And *Francis*, with no leſs Solemnity, that of the Garter, in *Paris*. For which purpoſe, our King had ſent over *Arthur Plantagenet*, Viſcount *Liſle*, natural Son to King *Edward* IV. Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Maſter of his Horſe, Sir *Anthony Brown*, all Knights of this Order, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, Garter-Herald. Both Princes likewiſe giving their Oath and

Seal, which was in Gold, for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of these Treaties, thinks fit to prevent the Execution of them, by a timely Consent unto all that could in Reason be expected from him. Therefore at *Palentia*, September 15. he offered this Agreement unto the *French*, *English*, and other Ambassadors residing in his Court; which also for the present they seemed to accept. That the Article for the Restitution of *Burgundy* should be rased out of the Concord of *Madrid*, reserving still to the Emperor his Right. That *Francis* should pay for the Ransom of his Sons, the two Millions of Crowns which were offered. And that out of them so much should be allowed, as would pay our King. Furthermore, that *Francis* should take upon him to satisfy *Henry*, as well as to keep *Charles* indemnified from the Obligation, by which he tied himself in *London* by particular Treaty; which was, that he should pay unto *Henry* the antient Pension which *Francis* paid him, together with any other Sum that *Francis* should refuse to pay only because the said *Henry* had declared himself his Enemy. That the *French* should oblige themselves to restore *Genoa*, and all the rest that that they had taken in *Lombardy*, before the Hostages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of *Milan*, *Charles* should nominate and appoint certain Judges, who should determine the Cause betwixt them. And that if he were not found culpable, then his Estate should be restored to him, and the Investiture given him; otherwise, that the Emperor should dispose thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the rest, the Concord of *Madrid* should be observed, saving in some few Points of small Importance.

When these Articles were approved on both Sides, the Ambassadors of *France* said, that they wanted sufficient Authority from their King to sign them, which yet they promised to send for, and procure. And so the Conclusion of Peace at this Time was deferred on their Parts. *Charles* not much troubled herewith, returns to his former Arts of dividing our King from *Francis*. Therefore he sends privately to the Cardinal, now returned from *France*, offering him, besides his ordinary Pension, large Sums for this purpose. Notwithstanding which, saith *Polydore*, because he had denied him the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, to which (if we may believe the same Author) he vehemently aspired, he was found inexorable.

This Year our King sent out two fair Ships to discover new Regions, then daily found out by the *Portugueze* and *Spaniard*; tho' as no success followed thereupon, I do not find the Design pursued.

This while Monsieur *de Lautrech* made ready an Army of twenty-six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, for the Affairs of *Italy*; and about *July*, passed the *Alps*. Wherewith the *Clementine* League, whose Forces were eleven thousand Foot, and about one thousand six hundred Horse, being much encouraged, an Answer was sent to the Propositions made by the Emperor, to the Ambassadors of the League, at *Palentia*. For which purpose a Secretary of *Francis* came the twelfth of *December* 1527. to *Bruges*, where *Charles* then was, publishing by the Way that he brought a final Resolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order only to defy *Charles*, as will appear afterwards. Yet, to shew some desire of Accommodation, the Ambassadors of *England* and *France* desired,

desired, two Points of the Treaty of *Palentia* should be altered in this Manner. The first was, that *Francisco Sforza* should be restored to his Estate; and, afterwards, Justice done concerning the Complaints made against him. The other was, that the Hostages should be remanded, before *Francis* should deliver up *Genoa* or *Asti*, or withdraw his Army out of *Italy*. And to induce *Charles* hereunto, it was offered by the *French*, to put Security into the Hands of our King, for the Payment of three hundred thousand Ducats to *Charles*, in Case of not rendring the said Towns, and withdrawing his Army. *Charles* replied, that though all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of *Palentia*; yet, to shew his Desire of Peace, he would put Security for the Payment of so much Money into the Hands of our King, in Case the *French* would agree to perform that which was concluded on their Part: But the *French* Ambassador saying, he had no Order to make any other End, than what was proposed, this great Affair remained suspended.

Our Ambassador perceiving this, proceeds upon his Instructions, and makes four Demands.

The first was, That without any Delay, *Charles* should pay to the King his Master, all that was lent him heretofore.

The next was, That he should pay him a Penalty of five hundred thousand Ducats, because he did not marry the Princess *Mary*, as was agreed.

The third was, That he should satisfy for the Indemnity he undertook to discharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of War against *Francis*, whereof mention is made formerly, which from the Time it was due, was four Years and four Months.

Fourthly, That he should deliver the Pope; and make him Satisfaction for the Loss and Damage he had sustained.

To which *Charles* answered, that he marvelled why the King should press him so much, since he never denied the Debt; and that, if they required from him the Money, they should give him the Security he entred into for the Payment thereof. But our Ambassador saying, that they were kept among the Archives and Records of *England*; and that, for the rest, they were sufficiently authorized to give him an Acquittance; *Charles* knew not well how to argue the Matter further. As for the Penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he said he would send an express Messenger into *England*, to acquaint our King with the Reasons why he did not hold himself bound to give any such Satisfaction. And for the delivering of the Pope, he said, Order was, and should be given. And indeed, I find that about this very Time, the Pope recovered his Liberty. Which because it was occasioned by the proceeding of the *French* in *Italy*, let us look back awhile on those Affairs.

The Army of the League formerly mentioned, being commanded by *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*, an able General, great Hope was conceived, both as he was supported by our King, and *Francis* and the *Venetians*, at a common Charge; whereof our King's Part, according to the *French* History, was 60000 *Angelots* the Month; and as the Imperial Army, which sack'd *Rome*, was much consumed with the Plague. By Sea also, *Andrea Doria* of *Genoa*, who had the Command of the *French* King's

Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed, with a ſtrong Fleet, to ſecond him; who, accordingly ſo ſcoured all the Coaſt of *Genoa*, that no Shipping in thoſe Quarters durſt appear. This cauſed great Scarcity of Victuals there; which being advertiſed to *Doria*, and afterwards to *Lautrech*, he ſends *Cæſar Fregoſo* with 2000 Men thither, who, together with *Doria*, ſo preſs'd that City on both Sides, that at laſt it yielded: Whereupon *Theodoro de Trivulci* was made Governor of it on the Behalf of the *French* King. After this, *Lautrech* took, in the Name of *Sforza*, and for his Uſe, *Alexandria*, the Country of *Lomeline*, the Cities of *Vigueva*, *Biagras*, and *Novarra*, and beſieged *Pavia*, to the great Diſpleaſure of *Antonio de Leyva*, then Governor of *Milan*, who wanting Soldiers for himſelf, would yet ſpare ſome for Defence of that Town. This did not hinder *Lautrech* yet to make a Breach and enter it at the ſecond Aſſault, where, in revenge of the King his Maſter's Misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exerciſe all manner of licentious Cruelty: And now *Milan* itſelf, which remained only to make an entire Conqueſt of thoſe Parts, began to ſhake; neither could it have reſiſted long, but that a Myſtery of State preſerved it. For, as *Lautrech*'s chief Deſign was on *Naples*, to which he knew yet *Sforza* and the *Venetians* would not eaſily concur; ſo he thought fit to leave this ſtrong Place entire, as well to keep them in Exerciſe, as to draw from them a greater Dependence on the King his Maſter; for he underſtood well, that when he had put a Garriſon in it in the Name of *Sforza*, that he and the *Venetians* would ſooner have excluded him from his further Paſſage to *Naples*, than given him any Aſſiſtance, which would have fruſtrated both his Deſigns; ſince *Francis* pretended a like Title to *Milan* and *Naples*. Beſides, the more moderate Sort approved this Courſe; for when the Event of War had been improſperous or doubtful, it left a Way open for Peace; while each Party having ſomewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a general Accommodation. Laſtly, theſe Intentions of *Lautrech* were much facilitated by the Intreaty of the Pope, who ſolicited him to expel the Remnant of the Imperial Army from the Patrimony of the Church. *Lautrech* hereupon marcheth forwards; whereof *Antonio de Leyva* being informed, ſallies forth of *Milan*, and with his ſmall Forces takes *Biagras*, and holds it, until *Lautrech* ſending *Pietro de Novarra* back with 6000 Men, won it again, and ſettled *Sforza* in the Poſſeſſion thereof. *Lautrech* continuing thus his March, finds the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua* ready to join with him. The Manner of weaker and inferior Sort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puiſſant and victorious Army. The Sincerity yet of the Duke of *Ferrara* ſeemed queſtionable, both as he had juſt Cauſe to be offended with the Pope, and as he had, a good while ſince, ranged himſelf with the Imperialiſts; nevertheleſs, upon the Treaty of a Match betwixt his eldeſt Son and *Renee*, Daughter of *Lewis* XII. was compoſed, and he received into the Confederacy. But among all, none was ſo perplex'd as the Pope; who being not yet delivered him from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him to truſt to the fair Words of *Charles*, whoſe Agents now treated with him, or to the Aſſiſtance of the League: Neither could he, when this latter Part was reſolv'd, determine concerning the Seat of War: For, as to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at

at a Diſtance, had been to leave himſelf in Reſtraint ſtill; ſo to invite him to his Territories, had been to expoſe his Subjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore he varied ſtrangely in his private Advices, Anſwers, and Negotiations, inſomuch that *Lautrech*, at laſt, was neither ſcandaliz'd with his Denials, nor confirm'd with his Promiſes. Howſoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to purſue his Point; whereof *Charles* being advertiſed, reſolved, by a timely and voluntary Diſcharge of the Pope out of Priſon to prevent Compulſion; therefore he ſends a particular Diſpatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada* to ſet him free upon theſe Conditions:

That the Pope ſhall not oppoſe *Charles* in the Affairs of *Milan* and *Naples*. That he ſhould grant him a *Croiſade* in *Spain*, and a Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings in all his Kingdoms. That *Oſtia* and *Civita Vecchia* ſhould remain in the Hands of *Charles* for Security hereof. That he ſhould conſign to him *la Civita Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*, giving Hoſtages till it were done. That he ſhould pay preſently to the *Almains*, 77000 Ducats; and to the *Spaniard* 35000; and that, fifteen Days after his Departure out of *Rome*, he ſhould pay as much again to the *Almains*; and within three Months after give the reſt, being in all about 300000 Ducats, and to deliver Hoſtages for Performance hereof; upon which Conditions he was to be ſet at Liberty, *Dec.* 10. But the Pope prevented this by eſcaping in the Habit of a Merchant, to *Fiaſcone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the Night before they promiſed to deliver him. His Hoſtages yet, the Cardinals of *Ceſis* and *Orſino*, remain'd till the Money was paid; for obtaining of which he was forced to have Recourſe to indecent Ways, making, as *Guiccardine* hath it, divers Cardinals for Money, which, otherwiſe, deſerv'd not that Honour. He alſo gave the *Spaniards* Licence for the alienating of Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Poſſeſſions, and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Value of 600000 Crowns, as our Records ſay; giving therein a Beginning, as ſome obſerve, to that Liberty which was afterwards taken in divers Places: But Neceſſity is a violent Counſellor. Howſoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to find his Perſon free from Guards, but ſafe from Attempts. The Cardinal *Colonna*, as a latter Author affirms, having labour'd much with *Hernando de Alanzon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter by Night, and without other Company but that of *Lewis de Gonzaga*, the Accomplice of his Eſcape, to a Town unable any way to relieve or protect him; from whence yet, though deſpoil'd of all his Money, he found Means, within a few Months, to return to his former Greatneſs and Authority. Being now at Liberty, he ſends Word thereof to Cardinal *Woolſey*, acknowledging him a great Inſtrument thereof; and withal, certifies our King of his Eſtate, deſiring him to continue his Protection of the See of *Rome*. Our Cardinal alſo, who the laſt Year had cauſed the Litany to be ſung, *Sancta Maria Ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre, &c.* As *Charles*, who kept him in Priſon, had cauſed to be done in *Spain*, though ironically, as moſt Men conceived it, now came in great triumph to St. *Paul*'s in *London*, and cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung, and Bonfires to be publickly made. The *French* Ambaſſador in *Spain* this while underſtanding well how Matters were likely to paſs, haſtned the Delivery of the *Cartelles*, of which the chief Cauſe was ill uſage of the Pope. For the performing

forming whereof therefore, with more Solemnity and Oſtentation, all the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, *Florence*, and the reſt, deſired Leave of the Emperor to depart, ſaying their Commiſſion was expired. To which *Charles* briefly anſwered, that he would detain them no longer than till his own were recall'd from their Maſters Courts. Hereupon it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defy; which, though the *Spaniards* relate with much Particularity and Circumſtance, I ſhall yet declare, as briefly as I can, according to their Hiſtory.

Upon the 22d of *January*, *Anno Dom.* 1528. *Charles* being at *Burgos*, *Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them: Hereupon the ſaid Heralds, holding their Coats of Arms in their left Hand, after three low Obeyſances, preſented themſelves before *Charles*, who ſat on an high Throne, being attended by his Chief Nobles and Counſellors. *Clarenceaux*, whom Sir *Francis Pointz*, being now returned to *England*, had left there for this Purpoſe, begins firſt, ſaying;

Sire, According to the Laws and Edicts inviolably guarded by the *Roman* Emperors your Predeceſſors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, we two in the Name of our Kings, do preſent ourſelves before your Sacred Majeſty, to declare ſome Things on their Part; beſeeching your Majeſty, that, having Reſpect to the above-mention'd Laws and Edict, you would, out of your Benignity and Clemency, vouchſafe to give us Security and good Uſage in your Dominions, while we attend your Anſwer; and that you would grant us a ſafe Conduct, 'till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Maſters. The Emperor promiſing to accord this, *Guyenne* reads a *Cartell*, ſent from the King his Maſter; the Subſtance whereof was; That becauſe *Charles* would not condeſcend to an honeſt and fitting Concluſion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of *England* that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at Liberty, nor leave *Italy* in Quietneſs; the King, my Maſter, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great Grief and Diſpleaſure, as alſo of his good Brother the King of *England*, that he ſhall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notifying to you, that, from this Day forwards, he intends not to keep any Contract or Agreement that may be for your Profit and Advantage; but that he will do you, and your Subjects, all the Harm he can, by War or otherwiſe, until, upon honeſt and fitting Conditions, you reſtore his Sons, put the Pope in Liberty, pay the King of *England* that you owe him, and leave in Peace and Repoſe all his Allies and Confederates. Nevertheleſs, he offers XL. Days Reſpite for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Dated *November* 11, 1527. and ſigned, *Guyenne* King of Arms.

Charles hereupon replied preſently, That he had underſtood all he had ſaid on the Part of the King his Maſter; and that he did marvel much, that he ſhould defy him, ſince, being his Priſoner of War, and having his Faith plighted to him, he was diſabled to proceed in this Manner. Beſides, it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that he ſhould defy him now; ſince he had made War with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he truſted in God, he ſhould be able to defend himſelf. As for that ye ſay of the Pope, none is more ſorry than myſelf, for what is paſs'd, as being done without my

my Knowledge, or Conſent: But, for that, I muſt advertiſe you, that I received aſſured News Yeſterday, that the Pope is at Liberty. As for the Sons of the King you Maſter, he knows well I hold them as Hoſtages, and his Ambaſſadors know as well, that it is not my Fault, if they be not delivered. As for that you ſay on the Part of the King of *England*, my good Uncle and Brother, I believe that he is not well inform'd of all the Paſſages in theſe Affairs; otherwiſe, that he would not have ſent me this Meſſage. But I ſhall advertiſe him of the whole Truth, and do believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the ſame to me that formerly he was. I never denied the Money he lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by Right I am bound. Notwithſtanding which, if he will needs make War againſt me, I can do no leſs than defend myſelf, and pray to God, he give me not more Occaſion to make War againſt him, than I have given him againſt me. As for the reſt, I deſire to have your *Cartel* under your Hand, that I may anſwer more particularly. Hereupon *Guyenne* took his Coat of Arms and put it on.

Then *Clarenceux*, not by Writing, but by Word of Mouth, ſpake to this Effect. *Sire*, The King, my Supreme Lord and Maſter, conſidering the Neceſſity of Peace in the Chriſtian World, as well for reſiſting the *Turk*, who having taken the Iſle of *Rhodes* and Fortreſs of *Belgrade*, intends yet further Conqueſts, as for repreſſing the Hereſies and Sects that are newly riſen: And finding that your Commanders and Army have lately Sack'd the City of *Rome*, and taken our holy Father Priſoner, together with divers Cardinals, who have been alſo put to Ranſom, and that the Churches have been ſacrilegiouſly profan'd, and all manner of Religious Orders put to the Sword; inſomuch, that by theſe Cruelties and Miſchiefs, the Air and Earth have been infected, and the Anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure no Reparation for them: And, becauſe the Root and Beginning of theſe Wars proceeds from the Contention and Debates between You and the Moſt Chriſtian King; the King, my Maſter, for giving an End to theſe Differences, hath, by his Ambaſſadors, propos'd to you, ſeveral times, ſuch honeſt Conditions, that you ought not to refuſe, if you deſired Peace; and the rather, becauſe your unreaſonable Demands would be an ill Precedent for other Kings and Princes, that may be ſubject to the like Fortune: And whereas he alſo, as a Prince, being bound many Ways to the Protection of the Holy See, hath deſir'd you to give the Pope intire Liberty: And hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the Time of your Neceſſity, which yet you have not paid him:

For theſe Cauſes, the King my Maſter hath thought fit to take a final Reſolution, to deſire you, without further Delay, to condeſcend to Equity and Reaſon; and to tell you, that, ſince you have refus'd it hitherto, he could do no leſs than conclude a League with the moſt Chriſtian King, and other Confederates, by Force of Arms to conſtrain you to that, which by Right you ought to do. Wherefore the ſaid King my Maſter, and the moſt Chriſtian King, require you this once for all, to accept the Conditions they have offered you for Peace; declaring, in Caſe of Refuſal, they muſt, tho' not without great Grief and Diſpleaſure, hold you for their Enemy, denouncing War unto you thereupon, both by Sea and Land, and Defying you with all their Forces. Yet, if you deſire to re-

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cal your Subjects out of all their Dominions, as they on their Part, likewiſe, require, they offer you forty Days reſpite for this purpoſe.

This being ſaid, he put on his Coat of Arms, and afterwards gave his Speech under his Hand Signing it,

Clarenceaux King of Arms.

The Anſwer *Charles* made to this, little differing from what he made to *Guyenne*, I ſhall not particularly relate.

Then *Charles*, calling *Guyenne* aſide, deſired him, among other Things, to tell the King his Maſter, that he thought he was not well advertis'd of ſomething that he told in *Granada* to his Ambaſſadors, which did concern him much: And that he did hold him to be ſo gentile a Prince, that, had he known it, he would have anſwer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he ſhould do well, to take Information thereof from his Ambaſſadors, ſince thereby he ſhould underſtand, that I *Charles* have better kept, what I promiſed at *Madrid*, than he hath done: And I pray you fail not to tell this to the King, which *Guyenne* promiſed; and ſo, doing his Obeyſance, departed. After which, the ſaid Kings of Arms were called upon by *Juan Aleman*, principal Secretary to the Emperor, to receive the Anſwer he ſent to the *Cartels*. That, made to the *French* King, having little in it more than what is formerly ſet down, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe, ſave only that a Day was required for Treaty of repealing the Merchants on either Side.

To *Clarenceaux* he anſwered, by the Pen of his Secretary; that the Progreſs of the *Turk* in *Chriſtendom*, and the Captivity of the Pope, were not occaſion'd by him, and that the King of *England* ought not to complain, that he ever refus'd to condeſcend to honeſt and reaſonable Terms of Agreement, ſince for his Sake only, he had releaſed much of that, which *Francis*, of himſelf, had freely offered unto the Vice-roy of *Naples*. And all this before ever *Henry* did intermeddle with the ſaid Peace. Alſo, that, for the ſame Reaſon, he had accorded divers others Conditions, which no other Perſons could have perſuaded him unto. Whereas, on the other Side, *Francis* had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the ſecond Point, which is concerning the Liberty of the Pope, he was aſſur'd already from *Italy*, that he was free: So that no more needs be ſaid thereof. And, for that which paſs'd in *Rome*, as ſoon as ever he was advertiſed thereof, he writ his Juſtification unto our King; deſiring, withal, his Counſel and Aſſiſtance in that which he thought might be moſt for the Service of God, and Good of *Chriſtendom*, to which yet he never anſwered: Which argued, he did not ſo much deſire the Liberty of the Pope, which by his loving Advice he might have procur'd, as to pick a Quarrel againſt him. And as for the Title which your King pretends of being *Protector of the Pope*, and *Defender of the Faith*, he would not yield to him the Honour of that Duty; but that he would ſay only, that if both had done what they ought, it would have been better for *Chriſtendom*: Neither ſhould thoſe have been borne out and favour'd, who have ſo manifeſtly broken their Promiſe, which yet, according both to divine and human Right, ought to be conſerv'd inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. As for the third Point, which ſpeaks of the Debts demanded, it is anſwered, That the Delay of Payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt your King's Ambaſſadors and Me, according

to which, the ſaid Debt ſhould be aſſign'd on *Francis* to pay; and, ſince that Time, the Non-payment was occaſioned by want of ſufficient Power in your King's Ambaſſadors to diſcharge me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnity, there being in Arrear four Years and four Months, at the Rate of 133305 Crowns by the Year: And for the 500000 Crowns to be paid as a Penalty for not having match'd with the Princeſs *Mary*, it is anſwered, That the Ambaſſadors, having not with them the Original Obligations and Contracts, by which theſe Things ſhould appear, he thought himſelf excuſed, 'till convenient Place were appointed, where at the ſame Inſtant that he paid the Money, he might receive the Securities he entered into for the ſaid Payments. As for the Indemnity, there had ſo many Things interven'd ſince, that he thought he could produce five ſufficient Reaſons to exempt himſelf, when indifferent Commiſſioners ſhall hear the Buſineſs on both Sides. And as for the Penalty, which the ſaid Ambaſſadors demanded, there were three evident and peremptory Reaſons to clear him from ſatisfying that Demand: *Firſt*, Becauſe, by the Law, Civil and Canon, all Penal Stipulation, by which the free Power of Marrying in any fitting Place is prohibited, is, *ipſo facto*, void, and of no Effect. *Secondly*, That, when the Obligation for the ſaid Penalty were valid, yet the ſaid King your Maſter cannot prevail himſelf of the Treaty of *Windſor*, where the ſaid Penalty was agreed, unleſs he prove firſt, 'that he had intirely accompliſh'd all that was to be done on his Part; which he thought was more than could be made appear. *Thirdly*, That, before he married, he requir'd the King your Maſter to ſend his Daughter to this Kingdom, for the better Satisfaction of his Subjects, who deſired much to ſee him have Children, who might ſucceed him: Whereas your King thought fit rather to give Commiſſion to his Ambaſſadors to conſent to any other Marriage, than to ſend his Daughter hither. Beſides which, it appear'd, by certain Letters that were taken, the King your Maſter treated of a Marriage betwixt his Daughter and the King of *Scotland* his Nephew; which Treaty was begun long before he marry'd with the Empreſs. So that, when the Stipulation were valid, the King your Maſter ſhould pay the Penalty, as being reciprocally agreed: On which yet he would not inſiſt, as being void in Law. Moreover, that, contrary to the ſaid Treaty of *Windſor*, he had ſecretly kept in his Court *John Joakim*, and afterwards publickly receiv'd the Preſident of *Rouen*, as Ambaſſador, who treated on the Part of *Francis*: And, becauſe the Ambaſſador, he had in *England*, had writ the Truth of what he ſaw and underſtood, he was ill uſed, and threatned in the ſaid Kingdom, and the Diſpatches he wrote, taken, and opened by the Miniſters of your King, contrary to all Right, both Divine and Human. And, which was worſt of all, ſince the Impriſonment of the ſaid *Francis*, the King your Maſter, being required to ſet down his Claims and Demands, whereby, according to the ſaid Treaty, each of them might have recovered their Right, and a good and durable Peace been eſtabliſhed in *Chriſtendom*; yet the King your Maſter would never accept thereof, as thinking to make his Advantage another Way; which hath been the Cauſe of all the Breaches that have follow'd ſince. That yet he hath forborn to take Notice, or complain of theſe Offences, as being deſirous to keep the Friendſhip of the King your Maſter,

which he eſteemed ſo much, that he accorded, for his Sake, almoſt all that his Ambaſſadors demanded at *Palentia*, concerning the Peace with *Francis*. As for the Defiance you have made on the Part of the King your Maſter, there is ſufficient Anſwer thereunto given by Word of Mouth: It being poſſible, as was then ſaid, that there might be more juſt Occaſion to make War againſt the King your Maſter, than he hath againſt Me; eſpecially, if it be true, which is ſaid in *England*, *France*, and other Parts, that your King will be Divorced from the Queen his Wife, and marry with another, notwithſtanding the Diſpenſations granted on that Behalf. Since, beſides all other Injuries done herein, it will be manifeſt, his Intention was to make the Lady, he pretended to give me in Marriage, a Baſtard; which yet, as he could not eaſily believe, in a Prince he eſteem'd ſo much; ſo, if any ſuch Purpoſe were, he muſt lay the Fault thereof upon the ſiniſter and perverſe Information of his Cardinal, whoſe unmeaſurable Ambition and Covetouſneſs was ſuch, that becauſe he refus'd to employ his Army in *Italy*, for the making him Pope by ſtrong Hand, which alſo he had procur'd the King his Maſter to write for, and himſelf had intreated by ſome Letters written by his own Hand. And becauſe alſo he would not ſatisfy him in other his inordinate and unreaſonable Deſires, he had many times declared, that he would give that Diſturbance and Impediment to all his Buſineſſes, that for this hundred Years the like had not been ſeen; ſo that he would make him repent it, when the Kingdom of *England* ſhould be hazarded thereby. And certainly, if the King your Maſter will believe the evil Counſel of the Cardinal, it will be the right Way to bring that to paſs which he ſaid, and conſequently to be the Ruin of your King and Maſter's Dominions. All which being conſidered, he proteſted he was not the Author of the Evils might follow hereupon. Finally, for the Buſineſs of the Merchants, he referred him to a further Treaty.

Theſe Anſwers were read unto the ſaid Kings of Arms by *Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans*, and then given unto them, to be carried to their ſeveral Kings and Maſters, in *Burgos*, 27 *January*, 1528. Wherewithal they had their ſafe Conducts to depart.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, inſtead of Satisfaction for the Money and Kindneſſes done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of Offence and Evaſion, unto his King and Maſter: Of which our King yet made no other Account than ſuch as became one who holding himſelf free from all Cauſes of Suſpicion and Calumny, deſpiſed whatſoever, in either Kind, was objected againſt him; ſince, having inviolably kept his Intention and Oath of falling on that Prince which moſt interrupted the publick Peace, he thought it now his Part to join againſt *Charles*; for though in the Beginning he interceded only for a Peace betwixt him and *Francis*, refuſing therefore to be the Chief and Protector of the *Clementine* League, yet finding now that the Generals and Army of *Charles* proceeded to ſuch an enormous Outrage, as to take and hold the Pope Priſoner, he thought he could do no leſs than uſe all Means that might conduce to his Delivery, and the repreſſing of the exorbitant Ambition of *Charles*, who was thought not obſcurely to aſpire to an univerſal Monarchy. As for the little Cavils and Punctilios, concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joakim*, or the giving a civil Ear to a Propoſition of Marriage in *Scotland*, and the like, as they were

were not, before ſome Contraventions of the Part of *Charles*, ſo no Effect did follow thereof, in thoſe Times when *Charles* moſt ſuſpected them: Though, when our King was informed that *Charles* did, after his Treaty at *Windſor*, give and receive Overtures of Marriage in more than one Place, it could not ſeem ſtrange if he took the ſame Liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinal, by particular Diſpatches to Dr. *Sampſon*, Reſident in *Spain*, had, a good while ſince, ſo cleared his King from any ſiniſter Intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though, indeed, a Stranger paſſing the Watch about *London*, at an undue Time of Night, and in a ſuſpected Manner, had ſome Letters taken from him, which afterwards were opened by Sir *Thomas More*, and delivered to the Cardinal; yet the ſaid Letters, which, as it appear'd afterwards, came from Mounſieur *de Praet*, who departed ſecretly out of *England*, without taking Leave either of our King or his Council, and were written in Cyphers, and contained many dangerous Falſhoods, were, in due Time poſted to the Emperor; whereby alſo he might perceive what ill Offices his ſaid Ambaſſador did, and the Fault laid on *de Praet*, who choſe rather to uſe his own Authority than to demand a Paſs, in a Time when he knew they could not otherwiſe be convey'd, which likewiſe was the Excuſe for intercepting another Meſſenger, who carried Letters to the Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, of the ſame Tenor, which yet ſhe received preſently after: And for the Excuſes not to pay the Money required of him, or the Penalty above-mentioned, they were but Arts, by which others may learn to deceive him in the ſame Kind, and which therefore might inſtruct *Francis* to do the like.

Our Cardinal being thus incens'd againſt *Charles*, thought fit, as well in deſpite of him, as for the Aſſertion of his King's Proceedings, publickly to give Account in the Star-chamber, of the whole State of this Buſineſs; adding withal, that our King was reſolved to make War againſt *Charles*. In the Delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the Actions of *Charles*, even to the making him criminal of whatſoever, either by the Law of God or Man, he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who thereupon ſhould neither vent their chief Commodities in the *Low-Countries* and *Spain*, nor again receive from thence Supplies of ſome Commodities they ſtood in need of, would no way approve this War; as that from which they ſaw neither Profit or Honour likely to enſue; eſpecially when they heard the Pope was delivered from his Impriſonment. Nevertheleſs, the Cardinal purſuing his Intentions, as the Emperor had done firſt in *Spain* to the *Engliſh* and *French*, ſeizeth on the Goods of the Subjects of *Charles*, and ſhortly after on the Perſon of his Ambaſſador *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, upon Notice given that our Ambaſſador was ſtaid in *Spain*. The Conſequence of this was, that our Merchants preſently found the like Meaſure in the *Low-Countries*, to the great Prejudice of that Entercourſe and Commerce which for many Ages had paſs'd betwixt both Nations. Upon News yet that our Ambaſſadors were well uſed in *Spain*, *Hugo de Mendoza* was not only ſet at Liberty, but perſuaded by ſome, that the Defiance which *Clarenceaux* had made unto *Charles*, was by him haſtened, at the Motion only of the *French* Ambaſſador; for which preſumptuous Act he ſhould therefore ſuffer Death as ſoon as he return'd to *Calais*. *Hugo de Mendoza*, glad hereof, ſends a

Diſpatch, by Poſt, into *Spain*, acquainting *Charles* with all theſe Particularities: But as the Courier paſs'd by *Bayonne*, the Governor thereof opened and copied theſe Letters, which afterwards he ſhewed *Clarenceaux* as he return'd homewards. *Clarenceaux*, at firſt, ſeem'd much aſtoniſhed; but at laſt, conſidering he had good Warrant from the Cardinal for all his Proceedings, he recollects himſelf, and continues his Journey. He did not think fit yet to come to *Calais*; but taking Ship at *Bologne*, and landing at *Rye*, he ſecretly poſted to *Hampton-Court*, where the King was; uſing ſuch Means there, that he obtain'd ſpeedy Acceſs to him; ſhewing, among other Things, three Letters from the Cardinal, authorizing this Defiance to *Charles*. He aſſured him alſo of the good Uſage he had received there; inſomuch, that notwithſtanding all theſe rough Paſſages, he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Ducats. *Laſtly*, he ſhewed the Copy of thoſe Letters the Governor of *Bayonne* had intercepted; which ſo ſtartled the King, that he proteſted againſt the Cardinal, as one that not only uſurped too much upon the Regal Authority, but repreſented Things much otherwiſe than they were, unto him. The King hereupon ſent for the Cardinal, and lays theſe Inſolencies and Preſumptions to his Charge in ſuch a Manner, that, howſoever the Cardinal excus'd himſelf, the King was obſerved to miſtruſt him ever afterwards. The Matter hereupon was brought to the Body of the Council; where, notwithſtanding the Cardinal alledged, that nothing was done but what was conformable to the King's Intentions, as he conceived them; yet, becauſe in a Matter of this high Conſequence he had proceeded too ſingly, without adviſing with the King and Council, he was reprov'd. In Conſequence whereof alſo, notwithſtanding this deſigned War, ſome Overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us and the *Low-Countrymen* ſtill open, if it could be fairly done. Therefore the *Dutch-men* were licenſed to depart home, the *Spaniards* yet being not permitted to go till it appeared how our Merchants were uſed there.

The Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, being inform'd hereof, doth in Exchange of this Courteſy, diſmiſs our *Engliſh* likewiſe, yet detaineth their Goods until ſhe might hear how the *Spaniards* were uſed in *England*; but together aſſures them, that when ſhe is ſatisfied thereof, all Things ſhould be ſafely reſtored. And now our Merchants, who uſed not the Trade to the many Northern and remote Countries they now frequent, foreſeeing the Conſequence of theſe Wars, refuſed to to buy the Cloths that were brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*; whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of *England* began to Mutiny: For appeaſing whereof, the Cardinal commands our Merchants to take off theſe Cloths at a reaſonable Price, from the poor Mens Hands; threatning, otherwiſe, that the King himſelf ſhould buy them and ſell them to Strangers. But the ſullen Merchants, little moved herewith, ſaid, they had no Reaſon to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter; therefore, whatſoever was propoſed for Staples at *Calais*, or *Abbeville*, our Merchants did not, or at leaſt would not underſtand it. But this Diſcontentment did equally extend to the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, and eſpecially to *Antwerp*, where the chief Mart was. The Lady *Margaret* conſidering this alſo, and fearing leſt any Inſurrection might follow, ſends over,

over, by the Advice of the Emperor's Council, the Provoſt of *Caſſelles*, and one other, to join with *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, for the obtaining, if nothing elſe, yet of a Truce, and Abſtinence from War. Theſe Ambaſſadors having obtained Audience of the King, *March* 29, 1528, *Mendoza* ſaid unto him:

Sir, the Emperor's Majeſty doth acknowledge himſelf ſo much bound to your Grace for the many Favours received from you, ever ſince his Minority, that he will by no Means take the Defiance given by your Herald, as a peremptory Denunciation of War, till he hath heard further of your Pleaſure: Therefore his Council hath appointed theſe two noble Perſons, and my ſelf, to know your determinate Anſwer, and final Reſolution herein. The King pauſing a while, as one that in his Heart loved *Charles*, and yet was bound by his late Treaty, to oppoſe him, anſwered, *Of War I am nothing joyful, and of War I am leſs fearful*, I thank God, as having both Men and Money in Readineſs, which I know other Princes lack, for all their high Words; and therefore to War I could ſoon agree: Yet, before I make you a determinate Anſwer herein, I ſhall declare ſome Part of my Mind to you; and tell you accordingly, that, although your Maſter be a great Emperor, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not ſuffer him to bear down and deſtroy the Realm of *France*, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the *French* King, pays us yearly a great Penſion and Tribute; wherefore we, of Juſtice and Equity, muſt maintain that Land out of which we have ſo fair a Rent, and ſuch a Profit. The Provoſt of *Caſſelles* replying hereunto, told the King, that the antient Love and Friendſhip which hath been betwixt your Realm and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and the *Low-Countries*, is now ſo confirm'd and rooted in their Hearts, that I aſſure your Grace, that, next their Sovereign Lord they would ſooneſt live and die with you. In which regard he hoped that no new Alliance could corrupt and change this ſo long ſettled and inveterate Amity, which yet we ſay not out of Fear, as being well furniſhed for War, but out of that true Affection which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you Choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperor intends no more herein, than to leave you the Arbitrement of both. And thus much I will confeſs out of my Inſtructions, that if you chooſe War, we have yet Commiſſion, in fitting Terms, to ſue for Peace; and if you chooſe Peace, we have likewiſe Commiſſion to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your Command. *Hugo de Mendoza*, to ſecond this, ſaid, that of very right the Emperor and his Dominions ought to have your Love and Favour before the *French* King and his Nation; ſince the *French* had never applied themſelves to you, but in the Time of their Neceſſity; whereas the Love on our Part hath been ever inviolable. This was an Age in which much Honour and good Nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former Affection to *Charles*, and the rather for that he found ſo much was deferr'd to his Mediation, in the Affairs of *Francis*, as is above related; and beſides, having an Eye on the Buſineſſes of *Scotland*, as will appear hereafter; and, howſoever, being deſirous to preſerve his Stile and Dignity of Arbiter, told them, that as he well perceived the Intent of their coming, ſo he would be well adviſed how to make them a fitting Anſwer; ſaying, that in

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the mean while he was content there ſhould be a Truce for a Time, wherewith the *Flemiſh* Ambaſſadors returned home, well ſatisfied that they had obtained this Reſpite. The King hereupon adviſeth with his Counſellors; among whom, though thoſe who adhered to *Woolſey*, did perſuade a War, yet the greater part, who did ſecretly diſaffect the Cardinal, told the King, that the Reſultance of War in the *Low-Countries* could be nothing but a Grievance to his Subjects, a Decay of Trade, a Diminution of his Cuſtoms, and Addition to the Greatneſs of *Francis*, who would have the Advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly conſidered, it was thought fit to make an Abſtinence from War for eight Months, and until it appeared upon Conſultation betwixt the Emperor's Ambaſſadors and his, how a general Peace might be made. Hereupon Letters were ſent, not only to *Spain* and *Flanders*, but to *France*, manifeſting the Reaſons why the King had, for a while, ſuſpended this War: In which Eſtate alſo the Buſineſs continued, till Anſwer was brought from foreign Parts.

The Biſhop of *Bayonne*, Reſident here on the Part of the *French* King, was no ſooner advertiſed hereof, but he demanded Audience; which being obtained, he ſaith, that though he doubted not but his Highneſs did well remember the late League concluded betwixt him and his Brother the *French* King, which alſo was ratified and confirm'd by the three Eſtates of the Realm of *France*, by Virtue whereof you have an Annual Penſion and Tribute, to a great Value, paid to you; in Conſideration whereof you have promis'd to defend the ſaid Realm againſt all Perſons; yet, becauſe it is well known to many, that the Emperor's Ambaſſadors have laboured the contrary, diſpoſing your Highneſs, all they could, to infringe the ſaid League, I thought it my Part to put your Highneſs in mind thereof; aſſuring your Highneſs, for the reſt, that, whenſoever you ſhould begin to make a War upon the Emperor and his Subjects, it would be a perpetual Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole *French* Nation. The King replied hereunto, that, though it were more eaſy to enter into Wars, than to end them with Honour and Profit, yet that he would preſerve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of *France*, and himſelf. So that the King, your Maſter, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the utmoſt of my Power; though, I muſt tell you, that, when I could procure him an honourable, and advantagious Peace, I ſhould think I had deſerv'd as well of him this Way, as any other. Wherewith the Ambaſſador departed well contented, yet ſo, as he was in ſome more Uncertainty concerning the intended War. Therefore he ſolicites the Cardinal, as his Maſter's beſt Friend, to haſten the Forces, which our King had now in Readineſs for a War with the *Low-Countries*: But, as the Favour of the Cardinal began now ſomewhat to decline, ſo found he not that Expedition which he was wont to receive in his Addreſſes. However, the War betwixt the *French* and *Flemings* continued: In which this memorable Accident is recorded: That a *French* Ship, lying at *Margate*, being ſet on by a *Fleming*, and finding her ſelf too weak, the Wind being fair for the River of *Thames*, packs on all her Sails, and makes for *London*. The *Fleming*, as eagerly purſuing her, overtakes and boards her near the *Tower-Wharf*; which Sir *Edmund Walſingham*, Lieute-

Lietenant of the *Tower*, perceiving, calls his Men together, and ſeized on them; where, though the *Fleming* boldly challenged his Prize, yet the King's Council, conſidering, that, in this Place, both of them were under the King's Protection, it was thought fit to diſmiſs them freely on either Side.

It appears before, how *Guyenne*, King of Arms, charg'd himſelf with a Meſſage from *Charles* the Emperor unto the King his Maſter, containing an Affront and kind of Challenge, which the ſaid *Charles* had formerly declared to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. *Guyenne* having now performed his Part, *Francis* could now no longer forbear to take Notice of it: Yet, becauſe it ſeems he did not ſufficiently apprehend the Relation which the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* made thereof, he requires of him more ample and clear Information. The Archbiſhop hereupon writes to *Charles*, and craves, that, under his Hand, he would ſet down what he told him by Word of Mouth; for the reſt, making ſome Excuſe, that he did not remember it better. *Charles* anſwers him, and repeats the Words: Shortly after which, *Francis* diſpatches *Guyenne* with a Cartel; in the Delivery whereof I ſhall ſet down the Forms were uſed, the Example being ſo rare.

Guyenne having obtained a ſafe Conduct from *Charles*, who alſo commanded one *Montalve*, a Genleman, for his more Security by the Way, to accompany him; comes to *Monzon* in *Arragon*, where *Charles* then was, 7 *Jan.* 1528. Having gotten Audience the next Day, *Charles* ſitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. *Guyenne* coming hereupon to the lower End of a great Hall, puts on his Coat of Arms, and, after five low Obeyſances made, caſts himſelf on his Knees before *Charles*, and ſpeaks thus:

Sire, I beſeech your Majeſty, that, continuing the good Uſage I have received hitherto, you will give me Leave to perform that, that belongs to my Office; and that, this being done, I may have Leave ſafely to return. *Charles* anſwered; King of Arms, do thy Duty; and my Will is, that thou be always well Treated. Then *Guyenne*, riſing up, ſaid:

Sire, The King my Maſter, being adverтiſed of the Words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have ſpoken againſt his Honour, deſires ſo much to juſtify it, before all the World, as in Truth he may, that he hath commanded me, for Anſwer, to preſent you this Writing, ſubſcribed with his own Hand; which, when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to peruſe, you will find, how intirely he ſatisfies all. Moreover, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give me Leave to return to the King, my Maſter, for I have no further Commiſſion. This being ſaid, he ſeem'd to offer a Paper unto *Charles*. Before yet *Charles* would take it, he ſaid; King of Arms, haſt thou Commiſſion from thy King to read this Writing thou bringeſt? *Guyenne* anſwered, that he had. Then *Charles* ſaid; King of Arms, I have heard that which you have ſaid, and will look on the Writing which you have brought, and will do in ſuch ſort, that my Honour ſhall be preſerved. And, for the King your Maſter, he will have enough to do to keep his, it being a Thing in a manner impoſſible: As for that which concerns my Juſtice, my Chancellor here ſhall deliver it. Then the Chancellor ſaid; His Majeſty, holding himſelf to the Proteſtations made heretofore on his Part, proteſteth here again,

again, That, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he ſhall ſay, or do, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of *Madrid*; and that, notwithſtanding any Breach on this particular Occaſion, it ſhall remain in full Force and Effect. And that this Proteſtation ſhall be underſtood, as diſtributed and reported in all the Proceedings, that ſhall hereafter paſs in this Matter.

When the Chancellor had ſpoken this, the Emperor ſaid: King of Arms, although, for many Reaſons, the King your Maſter be not capable of doing any Act of this Kind, either againſt me, or any elſe, yet for the Good of *Chriſtendom*, and avoiding of more Effuſion of Blood, and for giving an End to theſe Wars, and for no other Reaſon, I do enable him for this Purpoſe; wherewith he took the Paper that *Guyenne* held in his Hand. Then *Guyenne* ſaid to him; *Sire*, If the Anſwer that your Majeſty ſhall ſend to the King my Maſter, be the Security of the Field, or Fighting-place, and that you pleaſe to give it me, I have Commiſſion to bring it, and nothing elſe: Therefore your Majeſty will be pleaſed not to force me to any thing elſe, but the ſaid Security of the Field, in which the King my Maſter will aſſuredly preſent himſelf, with thoſe Arms with which he intends to defend himſelf: And for me, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to let me depart. *Charles* anſwered; Your Maſter ought not to preſcribe me what I am to do: I will do what I have ſaid; for which Cauſe, as well as that ſomething may be in this Paper, to which I may reply by ſome particular Meſſenger, I charge you to procure him a ſafe Conduct, ſince you would not come without mine: Which *Guyenne* promiſed; wherewith the Emperor calling *Juan Aleman*, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which *Guyenne*, who ſeem'd to have taken his Leave, ſaid; *Sire*, I have another Paper to preſent your Majeſty by the Hands of Seigneur *Aleman*, your Secretary, if your Majeſty be pleaſed to command him to receive it; which *Charles* likewiſe permitted. Whereupon all the principal Perſons preſent, and laſtly *Guyenne* alſo, ſubſcribed their Names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperor commanded his Secretary, *Aleman*, to read in an high Voice the Cartel delivered by *Guyenne*.

The Cartel of *Francis* the *French* King, to *Charles* the Emperor.

WE Francis, *by the Grace of God, King of* France, &c. *To you*, Charles, *by the ſame Grace, Choſen Emperor of the* Romans, *King of* Spain. *We let you know, that being advertis'd, how, in certain Anſwers given to our Ambaſſadors and Kings of Arms, which for negotiating a Peace we ſent unto you, you deſiring without Reaſon to excuſe your ſelf, have accuſed us, ſaying, that you have our Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our Promiſe, we are departed out of your Hands and Power. For defending of our Honour, which herein is, much againſt Truth, impeached, we have thought fit to ſend you this Cartel; by which, altho' we ſay that no Man under Reſtraint can plight his Faith; and that, though this Excuſe is very ſufficient, yet, as we deſire to give Satisfaction to every one, and as well to our own Honour, which we have kept, and will keep, God willing, till Death; We let you know that, if either you have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to our Charge any thing which may touch*

our Faith, or Liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier that loves his Honour ought not do; we ſay unto you, that you have lied in your Throat; and that as many times as you ſhall ſay it, you Lye; being reſolv'd to defend our Honour to the laſt Period of our Life.

And ſince, againſt Truth, you have laid this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but aſſure us the Field, and we will bring the Arms; Proteſting that, if after this Declaration, you write any Part, or ſpeak any Words againſt our Honour, the Shame of delaying the Combat ſhall be yours, ſince being come to theſe Terms, all cauſe of Writing ceaſeth.

Dated in our good Town and City of *Paris*, March 28, 1527. before *Eaſter*. Underneath which was plac'd the little Seal of *Francis* in Wax.

This being the Subſtance of *Francis* his Cartel, was communicated beforehand to our King, who adviſed him only, as I find in our Records, not to give the Emperor that harſh Word of the Lye. In the Paper delivered to the Secretary *Aleman*, a Relation was made of ſome Paſſages between *Francis*, and the Seigneur *de Granvele* Ambaſſador of *Charles*, reſiding in the *French* Court, in which *Francis* pretended to excuſe his Breach of Promiſe, by the Conſtraint and Neceſſity he was in, ſaying, among other Things, that he yielded not himſelf to the Emperor, and therefore that he could not accuſe him of Breach of Faith. It was alſo declared there, how *Francis* cauſed the Cartel above-mentioned to be read publickly before the Emperor's Ambaſſador. Moreover, *Francis* laboured to avoid the Imputation laid on him by *Charles* for defying him now, when yet he had made ſix or ſeven years War without ſending any ſuch Defiance. To which therefore he anſwered, that the Ambaſſadors of *Charles* had defied him firſt at *Dijon*, and therefore it would not ſeem ſtrange if he defended himſelf. The reſt was little more than ſome Proteſtations againſt the late Impriſonment of the Pope, the detaining of his two Sons for Hoſtages, ſome Complement of *Henry* King of *England*, and ſome Excuſes for not having anſwer'd this Buſineſs ſooner; among which, the following, being ſomewhat Extravagant, ſeems worth the relating: For, whereas *Charles* objected againſt him, that he kept his Promiſe in *Madrid* better to *Francis*, than *Francis* had done to him, he ſaid he did not remember to have promiſed any thing there; for, concerning the Concord of *Madrid*, he ſaid, it was ſet down in Writing; howſoever that he held himſelf ſufficiently diſcharged from it, in regard he was not at Liberty when he ſigned it, nor afterwards ſet free upon his Word, which in that Caſe only, he thought himſelf bound to Obſerve: for the reſt, profeſſing, he could call to Mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he ſaid he would in Perſon aſſiſt *Charles* againſt the *Turk*, which he was ready to do likewiſe with all his Forces, aſſuring further, that *Charles* ſhould not ſo ſoon have his Foot in the Stirrup for this Purpoſe, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the ſaid Ambaſſador replied, he had no Commiſſion to hear, or treat of theſe Buſineſſes, and therefore deſired leave to depart, and ſafe Conduct, the Emperor his Maſter having repealed him. Whereunto *Francis* anſwered, that the Emperor his Maſter had forced him to theſe Courſes, and that he did eſteem him ſo gentile a Prince, that, when he ſhould underſtand

derſtand this Anſwer I make him, he would anſwer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: Becauſe, if he did otherwiſe, he would ſend a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a Perſon of his Quality, and an honeſter Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I ſhall cauſe you to be accompanied to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the Intent that I may receive my Ambaſſadors at the Time that I diſmiſs you. This was ſigned by *Robertet*, Secretary to *Francis*.

Hereupon *Charles* reſolves, by *Burgundy* his King of Arms, to ſend his Reply unto *Francis*, bearing date *June* 28, 1528.

The Cartel and Reply of *Charles* the Emperor, to *Francis* the *French* King.

CHARLES *by the divine Clemency Emperor of the* Romans, *King of* Germany *and of* Spain, *&c. I do let know to you* Francis, *by the Grace of God King of* France, *that, upon the eighth of this Month of* June, *I received by* Guyenne, *your King of Arms, your Cartel, dated* March 28. *which from a remoter Place than* Paris *might have come hither in a ſhorter Time; and conformable to that which on my Part was ſaid to your King of Arms, I anſwer to that which you ſay, That in certain Anſwers given by me to the Ambaſſadors and Kings of Arms, whom for negotiating a Peace you ſent unto me, in which you alledge, that, for excuſing myſelf, without Cauſe, I have accuſed you, I reply, that I have not ſeen any King of Arms on your Part, but him that came to* Burgos, *to denounce War againſt me. And as for myſelf, having erred in nothing, there is no need to excuſe myſelf. But for you, it is your own Faults that accuſe you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you ſay true, when you underſtand thereby the Capitulation of* Madrid; *where it appears, by certain Writings ſubſcribed with your own Hand, that you would return to be my true Priſoner, in Caſe you did not accompliſh all, which by the ſaid Capitulation was promiſed. But, that I ſhould ſay, as you mention in your Cartel, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did contrary to your Promiſe, go away, and eſcape my Hands and Power, they are Words which I never ſaid, becauſe I never pretended to hold your Faith, ſo, as not to go away, but to return in the Form that was agreed. And if you made this good, you ſhould neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your Honour. And to that you ſay, that for Defence of your Honour, which in this Caſe ſhould, much againſt Truth, be impeach'd, you have thought fit to ſend your Cartel, by which you ſay, that although no Man under Ward or Reſtraint can plight his Faith, and that this Excuſe is very ſufficient; Notwithſtanding, as you deſire to give Satisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own Honour, which you ſay you have kept, and will keep, God willing, unto the Death, and thereupon do let me know, that, if either I have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to your Charge any thing which may touch your Faith or Liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavalier that loves his Honour ought not to do, you ſay that I have lied in my Throat, and, as many Times as I ſhall ſay it, that I Lye. And that you are reſov'd to defend your Honour to the laſt Period of your Life.*

To this I Anſwer, that, conſidering the Form of the Capitulation, your Excuſe for being under Reſtraint can have no Place; but, ſince you make ſo ſmall Account of your Honour, I do not wonder that you deny

your ſelf to be obliged to accompliſh your Promiſe; for your Words cannot vindicate your Honour. Therefore I have ſaid, and will ſay, without Lying, that you have done Laſchement *and* Meſchamment, *in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of* Madrid. *And in ſaying this, I do not charge you with things Secret, or impoſſible to prove, ſince they appear by Writings, ſigned by your Hand, which you can neither excuſe, nor deny: And if you will affirm the contrary, ſince I have releaſed and enabled you only for this Combat, I ſay, that for the good of* Chriſtendom, *and for avoiding the Effuſion of Blood, and for putting an End to this War, and to defend my juſt Demand, I ſhall, in my Perſon maintain againſt yours, that, that which I ſay, is true. But I will not return to you the Language you give me; ſince both your Actions, without that I or any elſe ſpeak of them, make you a Lyar, and that it is more eaſy afar off to talk in this Manner, than near at Hand. And, as for that which you ſay, that ſince againſt Truth, I have laid this Imputation on you, that from henceforth I ſhould write no more, but that I ſhould aſſure you the Field, and that you will bring the Arms, I ſay, you muſt have Patience a while, till I have laid your Actions open to you, and until I have writ you this Anſwer, by which I ſay, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to aſſure it on my Part, by all the reaſonable ways that can be deviſed: And for this Effect, and for the better Expedition thereof, I do now name the Place for the ſaid Combat, to be upon the River, which paſſeth between* Fuentarabie *and* Andaja, *in that Part, and after that Manner, which by Agreement on both Sides, ſhall be thought moſt ſecure and convenient. And it ſeems that in Reaſon you ought not to refuſe this, or ſay it is not ſecure enough, ſince there you were ſet Free, upon giving your Sons for Hoſtages, with your Faith and Promiſe to return. And conſidering as well that in the ſame River you did entruſt your Perſon, and your Children; you may be confident now to hazard your own only, ſince I will as well hazard mine. And Means ſhall be found out, that, notwithſtanding the Situation of the Place, neither of us ſhall have Advantage of the other. And for this Purpoſe, as well as for the Election of Arms, which I pretend of right to belong to me and not to you, and becauſe in the Concluſion of this Buſineſs no trifling or delay may be admitted, we may ſend Gentlemen on both Parts to view the ſaid Place; with ſufficient Power to treat and agree, as well concerning the Security of the Field, as the Choice of Arms, the Day of Combat, and the reſt that belongs hereunto. And if, within the Space of forty Days after the Delivery hereof, you neither anſwer nor advertiſe me of your Intention herein, it will ſufficiently appear, that the delay is on your Part, which therefore ſhall be imputed, and laid to your Charge, together with the Default of not having accompliſh'd that which you promiſed in* Madrid. *And whereas you proteſt, that if, after this Declaration, I ſay or write Words contrary to your Honour, that the Shame of Delay of Combat ſhall be mine, ſince when Matters are brought to theſe Terms, all Cauſe of Writing ceaſeth; your Proteſtations might have been well ſpared; ſince you cannot forbid me to ſay Truth, though it grieve you. And that as well I am aſſur'd that the Shame of delaying the Combat will not reſt on me, ſince all the World may Witneſs the deſire I have to ſee an End thereof.*

At Monzon *in* Arragon, June 28, 1528.

This alſo was certified under the Hand and Seal of *Burgundy*, King of Arms, who, together carried, in a Paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publick Writing, declared that his Imperial Majeſty commanded him, with all Speed, to require an Anſwer thereof; and that he ſhould offer his Service for bringing of it, if *Francis* ſo thought fit. Yet if the ſaid King would not ſend it but by another, then that he ſhould aſſure *Francis*, on the Part of his Imperial Majeſty, that the ſaid Meſſenger might come ſecurely, and that a Safe-conduct ſhould be made him if he deſired it; although his Imperial Majeſty did not think it neceſſary for a King of Arms, as being a privileged Perſon. And, beſides this, that he the ſaid *Burgundy* ſhould give to *Roberett*, Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the ſaid King ſhould appoint, an Anſwer, in Writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in Preſence of his Imperial Majeſty; and, by his Conſent, to the Secretary *Aleman*. The Tenor of which Writing being long, and containing little in it, but what is formerly ſet down, I ſhall paſs over, and the rather, for that it took no more Effect. Nevertheleſs, I muſt not omit to ſay, that the Excuſe of *Francis* was not generally approved, nor his Cartel thought juſt. For if a Priſoner of War may avoid his Promiſe becauſe he is under Conſtraint, it would follow that few or none would be taken, but rather kill'd upon the Place; which would make the War not only more bloody and barbarous, but even deſtroy a principal Part of that Right of Nations, which in theſe Caſes hath been inviolably obſerv'd in all Times. So that if *Francis* had excuſed his not returning by being a publick Perſon, and had ſaid that his Obligation by Oath, when he was crown'd, unto his People and Kingdom, was a greater Tye than that of his particular Honour; and, together, had alledged, that he could not obtain their Conſent, either to perform his Promiſe for Reſtitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwiſe to go ſingle out of his Kingdom: It was thought by ſome, he might have vindicated himſelf in great Part, and, indeed, laid ſome Imputation on *Charles*, for demanding Things impoſſible to perform. But I come to that which enſued; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his Hand and Seal, as authentick, for the juſtifying of the Emperor his Maſter's Reputation.

This *Burgundy* coming to *Fuentaraby*, ſends a Trumpet, *July* 1, 1528. to Monſieur *de St. Bonet*, Governor of *Bayonne*, for the Safe-conduct which *Guyenne* had promiſed. The Governor excuſed himſelf, as not having Commiſſion; yet as *Burgundy* perſiſted in his Demand, the ſaid Governor, about eight Days afterwards, ſent him Word that his Safe-conduct was ready, if he brought Security of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further, to know if his Commiſſion extended to any Thing elſe: To which *Burgundy* anſwered, about ſeven Days after, that the Emperor his Maſter had commanded him not to declare his Meſſage to any but *Francis*; and that therefore he had diſpatched a Courier to his Imperial Majeſty, to know what Anſwer he ſhould make; who hath commanded me hereupon to let you know that I do bring the Security of the Field, and other Things that concern the Combat, and Anſwer to the Cartel of the King your Maſter. To which, the next Day following, the Governor anſwered again, that if he brought the Security of the Field, and nothing elſe, he ſhould advertiſe him, and he would preſently ſend

a Gentleman to conduct him to the King his Maſter. To which, about nine Days after, *Burgundy* anſwered, that he did bring the Security of the Field, and the reſt did concern only the Combat, and the haſtening thereof; which being ſo, he ſaid he ought not to be denied, or prohibited to do his Office, ſince it was a Thing never known that any ſhould ſpeak to one, and yet not hear his Anſwer; as if it were enough, for defending one's Honour, to ſend a Cartel, without doing or ſuffering any thing elſe: For which Reaſon, and becauſe the Emperor is deſirous to ſhew that he is in earneſt, he did require him, this time for all, that, without more Delay, he might receive his Safe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like Caſe; and that, if he were delay'd, he proteſted that he had done all that was convenient for the Diſcharge of the Dignity of the Emperor his Maſter, which you know of what Importance it is; and ſo expected his ſpeedy Anſwer. No Anſwer being return'd hereunto in the Space of nine Days more, notwithſtanding that the Governor had promiſed to ſend a Trumpet with an Anſwer, *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that Promiſe; and therefore ſends a Trumpet again; to which, as the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory hath it, St. *Bonet* made no other Anſwer, but bid him return no more. Yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart, ſo at laſt the Governor of *Bayonne* ſent him a Letter, dated *Auguſt* 17, 1528, which declar'd that the King his Maſter was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him Safe-conduct ſo long, which therefore he promis'd to ſend him when he deſired it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of Hand, the Governor ſent him. Whereupon *Burgundy*, who put on his Coat of Arms as ſoon as he was in the *French* Territories, came to *Bayonne*, where he proteſted to the Governor, that the demanding Safe-conduct ſhould be no Derogation to his Privilege belonging to him as King of Arms; and ſo, continuing his Journey, he came to *Eſtampes*, *Sept.* 2, where *Guyenne* attended him; ſtaying yet there ſeven Days before he was permitted to go to *Paris*, the King paſſing all that Time in Hunting. Being at length conducted to *Paris*, he would have worn his Coat of Arms, but was not ſuffered; it being told him it was *Coſa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, a Thing not to be ſhew'd but upon Holy-days, or in a Country Church.

But *Burgundy* proteſting againſt this Uſage, as being contrary to the Privileges of his Place, thoſe who conducted him went to the King, who, after ſome Space, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to record what paſs'd; before whom they ſaid, that if he deſir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Arms, he would be in great Danger of the People; and therefore, if any Inconvenience followed, he muſt not lay it to their Charge. Notwithſtanding which, ſome Perſons being ſent to ſecure him, he put on his Coat of Arms, and the next Day obtained Audience of the King; who, in a great Sale, or Hall, ſat on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; our Ambaſſadors alſo being preſent, to whom, as I find in our Records, he then ſhew'd the Order of the Garter upon his Leg, ſaying to them, that ſeeing he went about an Act, wherein conſiſted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not uſe a better Remembrance than the ſaid Garter. *Burgundy* now beginning to make his Obeyſance, the King, without giving him time to ſpeak, ſaid, King of Arms,

Arms, haſt thou perform'd thy Office as thou ought'ſt hitherto? Thou knoweſt what thou haſt written in thy Letters; doſt thou bring me the Security of the Field, according to that which in my Cartel I writ to the Emperor thy Maſter? He reply'd, *Senior ſi*, or Yes, will you be pleaſed that I perform my Office, and ſay what the Emperor commandeth me? The King anſwered hereunto, No, unleſs you give firſt a Patent ſign'd with your own Hand, that may contain the Security of the Field, and nothing elſe: For thou knoweſt well the Contents of thy Safe-conduct. The Herald there beginning to ſpeak, and ſaying, *Sir*, The ſacred Majeſty of the Emperor —— The King interrupted him, and ſaid, I tell thee, that thou muſt not ſpeak to me of any thing, becauſe I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Maſter; yet, when thou ſhalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well aſſur'd me, then will I give thee Licence to ſay what thou wilt, and not otherwiſe. Then he ſaid, *Sir*, It was commanded me that I ſhould read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me Leave ſo to do; or that having given it you firſt, I ſhould afterwards do what I am commanded. Then the King roſe ſuddenly from his Throne, ſpeaking angrily, What? does thy Maſter think to eſtabliſh new Cuſtoms in my Land? I will none of theſe Hypocriſies. He anſwered then, *Sir*, I am aſſured that the Emperor will do all that a brave and virtuous Prince ought to do. The King replied hereunto, that he thought ſo well of him he did believe he would do ſo. Wherewith Monſieur *de Montmorency*, who was the Grand Maſter, began to ſay ſomewhat to the King, which the ſaid King of Arms underſtood not; but the King paſſionately replied, No, no, I will not give him Leave, unleſs I have the Surety of the Field; without which, he ſaid, he ſhould return as he came; and ſo bids the King of Arms ſpeak no more unto him. Yet he replied, *Sir*, if you will not ſuffer me I cannot do my Office, nor give you the Cartel of the Emperor without your Leave, which once again I aſk; and if you will not give it me, becauſe I may not err in my Relation, I pray you give me in Writing that you deny it, reſerving me yet your Safe-conduct to return. Then *Francis* ſaid, I will that it be given you; wherewithal the Herald departed. He then ſolicited *Montmorency*, the Grand Maſter, to obtain Leave for him once more to deliver the Emperor's Cartel. Notwithſtanding which, he received no other Anſwer, but that the King would grant him no Audience ſince his Commiſſion; therefore that he might depart when it pleaſed him. Then *Burgundy* proteſted that the Fault was not in him, and much leſs in the Emperor his Maſter; and that the Emperor his Maſter would publiſh this in all Places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offered him a Relation of the Buſineſs, which yet he would not receive, in Regard ſome Paſſages were omitted, and particularly the harſh Words which the King gave him. Wherewith *Burgundy* return'd, and at his coming to Court, delivered this Relation to the Emperor, under his Hand and Seal, which alſo I have followed; not that I would ſhew any Partiality to either Side; but that it is the moſt particular, that I could meet with among the ſeveral Relations that are extant, and, for the moſt part agreeing with them.

Charles now conſidering what remain'd to be done for diſcharge of his Honour, brought the Buſineſs to his Council of State and War; who all agreed, that the

the Refuſal of *Francis* to hear the Reply to his Cartel, had given End to this Buſineſs; and for the reſt, that it was ſufficient to certify certain principal Perſons, both at home and abroad, of all theſe Paſſages.

And this was the End of the Cartels and Pundonnores betwixt theſe two great Princes; not for want of Courage, in which both undoubtedly abounded, but for not being able to agree ſufficiently between themſelves concerning the Laws of Duel; of which therefore Men ſpake, in that Age, diverſely, according to their ſeveral Affections; yet ſo as few diſintereſted Perſons denied, but that notwithſtanding the Punctualities of *Francis*, *Charles* had behaved himſelf like a gentile Cavalier.

Whilſt our King and the *French* were in that good Intelligence which is abovementioned, it might ſeem probable that *Scotland* ſhould be quiet, their beſt Support ever coming from that Country: Yet ſuch was the Power of the *Douglaſſes* at that Time, that they ſeem'd to ſway all Things: For as they held a ſtrict Guard about the King, they made uſe of his Authority for their own Ends, and particularly the Earl of *Angus*, their Chief. Nevertheleſs, as Queen *Margaret* had lately obtained, at *Rome*, a Divorce from the ſaid Earl, and thereupon married *Henry Stuart*, ſhortly after created Lord *Meſſen*, ſhe drew many of the prime Nobility againſt him; who yet attempting the King's Delivery by force, were defeated near *Lithgou*, and the Earl of *Lenox* ſlain. Howbeit, the King by Night ſlipping away from *Angus*, to the Caſtle of *Sterling*, reſolves to ſummon a Parliament, and exauctorate the *Douglaſſes*; ſending a Letter alſo to our King to this Purpoſe, as our Records tell us, that the Earl of *Angus* being made one of the Chief about his Perſon, had wrought the Excluſion of the reſt, and got the whole guiding of his Perſon for two Years; in which Time many evil Adventures happened. Moreover, that he conſpired his Slaughter. This being done he appoints the Parliament to be held the 4th of *September*, where the *Douglaſſes* being now deprived of their publick Offices and Places, not only refuſed to come, but endeavoured by all Means to diſſolve this Meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of *Edinburgh*, they ſent ſome Troops of Horſe to ſeize on it; which likewiſe they had perform'd, but that *Robert Maxwel*, by the King's Command, prevented them. Hereupon *Angus* retired to his own Caſtle, being about thirteen Miles diſtant. The King underſtanding hereof, comes to *Edinburgh*; where, by Vote of the Parliament, the Earl of *Angus*, *George*'s Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Dromond* their dear Friend, were condemned, and their Goods confiſcated, and Proclamation ſent forth, that whoſoever receiv'd them in Houſe, or otherwiſe reliev'd them, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame Puniſhment. Shortly after which *William*, another Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of *Holyrood*, languiſh'd and at laſt died of Grief. Into whoſe Place ſucceeded a Man, who, to avoid the Crime of being a *Simoniac*, uſed this notable Trick, as *Buchanan* hath it; For, hearing that the ſaid *William* was at the Point of Death, he lays a great Sum of Money, as a Wager, with the King, that he ſhould not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King tho' young, underſtood his meaning; and as he wanted Money at that Time, was content to win the Wager, and loſe the Abby. The *Douglaſſes* deſpairing now of Mercy, Spoil and Forrage

rage the Country even to the Gates of *Edenburgh*, nor was all their prey by Land; for a Ship laden with precious Merchandize, being driven by a Tempeſt on that Coaſt, was rifled by them, and the chief Merchandize taken away; among which, ſome Quantity of Cinnamon, which was left in the bottom of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar Sort, not knowing the Uſe thereof, burnt it for Fuel in their Houſes, as *Buchanan* hath it. The more diſcontented ſort of the Kingdom hearing that the *Douglaſſes* were thus in Arms, join'd with them. The King underſtanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and Power did daily increaſe, advis'd to raiſe Forces for taking a Caſtle of the *Douglaſſes*, for which purpoſe he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar*, in which *John* Duke of *Albany*, late Viceroy, held Garriſon. He could not yet take the Caſtle.

Our King hearing of theſe Stirs ſends ſome Ambaſſadors in *October* 1528. to treat of an Accommodation; neither was *Francis* averſe, as deſiring to dif[illegible] King to a War againſt *Charles*. The Difficulties yet, were ſuch, that all that could be obtain'd, was a Truce for five Years more, upon Condition, that the *Douglaſſes* ſhould deliver their Caſtles up, the King giving them ſome other Conditions; which yet being not in all Points obſerved, they were forced to forſake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Penſion, and at all Occaſions, mediated their Reſtitution; which at laſt, but not till the Death of *James* the fifth, he effected, as will appear: Howbeit *Alexander Dromond* was received into Favour; tho', whether for his own Merit, or to divide him from the *Douglaſſes*, is uncertain, for *James Coluit*, one of their Friends, and the late Abbot of *Holyrood*, notwithſtanding his bought Title, were baniſh'd from Court.

The Buſineſſes of *Ireland* paſſed thus. The Earl of *Kildare* formerly mention'd, being reſtored to his Place of Deputy, was yet ſtill proſecuted by the Earl of *Oſſory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of *Deſmond*; who, upon the Treaty he made firſt with the *French* King, and afterwards with the Emperor to attempt *Ireland*, was declared a Traytor. This prevail'd ſo far, that *Kildare* was ſent for to the Council-Table, 1527. where the Cardinal, his old Enemy declaimed againſt him. But he wittily and boldly defended himſelf, as our Hiſtory, and eſpecially *Campion* hath it at large. Howbeit he was committed, and more Accuſations produced againſt him; and particularly, that the Invaſion his Brethren had made upon the Earl of *Oſſory*, now the King's Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof alſo being convicted, he was condemned and reprieved in the Tower. At which, the Cardinal offended, ſends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his Execution: But the Lieutenant favouring *Kildare*, acquainted our King therewith; who, thereupon, not only reſpited his Death, but ſome while after pardoned and ſent him home to his Country; checking the Cardinal, in the mean Time, not a little for his Preſumption.

I ſhall now return to ſpeak of the Affairs of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther*, more than any of the other Reformers, did govern; which Credit alſo, that he might dilate and conſerve, he had, a good while ſince, written to our King, a kind of Apology for the diſreſpectful Anſwer made to his Book; offering, for Satisfaction, in ſome publick Writing to acknowledge, together with his own Preſumption, the King's ſingular Worth.

Worth. In this Letter, among other Things, he ſays he underſtood that the King was not the Author of the Book, which, under his Name, came forth againſt him, but certain Sophiſters; who, to inſinuate themſelves into his Favour, had put forth the Work under his Name, and then calls the Cardinal the Peſt of *England*. He added alſo, that he was informed, to his great Contentment, that he deteſted ſuch Sort of wicked Men, and that he applied his Mind to the Knowledge of the Truth; after which, he inſerts a brief Remonſtrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Anſwer. Our King having receiv'd this Letter, anſwers it ſharply; laying Inconſtancy and Levity to the Charge of *Luther*, and defending his own Book, and the Cardinal, whom, he ſaith, he ſhould love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late inceſtuous Matrimony with a Nun. This Anſwer alſo being ſent the Pope, and printed, *Luther*, who took nothing ſo ill at this Time, as that he ſhould be thought to change any of his Tenets and Opinions, lays the Fault on *Chriſtiern*, King of *Denmark*, who had given him hope that our King, being treated gently and reſpectfully, would embrace the reformed Doctrine; but now that he repented himſelf of this eaſy Language, though it were not new to him to loſe his Labour in this kind; for having written ſubmiſſively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinal *Cajetan*, *George*, Duke of *Saxony*, and *Eraſmus*, he had found no Succeſs hereof; but that they were ſo much the fiercer againſt him. Howſoever, as his Doctrines had made no little Progreſs in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifeſtly declare themſelves his Followers, did yet concur ſecretly in many of his Opinions, *Charles*, for ſuppreſſing thoſe Tumults, which Alteration in Religion doth commonly produce, thought fit to call an Aſſembly of the Princes of the Empire, to be held at *Spire*: For though the Decree made at *Worms*, where *Luther* was condemn'd, did yet ſtand in Force, the Determinations did not yet appear ſo concluſive and ſatisfactory, that either Side ſeem'd quietted therewith.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in *June*, 1526. the Emperor's Letters, dated from *Sevil* the 23d of *March*, were read to them; wherein he declared that he would ſhortly go to *Rome* to be crowned, and talk with the Pope concerning a Council: In the mean time forbidding them to innovate ought in Religion, but conform themſelves to the Decree of *Worms*: But the reformed Cities anſwered, that the Execution of the Decree of *Worms* would hazard a Sedition among the People; and that the Pope now gathering Forces againſt the Emperor, there was little hope of obtaining from him a General Council. Therefore they deſired the Emperor to permit a National Council of *Germany*, for the ſettling of Religion; or, if not, at leaſt to ſuſpend the Decree of *Worms*, till a General Council be call'd. Things thus tending to an open Diſſention, the *Turk* invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the *French* and *Italians* confederating againſt *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand*, the Emperor's Deputy in this Diet, thought fit to condeſcend to a Decree to this Effect: That there was great need of a Council, either general, or of the *German* Nation; and that it ſhould begin within a Year, which the Emperor was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Worms*, that, till one of theſe Councils be call'd, every Prince and State ſo behave themſelves, as they may give a probable Account of their Actions to

God and the Emperor. After this, a violent War betwixt the Emperor and *French*, the ſacking of *Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, as is before related, diſcompoſing all Things, the *Lutherans*, or as they ſtiled themſelves the *Evangelicks*, increaſed in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to endeavour their Suppreſſion: 'Till at length, returning to good Terms with the Pope, and an Overture being made for an Accord with the *French*, he returns to the Care of Religion; and, by Letters dated at *Valledolid*, *Auguſt* 1, 1528. appoints a Diet at *Spire*, to commence in *February*, 1529. where, though he ſaid he could not, for his great Occaſions, be preſent, yet he had entreated his Brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and ſome others, to appear for him. This Diet yet did not begin till *March* following; to which the diſcreet and peaceable *Melanthon* was, with much Honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. Many other Princes and great Perſons alſo came thither; among which not a few were unreſolved enough in either Belief, till Controverſies in Religion were better diſputed, whereof yet they could find no End; for as long as in any Angle of the World there was either a new Opinion to examine, or ancient Error to reform, they wanted not a juſt Exerciſe for their Curioſity. At laſt the former Decree of *Spire*, 1526. was examin'd; in which, becauſe it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of *Worms*, and Matter of Religion, in the mean time, till one of theſe Councils were held, every Prince and State ſhould ſo behave themſelves, as they may give a probable Reaſon of their Actions to God and the Emperor; the Emperor now alledging it was miſunderſtood by divers; and deſiring that this might be interpreted, propoſed the ſettling thereof in this Manner.

That all who have obeyed the Emperor's Edict at *Worms* hitherunto, ſhould continue to obey it, until a Council were called, which was promis'd with all ſpeed poſſible. That they who had ſo far entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not, without Danger, leave it, ſhould yet ſtay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing new and offenſive Books, according to the Decree at *Noremberg*, 1524, that the ancient Tenent about the Euchariſt, and the Maſs, ſhould be held. That they who would go to the Maſs ſhould not be hindered. That Preachers follow that Interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath received and approved; abſtaining from controverted Points, which ſhould be determined by the Council. In the mean while, that Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion ſhould not be a Breach of Peace, or Occaſion of Wrong on either Side. That no Prince ſhould receive the Subjects of the other into his Protection. That they who did otherwiſe ſhould be under the *Bann*, or proſcrib'd. But the Anabaptiſts were more ſhrewdly dealt withal, it being agreed that they who with Pertinacy did maintain that Doctrine, ſhould be put to Death.

Many Things yet were diſlik'd herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and divers others; therefore they proteſted againſt it: And firſt they ſaid, That the former Diet of *Spire* was more favourable, as permitting every one the Exerciſe of his Religion, till a Council in *Germany*, or otherwiſe, a General Council were call'd; and that there was no Reaſon to vary from it, unleſs another more convenient were accorded.

That,

That, in the Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, they had delivered many Grievances to the Pope's Legat, for which yet no Remedy was given, nor, indeed, could be expected untill the ſaid Council were call'd. As for the Maſs, that it was ſufficiently convicted by the Miniſters of their Churches, and the Euchariſt after the true Manner reſtored: Wherefore, that they could by no means admit that either they or their Subjects ſhould be preſent at the Maſs; ſince, when the Uſe thereof might be received in their Churches, yet if two divine Services, ſo diſcrepant, ſhould be celebrated in the ſame Place, much ill Example and Scandal muſt follow. And for the Point of the Euchariſt, that though there were difference among the reformed, yet that none ought to be condemned unheard. As for the Article, which preſcribeth the Goſpel to be interpreted according to the ordinary and received Doctrine of the Church, that it was well ſtated, when the true Church were firſt defin'd, until which they would labour to interpret one Place of Scripture by the other. That the laſt Decree at *Spire* was made for the ſake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and therefore, that they altogether proteſted againſt it. In the mean while, until this general or provincial Council for *Germany* were call'd, they promis'd to do nothing, that might juſtly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, Anabaptiſts, and printing of Books, they ſaid, they knew very well what was to be done.

This Proteſtation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Towns of *Germany*, among which *Straſburgh*, *Norembergh*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Roteling*, *Winſeim*, *Memingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempten*, *Hailbrun*, *Norlingen*, *Sangal*, and divers others are numbred, they all join'd ſo together, that the Name of Proteſtants took thence its Original; which Name therefore, properly taken, ſeems to imply no more, than once reſolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenents, till ſome lawful Council, either General or Provincial, determined the contrary. *Ferdinand* finding Matters thus not to ſort to that Effect he deſir'd, departs out of the Aſſembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of *Saxony*, and the reſt, to ſtay, which he refuſing, they appeal'd to the Emperor, and future Council.

Let us now ſee what was done in *Italy* this while; the Pope, though eſcaped, was not yet ſuddenly provided with Counſel or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his Defence, as well as Deſire of Revenge, made him correſpond with *Lautrech*; ſo fear of returning again to Impriſonment, caus'd him to proceed ſo warily, that one might doubt his Intentions. Therefore he kept *Lautrech* ſtill in much Suſpence; ſaying one while he deſired an univerſal Peace, then excuſing himſelf for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Nevertheleſs, if the Seat of War might be transferred out of the Patrimony of the Church, he ſaid he would adviſe what was to be done. But here alſo, he knew not how to reſolve. For as the War of *Milan* was, in a Manner, ended, ſo himſelf had an Eye upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; and for *Florence*, it was his native Country. Beſides he was ſufficiently informed, that *Francis*, when he might have Hope to recover his Children by fair Means, would not aſſiſt him; all which Reaſons made him to temporiſe, even to the giving Suſpicion of deſerting the League, whereof himſelf was Author. Hereupon *Lautrech* ſtaid

at *Bononia*, attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further Inſtructions. But as *Charles* and *Francis* came to no Agreement, ſo he was commanded to proceed with his Army; in which Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, had the command of two hundred Horſe, paid by our King. Whereupon the Imperialiſts, knowing how much it concern'd them to defend the Kingdom of *Naples*, retir'd thither, with a ſmall Remnant of their Army. Where they had enough to do, both as they were to reſiſt the *French*, and as the People, deſirous of Novelty, after their giddy Manner, when either they think themſelves oppreſt, or that, otherwiſe, they hope for a milder Government, were ready to revolt; which alſo appear'd ſo much, that, long before *Lautrech* came to divers Towns, they yielded themſelves, ſending their Keys a Days Journey before them. The firſt that made Head againſt them, was the Prince of *Orange*. But as his Forces were much inferior to the *French*, he at laſt retir'd to *Naples*; where yet he was ſo hated by *Hugo de Moncada*, and the *Spaniards*, that he was in Danger of having the Gates ſhut againſt him. *Lautrech* now, purſuing his good Fortune, beſieges *Melfi*. But as a number of Labourers and Huſbandmen, unapt for War, were ſhut in it, ſo their Fears and Noiſes, while the Soldiers defended the Walls, made them retire to the Caſtle, as thinking they had other Enemies within. Whereof the *French* taking Advantage, entred and ſack'd the Town, making the Prince of *Melfi*, his Lady, and Children Priſoners. After which divers other Places yielded to the *French*, till they came to *Naples*, which was *April* 17, or as others ſay, *May* 1, 1528. And now their Army ſeem'd terrible; both as it was reinforc'd by ſome Regiments of *Suiſſe*, and as the Inhabitants of *Naples* favour'd them. While that of the *Spaniards* was no greater, than what the Walls of *Naples*, and ſome little Places in the Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* conſidered that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialiſts were of this Number, he did not think fit to inveſt the Town by Land, till he had block'd it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Galleys, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the beſieged, for all the Hope they had either of Victuals or Relief, was on that Part. *Hugo de Moncada*, conſidering this, puts forth with a few Galleys in that Port againſt *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the Succeſs whereof was, that he loſt at once, both Victory and Life, and about ſeven Hundred more with him; *Alfonſo de Avalos*, Marquis *vel Vaſto*, *Aſcanio de Colonna*, and ſome others of Note, being taken Priſoners. This as it added great Courage to the *French*, ſo it occaſioned ſome Benefits to the Imperialiſts, both as it took away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Orange*, who now commanded in Chief, and as it open'd a way, as ſhall appear afterwards, for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperor's Service.

The Siege continued yet four Months; *Lautrech*, as being Maſter of the Field, deſiring rather to take the City by Famine, than by the Sword. And now the Victuals were almoſt all conſum'd; when the Prince of *Orange* thought fit to ſend *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about five thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, with divers Carts, to Forage and get

get Proviſion, but they alſo were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out ſtill.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Novarra*, and *Baigras*, and divers other Places, taken by *Lautrech*; and ſo join'd with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who came with fifteen thouſand *Germans* and five hundred Horſe, to ſerve the Emperor. Theſe two agreeing together to beſiege *Lodi*, found ſuch gallant Reſiſtance, that they were at laſt conſtrained to deſiſt, and the rather, becauſe they heard the Count *de St. Paul*, with a ſtrong Army of *Swiſs* and *French*, was on his way to relieve it. Beſides the *Germans*, who came with *Brunſwick*, having not their Pay at the time appointed, did for the moſt part return, ſo that the *French*, by joining with the Duke of *Urbin*, made themſelves quickly Maſters of the Field, recovering again all the Places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the fatal *Pavia*. But ſee upon what Engines Fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, Victorious and Triumphant, being come to *Surrento*, to cure his hurt Soldiers, and repair his Galleys, *Lautrech* ſends *Giovanni Joakim* to require the Priſoners, as being taken in the Name, and for the Service of the King his Maſter. *Philippion*, though receiving this Meſſage with great Indignation, yet diſſembled it for the preſent, ſaying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whoſe Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get Time. For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Priſoners. Which alſo, or at leaſt the Hope of it, *Lautrech* ſhould have given, before he demanded them. This Error therefore coſt dear. For *Philippino*, who took Pay chiefly to give Proof of his Virtue, and therefore would ſerve but for a Time, now almoſt expired, was not to be treated in this Faſhion. As the *French* found ſoon after. For employing his Thoughts at this preſent more how to gain his own Liberty, than to leave his Priſoners, he found Means to retire himſelf to a Place of more Surety; where, upon private Conference with his Priſoners, he found, that he could make more Profit of them from the *Spaniſh*, than the *French* Side. In Concluſion, *Andrea Doria* alſo being ſolicited by the Prince of *Orange* to change Maſter, as ſoon as his Term was out, he begins to liſten; and the rather for that ſo good Conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and particularly an Eſtate in the Kingdom of *Naples*. He would not yet leave the *French* abruptly, nor before he had gotten ſome Pretext for it. Therefore he ſent to the *French* Court, to demand Satisfaction for the Ranſom of the Prince of *Orange*, taken before *Marſeilles*, and others during the Siege of *Pavia*. He alſo requir'd that *Genoa* might be reſtor'd to its Superiority over *Savona*. Which Demands being brought to the Chancellor *du Praet*, and diſlik'd, it was thought fit to ſend *Antoine de la Roch-Fouchault*, with Commiſſion to ſeize on the Perſon and Galleys of *Doria*. Notice whereof being ſecretly given him, *Doria* leaving the *French* Galleys to their new Commander, withdrew himſelf with his own, to the Emperor's Service; who, for obliging him the more, promiſed to reſtore *Genoa* his native Country to its former Liberty, and to make him General of the Imperial Navy. Thus did the *French* loſe *Doria*, only becauſe they knew not how to uſe him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him;

him; and as mercenary, more cautiously; especially when he might make so much Benefit by revolting to the other Side.

While this Treaty was on Foot, *Pedro Lando*, with thirty *Venetian* Galleys, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: So that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out: yet the Hand of God is above all. For a kind of Pestilence, which *Sandoval* calls *Negra* or Black, so universally seized on the *French*, that they diminished daily in great Numbers, and among them Sir *Robert Jerningham*; whose Company therefore was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet died there of the same Disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, a brave Commander, but withal noted to be so opinionate, that he would alone have the Glory or Shame of all his Actions, died of the Disease, and huge Numbers of others; which so disheartned the *French*, that the weak Remainders wanting, besides their Health, Money, Victuals, *&c.* raised the Siege, and retir'd Homewards. And thus successively were two great Armies consum'd with the Plague, without other Force; as it usually happens when People not acquainted with the Temper, Wines and Fruits of a Country, live licentiously. They could not yet retire so quietly, but that the Imperialists follow'd them, and took divers Prisoners, and among others, the old and weak *Piedro Navarra*. The Marquess of *Saluzzo*, who undertook, after *Lautrech*, the Government, yet held *Aversa* for some while; though, at last, he was constrained to yield it together with himself. In Consequence whereof all other Places the *French* held in those Parts were surrender'd, save a few the *Venetians* fortified. *Genoa* also was constrain'd to yield itself, and shake off the *French* Yoke, by the Means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the Plague had chased almost all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trevulci* to a Composition, by which he was to forsake the Town. The *Genoese* hereupon, were restor'd to their former Liberty, and *Savona*, not long after taken by them. The Count St. *Paul*, finding Affairs thus to go ill on the *French* Side, thought to repair them by surprising *Milan*, upon intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing Provision of Victuals only for twenty-four Hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his Enterprise, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with Intention to pass there the rest of the Winter 1528.

As the Plague destroyed the *French* in *Italy*, the Sweating Sickness consum'd very many in *England*; it seeming to be but the same Contagion of the Air, varied according to the Clime. It was first known in *England*, 1486, 1507, 1517, and 1528. when it so raged, as it kill'd ordinarily in five or six Hours Space, invading even the King's Court, where not only Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton*, and Mr. *William Cary*, two of the King's Bed-Chamber, died of it; but the King himself was not without Danger.

In *Germany* also it did much harm, killing many, and particularly interrupting a Conference at *Marpurg*, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Eucharist.

I shall now come to the Business of the Divorce; so much vexed by our Writers, that for Satisfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of those Originals, and authentick Records, that I shall presume to recommend it for more than an ordinary Piece of History.

Our

Our King had now, for many Years, enjoyed the virtuous Queen *Catherine*, without that either Scruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward Note of Unkindneſs had paſs'd betwixt them. Nevertheleſs, as preſently after the Birth of the Princeſs, who alone of all their Children ſurvived, *Luther* and others, controverted the Authority and Extent of the Papal Juriſdiction; ſo in this Kingdom the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. for the aforeſaid Marriage, being privately queſtion'd, many of our learned Men concluded it void, as being granted in a Caſe prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indiſpenſable. This again, whiſpered in the Ears of many, begot ſuch a Muttering, as, being brought to the King, made him think what he was to do; for though he knew that a keeping of the Succeſſion doubtful, was one of the ill Arts by which Princes conſerve themſelves, yet, as a Deſire to have Poſterity, which might ſucceed him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Conſiderations, he reſolved to clear this Point by all fitting Degrees; and the rather, in that he knew the ſame Objections had been made, though wrongfully, to *Edward* IV. and his Children. And certainly, as it appears to me by many Circumſtances, it was, in the Beginning, as much as he could, in Favour of the Princeſs his Daughter. So that, altho' the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, being ſent by *Francis*, 1527. to conclude the Alternative formerly ſet down, did object openly againſt her Legitimation, as being got by the King upon his Brother's Wife, it did not much move him: But ſeeing it now grown a publick Doubt, he thought it more notorious than could be ſuppreſs'd: Neither did he believe that *Charles* would be greatly ſcandalized at it, ſince, to avoid the Treaty of *Windſor*, himſelf had alledged ſome Things to this Purpoſe: All which again, as *Polydore* relates, was ſecretly fomented by *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, his Majeſty's Confeſſor, at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal, who both hated the Emperor, and was averſe from the Queen, by reaſon of her reproving his looſe and inordinate Life; though, whatever *Polydore* ſaith, it will appear hereafter that *Wolſey* endeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howſoever, on ſome or all of theſe Cauſes the King was much perplex'd, as knowing how deeply this Affair concern'd him, his Poſterity, and Kingdom: And becauſe it was eaſy to collect of what Conſequence any Rumour of this kind might be, he not only ſent to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, as is ſaid before, to ſilence the Noiſe thereof, but uſed all Means poſſible, both to appeaſe thoſe violent Jealouſies the Queen had conceiv'd, and to ſatisfy his People, at leaſt until himſelf had looked further into the Buſineſs; in which, certainly, his Intentions privately were to proceed: For, beſides his diſpatching his Secretary, *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, whom yet he commanded to adviſe with our Cardinal by the Way, being then in *France*; he took Information ſometimes about his preſent Condition, and ſometimes, it is probable alſo, about ſuch Ladies as might furniſh him a Choice for a Genial, and ſecond Bed; in which Number the Dutcheſs of *Alanzon*, Siſter to *Francis*, is the firſt I find mention'd, whoſe Picture, as *Hall* ſaith, was ſent over about this Time. Neither did the Cardinal, being certified of theſe Paſſages, omit to comply, at leaſt in Appearance, with him; and therefore wrote to the King, that the beſt Way to obtain his Deſire, was to tell the Emperor plainly, that unleſs he ſet the Pope free, at that

Time in Priſon, as was formerly mentioned, he would proceed in the Divorce upon his own and his Clergies Authority. After which, he ſent for *John Clarke*, Biſhop of *Bath*, then Reſident Ambaſſador in *France*, and commended him to the King, as a Perſon to whom he might diſcover himſelf; and, together, deliver'd his Opinion: *Firſt*, That becauſe the Party would appeal, the Buſineſs could not be determin'd in *England*, unleſs the Pope would give him abſolute Authority, in all Caſes, a Minute whereof to be ſent to *Rome* I have ſeen. *Secondly*, That ſhe ſhould be perſuaded to take on her a religious Life: And, *laſtly*, if neither of theſe could be effected, it ſhould be thought of what could be ſecretly done by applying to her Conſcience. Concerning which Points, the Biſhop of *Bath*, at his Return ſpeaking, as I find in an Original from the ſaid Biſhop of *Wolſey*, the King replied, My Lord of *Bath*, the Bull is good, or it is naught; if it be naught, let it be ſo declar'd; and if it be good, it ſhall never be broken by no By-ways for me. Whereupon the Biſhop repreſented, that the Pope's Captivity hindred all Suits in that Court; and, howſoever, that the Proceſs would be ſo ſlow, as it could not be determined in ſix or ſeven Years. Beſides, that there muſt be three diſtinct Sentences given in it by three divers Judges, the two laſt to be choſen for the adverſe Party. *Laſtly*, That after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd, becauſe Sentence againſt Matrimony never paſſes into an adjudged Caſe. Adding, in Concluſion, as the Knot of Buſineſs, that the Party would appeal. To which the King anſwered, he thought ſhe would not appeal from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *London*: As for the Tedioufneſs of the Suit, ſince he had Patience eighteen Years, that he ſhould ſtay yet four or five more; ſince the Opinion of all the Clerks of the Kingdom, beſides two, were lately declared for him; adding, that he had ſtudied the Matter himſelf, and written of it; and that he found it was unlawful, *de jure divino*, and indiſpenſable. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, and no Probability of the Queen's Fruitfulneſs ſince the Princeſs *Mary*'s Birth, appearing; and the rather, that *Spaniſh* Women are obſerved to be ſeldom Mothers of many Children, he reſolves to have Recourſe to the Pope; comforting himſelf, for the reſt, that no other Difficulty appeared in removing all theſe Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which a Diſpenſation only had at firſt made. He knew the ſame Key that lock'd, could unlock; therefore he thought fit to ſend to *Rome*, both to repreſent the dangerous Condition of himſelf, his Iſſue and Kingdom, and to ſolicite the Pope for a Licence to marry another; and the rather, for that ſo many Circumſtances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the firſt Marriage was grounded to be ſuſpected; the Proſecuting whereof therefore, in a Diſpatch, dated *Dec.* 25, 1527, was recommended by the Cardinal to Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, an *Italian*; which alſo he was requir'd to urge ſo far, as to ſay that our King could impute the Puniſhment God had laid on him in taking away his Iſſue Male, upon nothing ſo much as the Unlawfulneſs of this Marriage; which learned Men did alſo generally ſo deteſt, as they held it to be more than the Pope could diſpenſe with, as I find they declar'd afterwards in a Book, which was ſent thither. Wherefore, that he ſhould procure a Commiſſion for hearing and

and determining this Cauſe, to be directed to the Cardinal; or, if that were refuſed, to Biſhop *Staphylæus*, Dean of the *Rucota*, who had been lately in *England*. And that he ſhould furthermore ſay, that he doubted not but the Pope would eaſily grant it, though againſt the Will of *Charles*; ſince he had granted *Charles* a Diſpenſation and Abſolution from the Oath which he had taken to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, without ſo much as demanding the Conſent of our King: For facilitating of which Buſineſs, Letters of Exchange, to the Value of ten thouſand Ducats, were ſent him; as alſo certain Inſtruments for the Pope's Signing, which were; *Firſt*, a Commiſſion, in ample Form, to hear and determine the Cauſe in *England*. *Secondly*, a Decretal, wherein the Pope, upon Probation of Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur* and *Catherine*, ſhould pronounce the Marriage void. *Thirdly*, a Diſpenſation for the King to marry another. *Fourthly*, a Pollicitation, that the Pope will not recal any of theſe Acts: But it was an ill Time for Sir *Gregory* to negotiate with the Pope; he being, as I find by an original Diſpatch of Dr. *Knight*, dated from *Rome*, *Sept.* 13, 1527. ſo aw'd by *Hernando de Alanzon*, that he durſt neither give the ſaid *Knight* a publick Audience, nor ſo much as admit a private Meſſage from him, but by the Intervention of the Cardinal *Piſani*. So that, what Wiſdom or Piety ſoever our King might pretend herein, the Conjuncture certainly was no ways auſpicious. And the rather, becauſe the Pope, during his Impriſonment in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, had been requir'd in the Emperor's Name (as I find by a Diſpatch of Doctor *Knight*'s from *Orvieto*) not to grant any Act concerning the Divorce, nor ſo much as ſuffer the Cauſe to be heard before any Judge in our King's Dominions. I find alſo in the ſame Letter that *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being choſen by the Pope for diſpatching our King's Buſineſſes, had told Doctor *Knight*, that the Commiſſion penned here in *England*, for the Popes ſigning, might not paſs, but that he had minuted another, which the Pope (though with ſome Reluctation) had granted; earneſtly intreating our King nevertheleſs, not to put it in Execution, till the *Spaniards* and *Almains* were gone out of *Italy*, and himſelf left in full Liberty. To confirm which Grant alſo, the ſame Doctor *Knight*, by a Letter, dated *Jan.* 9. 1528. did certify, that the King's Diſpenſation was obtained under Lead, as amply as the Minute ſent from *England* did contain; and the Commiſſion for the Lord Legate likewiſe was granted ſufficiently, though not according to the Form propos'd; and that it was drawn by the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Moreover, he tells, as in the Pope's Name, that if *Monſieur de Lautrech* were come, the Pope thinketh he might, by good Colour, ſay to the Emperor, that he was required by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* to proceed in the Buſineſs. All which Particularities, I have the rather ſet down, that it might appear, how the Difficulties, that the Pope made in this Buſineſs, ſeemed to proceed chiefly from human Conſiderations. Which alſo is much confirmed by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, 13 *Jan.* 1528. where (on the Pope's Part, and in his Name) he ſaith, that if the King's Conſcience be ſatisfied, (which he alone can beſt tell) his Courſe were, That he immediately put his Cauſe to the Iſſue, marry another Wife, follow

his Suit, ſend for a Legate, *&c.* and that this was the only Way for the King to attain his Deſires; though yet he entreated this Advice might be taken as proceeding from the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Simonetta*, and not from himſelf. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politick Advice, ſo would it have prov'd ſafer and eaſier for both, than a Commiſſion for two Legates; which, as it took up more Time on the King's Part, ſo it cauſed a like Danger and Inconvenience to the Pope. Howſoever, it appeared afterwards, that the King, either out of Tenderneſs of Conſcience, or Conſideration of the Hazard he ſhould run, if the Pope would not confirm this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but choſe rather to demand a larger Commiſſion than that which Dr. *Knight* obtained; the procuring whereof alſo he committed to *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to *Wolſey*, and *Edward Fox*, Provoſt of *King's College* in *Cambridge*; not neglecting, in the mean Time, both to inſtruct the Pope in his Cauſe, and do him all the good Offices he could with Chriſtian Princes and States, and particularly the *Venetians*, concerning the Reſtitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it took not ſuch Effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s to the Prothonotary *John Caſalis*, to deſire him to acquaint the Pope with ſome domeſtick and private Paſſages; which, though out of the Reſpect I bear to that virtuous Queen's Memory, I cannot but mention ſomewhat unwillingly; yet muſt not omit, both for the Sake of that Truth that ought to be in Hiſtory, and as it ſeems to contain ſome Motive of the King's Intentions. The Words on the Record are in *Latin*, but tranſlated, run thus: *There are ſome Things to be ſecretly whiſpered to our Lord, and not to be truſted to Letters; for which Reaſons, and on account of certain Diſtempers under which the Queen labours without Remedy, and alſo for a certain Scruple of Conſcience, his Royal Majeſty neither can nor will, for any Time to come, uſe her as his Wife, be the Conſequence what it will.*

Gardiner and *Fox* receiving their Inſtructions in *February* 1528, repaired firſt to *Francis*, from whom they readily obtained a Promiſe to co-operate puiſſantly with the Pope, for effectuating the King's Deſire; as alſo a perſuaſory and menacing Letter in caſe of Refuſal to the Pope; for complying wherewith alſo the Biſhop *Staphylæus* was ſent by him to *Rome* not long after. Our Ambaſſadors having given the King Account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to *Italy*, and coming at laſt to *Orvieto*, where the Pope then was, they found him lodged in an old and ruinous Monaſtery, his outward Chamber altogether unfurniſhed, and his Bed-chamber Hangings, together with his Bed, valued by them as the original Letter hath it, at no more than twenty Nobles. The Pope yet received them lovingly, though not without the Anxiety of one who could neither ſafely grant, nor deny the Requeſt of a King, to whom he ſo much owed whatſoever Liberty he enjoyed. Their Inſtructions for the preſent, were only yet to thank him for the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation granted in this Buſineſs to Dr. *Knight*, and after intruſted to *Gambara*, his Agent here, Succeſſor unto *Melchior Langus*, who was firſt authorized by the Pope to give Queen *Catherine* Notice of this Affair, together with the Pope's ſecret Intention therein. They added

added further, that by *Gambara*, as alſo by Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, our King had gladly underſtood how all Defects, upon due Remonſtrance, ſhould be ſupplied and amended: They were charged alſo from the Cardinal, privately, to proteſt in his Name, that he was no Author of this Counſel: After which they were deſired, by him, to proceed to the Merit of the Cauſe, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman, being, as I take it, Miſtreſs *Bullen*. The perplexed Pope, who knew well how much the *Spaniard* was intereſted herein, heard them at this Time with more Fear, than at another Time he would have granted their Requeſt. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Anſwer, which he gave them by Word of Mouth, he ſent in Cypher, a Letter to our King, of ſo much Irreſolution, that it needed no other Cover. However, as the Commiſſion of our Ambaſſadors was to ſtay till further Order was given, they ſeemed to take all in good Part. At laſt, our able Negotiators urging the aforeſaid, and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the *French* and Confederate Army puiſſant and victorious in the Kingdom of *Naples* at that Time, made no Difficulty to grant a full Commiſſion to two Legates, to hear and determine the Cauſe in *England*, being according to the King's Deſire, *Wolſey* and *Campejus*, not long afterwards made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*.

This while the Queen, who underſtood well what was intended againſt her, laboured with all thoſe Paſſions which Jealouſy of the King's Affection, Senſe of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Concluſion, the whole Fault on the Cardinal, who yet was leſs guilty than the Queen thought, or *Polydore* would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due Regard to his Maſter's Intereſts, ſo nearly concern'd in this great Affair, as well as Care of giving Satisfaction to his Conſcience, which ſeem'd much troubled, he might comply with the King's Deſires; but to be the ſingle Author of a Counſel, which might turn ſo much to his Prejudice, when the King ſhould die, is more than may eaſily be believ'd, of ſo cautious a Perſon as *Woolſey*. And this Innocence, perchance, was the Reaſon that he neither ſuſpected himſelf to be ſo much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to ſtand in that Danger of her Practices; which yet procur'd at laſt his Ruin. The firſt who gave the Cardinal Notice of the Queen's Diſpleaſure, as I find by a Letter of his dated at *Feverſham*, *July* 5, 1527. then in his Journey towards *France*, was the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the Conſequence whereof he ſo much apprehended, that he thought fit to uſe all Means for ſatisfying her. Therefore he preſently labour'd with the Archbiſhop to perſuade the Queen, that whatſoever ſhe heard in this Kind, was intended only for clearing the Surmiſes of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, formerly mention'd. He writ alſo to our Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to quench all Rumours there, upon the ſame Pretext. But the Queen had ſent thoſe Agents abroad, and amongſt them, one *Abel*, her Chaplain, who both inform'd her of all that paſſed, and ingaged the Emperor to aſſiſt her to the uttermoſt of his Power. Therefore the Pope ſtood more and more ſuſpended. The Pace of *Campejus*, the promiſed Legate, alſo appear'd ſtaggering and ſlow, and all that might fruſtrate the King's Intentions, was ſecretly practis'd. Thus while the Cardinal, who out of the King's Deſigns would ever produce and ſubrogate ſome particular End of his own, whereof, either in Point of

Glory or Profit, he might make Advantage, had ſo diſpoſed this of the Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Pope's entire Delivery, not only from the Guards, but even Fear of the Emperor. Again, as during the Pope's Reſtraint, he had, under Pretence that it was the beſt Expedient for the King's propos'd Divorce, projected a meeting of Cardinals at *Avignon*, for ſettling the Government of the Church, where he himſelf intended to be preſent; ſo now ſince the King liked not that Courſe, and that the Pope was free, he perſuaded him to erect ſome Cathedral Churches in *England*, at the Price of throwing down more Monaſteries. Whereby it appears, both how buſy this Cardinal was, and how much he ſtudied his own Ends. For as he knew this would pleaſe the King, who began to think that religious Perſons might ſerve God as well in defending the Kingdom, as praying for it, ſo he aſſur'd himſelf the Authority thereof would be derived on him chiefly, and the Pope, in the mean Time obnoxious; while he could not but fear how far thoſe Innovations might extend. When this Project therefore was mov'd to the Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Caſalis*, *October* 30, 1528. that he anſwer'd gravely, he liked the Deſign well; but that he would proceed deliberately; becauſe it was to eternize the Memory of the Thing. Therefore he deſired the two Legates, for *Campejus* was by this Time come, might be join'd in determining this Buſineſs, and that all the Revenues of the Monaſteries, might be conferred on the new Biſhops; and that the two Legates, having adviſed with the Pope hereof, ſhould afterwards nominate them. So that it ſeem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this Time, ſince *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Inſtructions theſe Words to tell him, that there was a Neceſſity that Monaſteries of ſome certain Order ſhould be ſuppreſſed, for the College of his moſt ſerene Majeſty. In concluſion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of ſome ſmall Monaſteries for maintenance of the King's Colleges in *Cambridge* and *Windſor-Caſtle*: The Copy whereof is Extant in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Library. It may be doubted yet, whether theſe Apprehenſions, that were now, in more than one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the abſolute Authority of the Church of *Rome* did diſpoſe the Pope more to oblige or diſoblige him. For though the Pope had Reaſon to fear, leſt he ſhould loſe his antient Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, if he denied; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that Side, he might offend the Emperor ſo far, as to hazard the Loſs of his own. He therefore at once treats with the Emperor of a perfect Peace and Amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other Deſigns which he had in *Florence*; and grants, as is above ſaid, in appearance a large Commiſſion to *Woolſey* and *Campejus*; Yet in Effect, ſo reſtrain'd, as the Emperor might ſee it was not out of his Power to check or revoke it. And this was all that Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much importunity, could obtain.

They moved the Pope alſo to Canonize *Henry* VI. which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander* VI. by *Henry* VII. to which the Pope anſwer'd, that if the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had examin'd the Matter *in partibus*, did ſend the Proceſs thither, as their Commiſſion required, the Canonization ſhould follow ſhortly after. Buſi-

neſſes

neſſes ſtanding thus, our King thought fit to ſend Sir *Francis Bryan*, Knt. and *Peter Vannes*, an *Italian*, and his Secretary, for the *Latin* Tongue, to *Rome*; their Inſtructions in general, being ſigned with the King's own Hand, were to diſſuade the Pope from entring into any League with the Emperor, whoſe Deſign was, he ſaid, to diveſt the Pope of his Means, and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo* a Cordelier to be Pope, who ſhould not intermeddle with ſecular Juriſdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperor would take to himſelf and uſurp. For preventing whereof, the King wiſhed him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis*'s Name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded alſo, to ſearch privately for a certain pretended *Breve* in *Rome*, ſaid to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius* the Second, and authorizing the Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, ſince it was not to be found in the King's Records. Furthermore they were requir'd to diſcover, in the Name of a third Perſon, whether, if the Queen enter'd a religious Life, the King might have the Pope's Diſpenſation to marry again, and the Children be legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promiſe to enter himſelf into a religious Life, the Pope might not diſpenſe with his Vow, and leave her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can diſpenſe with the King to have two Wives, and the Children of both legitimate? Since great Reaſons and Precedents, eſpecially in the Old Teſtament, appear for it. All which they were to do with that Secreſy and Circumſpection, that the Cauſe might not be publiſhed, propounding the King's Caſe always therefore as another Man's. Laſtly, (as in all other Inſtructions) ſome Kind of Menaces were to be added. But Perſuaſions and Terrors wanted not on the other Side; which did ſo much more prevail with the Pope, as the Danger was more immediate and preſſing on the Emperor's Part, than on our King's. Therefore our Ambaſſadors were ſo far from obtaining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commiſſion to Cardinal *Woolſey*, and *Campejus*, that they found the Pope now more than ever diſpos'd to favour the Emperor. Inſomuch that they obſerved daily new Delays, and Reſtrictions in him. Some whereof, beſides the Evidence in our Records, *Sanders* doth confeſs, while he ſaith, that the Pope, by four ſeveral Meſſengers to *Campejus*, now on his way, gave him in Charge; Firſt, that he ſhould make an eaſy Journey. Secondly, That, when he came to *England*, he ſhould labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen. Thirdly, that if this could not be effected, he ſhould perſuade her to enter a Monaſtery, and take on her a religious Life. Laſtly, that when this could be obtain'd, he ſhould give no definitive Sentence for the Divorce, without expreſs Commandment from him, and this, ſaith he, you ought principally to regard. *Campejus* thus inſtructed, protracts all Things; whereat though our King ſeem'd ſcandaliz'd, as ſuſpecting it came from Unwillingneſs, yet, being an active Prince, he made Uſe of that Time, to negotiate in *Spain* for recovering the *Breve*, of which above, commanding the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Edward Lee*, by all Means to procure it. At length, and not before the beginning of *October*, 1528. *Campejus* coming through *France*, and being conducted

conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clerk*, Biſhop of *Bath*, our King's Ambaſſador there, came to *London*. Where being by our Cardinal preſented to the King, he publickly acknowledged in the Name of the Pope, Cardinal, Clergy, and People of *Rome*, that our King was the City's Deliverer. Shortly after, obtaining Audience of the Queen, he took Occaſion both to acquaint her with her Danger, and to perſuade her thereupon to renounce the World, and enter into ſome religious Life. For which many Pretexts wanted not, as I find in our Records, ſhe having been obſerv'd, ſince the Commiſſion obtain'd, to allow Dancing and Paſtimes more than before. And that her Countenance not only in Court, but to the People, was more chearful than ordinary; whereas, it was alledg'd, ſhe might be more ſad and penſive, conſidering the King's Conſcience was unſatisfied, and that he had refrained her Bed, and was not willing the Lady Princeſs, her Daughter, ſhould come in her Company. But the offended Queen, replying peremptorily, that ſhe was reſolved both to ſtand to that Marriage the *Roman* Church had once allowed; and howſoever, not to admit ſuch partial Judges as they were, to give Sentence in her Cauſe: *Campejus* writes to *Rome*, both to inform the Pope hereof, and to deſire farther Inſtructions. The anſwer whereunto, the Pope yet ſo long deferr'd; that very near ſix Months paſs'd before the two Cardinals ſate in their Commiſſion.

This while, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Lee*, having given the Emperor an Overture of the Divorce, did, by a Letter dated at *Saragoſa*, *April* 5, 1529. return our King this Anſwer, on the Emperor's Part. That he was ſorry to underſtand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King, for the reſt, by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to diſſolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the Buſineſs yet, might be referr'd to *Rome*, or a general Council, and not be decided in *England*. Adding further, that he would defend the Queen's juſt Cauſe. Wherewith, the pretended original Breve was produc'd, and a Tranſcript or Copy thereof, ſign'd by three Biſhops, offer'd them, to ſend to *England*; but the Breve itſelf was denied; for fear, as he ſaid, of miſcarrying. To which our Ambaſſador anſwer'd, that our King was a Prince of that Piety, that he ought not to be adjur'd; and for the Breve, that it was a Jewel belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be detained by any other from them. And for appealing to *Rome*, it needed not; ſince Authority of determining that Buſineſs, was already given from thence to Cardinal *Woolſey* and *Campejus*. Beſides, that in cauſes Matrimonial, the Preſence of the Parties to be examined, being required for the moſt Part, the Emperor might eaſily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen perſonally to go to *Rome*, eſpecially at that Time. After this, the Emperor commanding the Breve to be read, the Ambaſſadors required a Notary to be allowed them, for ſetting down the whole Paſſage of this Buſineſs, together with their Proteſtations. But no Notary but the Emperor's being permitted, the Ambaſſadors were forc'd to accept him, deſiring notwithſtanding their Allegations might be ſet down apart. Hereupon the Emperor told the Ambaſſadors, that he would ſend an expreſs Meſſenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and in Caſe of Refuſal, to proteſt againſt the Divorce. Our Ambaſſadors yet perſiſted

ſiſted ſtill in urging the Emperor, for his own Sake, to ſend the Breve for *England*; leſt the Judges wanting Sight thereof, ſhould proceed againſt the Queen, or otherwiſe, that he would ſend the ſaid Breve to the Pope. The Emperor replied, that therefore he would not ſend it. For if it miſcarried, the Judges might then proceed as they would; but for ſending it to the Pope he would adviſe. And that, if Matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to ſend it to *England*. By a Letter alſo, the twentieth of *April*, 1529. they certify the King, that the Emperor intended to ſend both to *England* and *Rome*, to make his Proteſtations againſt this Divorce; and that he would not ſend the original Breve. Furthermore, that he required our King, according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon *Francis*, as a Diſturber of the publick Peace. Laſtly, becauſe the ſaid Ambaſſadors had heard, and conſider'd at large the Breve, they ſent their Objections againſt it. Which being one of the Grounds of the King's Proceeding in this great Affair, I have thought fit punctually to ſet down, as they are Extant in the original Letter, written in a Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it decypher'd in our Records.

That where it is pretended, the Bull and the Breve to be impetrate in one Day, either they were impetrate in one Suit, and by one Man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this Suit, being of ſo great Importance, was committed to ſuch a one, as could perceive, that the Bull, not containing ſo large Diſpenſation as the Breve, is ſuperfluous, ſuppoſing the Breve to be Neceſſary. If the one were impetrate after the other, and the Suits made by one Man, it is hard to think that one Man, being inſtructed in the Suit for both, would put the Diſpenſation of leſs Moment in a Bull, and of greater Moment in a Breve, ſeeing the one might be as facilly impetrate as the other, and that the Diſpenſation in Lead is more durable to remain; and that the two Kings were bound to impetrate Bulls and not Breves, whereof he or they that had ſuch Commiſſion, as it ſeemeth, could not be Ignorant. And if theſe Suits were made by divers Perſons, and by ſeveral Commiſſions, there is no Reaſon can be alledged, the Impetration being in one Day, why to two ſeveral Perſons ſeveral Commiſſions ſhould be given herein, the thing requiring no haſte, the Marriage following five or ſix Years after; but more likely it is, if the Breve were then obtained indeed, that it was procured by ſecret Practices not known to all Parties, whoſe Intereſt it was to have known and conſented: for both the Parties conſenting, I think there can be no ſufficient Cauſe alledged, why, the thing being done by common Conſent, the Breve rather than the Bull ſhould have larger Diſpenſation; for what needed two divers Suits, with divers Commiſſions, if both the Parties were agreed upon the Suits? Eſpecially the Impetration of both being in one Day.

Secondly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter *Abel* ſaith, the Queen to have ſworn, that ſhe was never known by Prince *Arthur*, the Cauſe of the Impetration for ſo much is vain; namely, that the Queen ſhould, by carnal Conjunction, have conſummated Matrimony with Prince *Arthur*. If this be true, it appeareth that he that ſued the Breve had no Commiſſion of the Parties, for they would not give him Commiſſion to impetrate Diſpenſation for Cauſe not true.

Thirdly, ſuppoſing to be true, that Maſter

Maſter *Abel* ſaith to me, that the Queen never heard of ſuch Breve, before the Emperor's Orators there preſented it to her; how can it ſtand, that is reported in the Breve, that the Breve was obtained at the Inſtance of the Queen.

Fourthly, if your Highneſs had made Inſtance and Supplication for the ſame Breve, it is not to be thought that it ſhould be ſo far out of your Remembrance, the Cauſes of Impetration being ſuch, as your Highneſs might and could anon, reduce it to the ſame.

Fifthly, if it were impetrate at the Inſtance of your Highneſs, and of the Queen's Grace, no Cauſe is why it ſhould be ſent into *Spain* to King *Fernando*, as the Emperor's Folks firſt ſaid, but now ſwerve, and not to your Highneſs, and the Queen's Grace. If any will ſuppoſe that it was done by your Conſent, no Reaſon agreeth why you ſhould conſent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own Hands, than ſend it to the Cuſtody of another. And yet, if you did conſent, it cannot be thought, but that it ſhould remain in your Remembrance, as the Firmity of your Marriage, and Diſcharge of your Conſcience, with other Things, touching highly your Succeſſion, ſtanding therein; and it may be ſuppoſed moreover, that ſome Writing of the Depoſite thereof ſhould remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, conſidering that the King of moſt noble Memory, your Father then alive, your Highneſs not being at the Date of the Breve paſt fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age, *for ſo the Cipher is; tho' as King* Henry *was then but twelve, and ſomething more, I conceive thoſe Figures were Ciphers only, ſignifying his true Age: unleſs perchance the Cipherer or Decypher did otherwiſe miſtake it:* It may be well ſuppoſed that your Highneſs was not then much to ſollicite the Impetration of ſuch Things. And that, if any ſuch Breve ſhould have been impetrate, that Time, that rather it ſhould have been done at the Inſtance of the King your Father, than of your Highneſs. And although then it might have been impetrate in your Highneſs's Name, yet it could not have been done there without Knowledge and Conſent of the King your Father, and alſo at his ſetting forth. And, if any his Intervention and Conſent had been in this Matter, he would not have bound King *Fernando*, and likewiſe have been bound himſelf, to get Bulls of Diſpenſation. And ſurely it may be thought that, if the King your Father conſented, Don *Fernando* of *Spain* did the ſame, ſo that it cannot be doubted, but that as they ſay here they have two Bulls reſerved in their Archives, ſo ſhould alſo this Breve have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, nor any ſuch is found in your Highneſs's Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckon'd, that there was no ſuch obtained by the conſent of the King your Father.

And ſo Seventhly, maketh the Breve ſuſpect, that the Emperor's Folks firſt ſaid, that it was found in the Archievs of the Kings of *Spain*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinal's Graces Letters, and now forgetting themſelves, the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perinot* have confeſſed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor *de Puebla*, who was Orator of *Spain*, in *England*, in the King's Days of moſt noble Memory your Father. Which Contrariety maketh to appear that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Dr. *Puebla*'s being there, I have written in our common Letters the fifth

fifth of *April*, and now do again; by whom peradventure ſome light might be had.

Eighthly, whoſo conſidereth the high renowned Wiſdom of the King your ſaid Father, and his great ſage Council, Men of ſingular Wiſdom and Learning for all Purpoſes, may well conceive, that or ever any Diſpenſation for Marriage to be had between your Highneſs and the Queen were ſent for, that her Grace was examined whether ſhe was known by Prince *Arthur* or not? And that if ſhe had confeſſed, that the two Kings would have provided therefore a Diſpenſation in the Bull, as they were Bound. And on the other Side, if ſhe had denied that ſhe was known, there was no need of a Brief, *&c.* And for the ſecond Part of the Breve, I cannot ſuppoſe that your Highneſs, in that Time which the Date of the Breve pretendeth, your Highneſs being then not much more than twelve or fifteen Years of Age, and the King your Father living, need any Diſpenſation in that Party. And if none needed then, why ſhould your Highneſs then make Inſtance for any, which is ſuppoſed in the Breve?

Ninthly, if this Breve were impetrate in the Days of Doctor *de Puebla*; the being thereof ſo long in his Hands, and the manner of keeping of the ſame, giveth new Conjecture that it is a thing caſſat; for the thing being of ſo much Importance, touching ſo nigh your Highneſs and the Queen, why ſhould he keep it; eſpecially ſo long? for he lived in *England* after the Date of the Breve, five or ſix Years, and died there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that ſuch a King, and ſuch a Council, would have ſuffered the Breve to be out of their Hands, in his Hands, all at that Time, if the Breve had been known to them neceſſary for this Matrimony, and of any Value? And, as I ſaid, the manner of keeping thereof ſeemeth to confirm the ſame; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two Things; one, that it was not kept in a Caſe of Tin, after the Manner of Breves; for only in a Paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that in the Superſcription it appeared ſlubbered, by Reaſon of often handling, peradventure lying among ſo many of his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, altho' it were then impetrate, yet it ſeemeth that he took it as caſſat and void, peradventure as ſurreptitiouſly obtained of his own Head, without any Commiſſion or Conſent of the Parties.

Tenthly, another Suſpicion is, that altho' the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perenot* ſay, they have divers Letters and Writings of the ſaid *Puebla*'s, concerning both the firſt Marriage, and ſecond of the Queens; yet, becauſe they uttered not that they have any thing ſpecially concerning this Breve, which they would not have forgotten to ſay, for ſo much as it maketh for their purpoſe, if there had been any ſuch, moved upon that Suſpicion, I demanded of them, and divers Times to the ſame, whether they had any ſpecial Letters concerning the Breve? They could not, neither did ſay that they had; but the Emperor's Chancellor anſwered, that the Breve was enough. Whereupon may be gathered, that his Anſwer implyed, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, if any ſuch Breve were impetrate at that Time, by the Knowledge and Conſent of both the Kings, likely is, that either of them ſhould have one. Let them then here bring forth the Breve out of their Archives. If they will ſay, this is it; what likelihood is it,

that it ſhould be ſent into *England*, to come into *Spain*? For this Breve, if it were in Dr. *de Puebla*'s Cuſtody, came out of *England* after his Death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there, if he confeſs that it was found amongſt other his Uncle's Writings, will alſo confeſs. I ſay, why was it ſent into *England*? It is not to be doubted, but Don *Fernando* had an Ambaſſador in the Court of *Rome*, which might eaſier and a nearer Way have ſent it into *Spain*. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any ſuch Breve, their Diligence in Cuſtody of ſuch Things ſuppoſed, and well deprehended in the Cuſtody of two Bulls, for ſome of the Secretaries ſaid to me that they have two, they may, of this gather, themſelves, that there is no ſuch, nor any other where, of any Effect and Value.

The Twelfth Suſpicion againſt the Breve is in itſelf; that, whenſoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gathered of divers Things in the ſame, and about the ſame; the Hand of ſome Learner, and not of one exercis'd in Writing of ſuch Things; and ſome defaults in the Writing; ſuch, as my Lord of *Worceſter* ſaith, he hath not ſeen committed in any Breve. And, as he truſteth to prove, the Date ſhall utterly condemn the Breve. And theſe Exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the ſame Ambaſſadors to the Cardinal: Firſt, that there were Raſures in it. Secondly, divers Hands. Thirdly, Names falſe written, as *Artherus pro Arthurus*. Fourthly, the Date falſe; as being *December* 26, 1503. which, according to the Date of Breves, beginning *December* 25, was almoſt a Year before *Julius* II. was Pope. It was obſerved, likewiſe that the Seal ſwell'd in the middle, and appear'd like ſome old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of theſe Diſpatches of thoſe able Negotiators the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Edward Lee* the King's Almoner; who, ſending the Tranſumpt of the Breve to the King, *April* 23. by a Letter the 12th of *June* following, alſo certified our King of the ſending of *Gonzales Fernando*, the Emperor's Chaplain to the Earl of *Deſmond* in *Ireland*, which hath Relation to that I have formerly ſaid of him, together with the return of a Chaplain of the ſaid Earl's in his Company; the Emperor ſeeming to take this intended Divorce ſo much to Heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealouſy. Shortly after which, I find alſo the Biſhop of *Worceſter* repealed.

This while, the common People, who with much Anxiety attended the Succeſs of this great Affair, ſeem'd, betwixt Pity to Queen *Katharine*, and Envy to *Anne Bullen*, now appearing to be in the King's Favour, to caſt out ſome murmuring and ſeditious Words; which being brought to the King's Ears, he thought fit to proteſt publickly in an Aſſembly of Lords, Judges, *&c.* call'd to his Palace of *Bridewel*; that nothing but Deſire of giving Satisfaction to his Conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion to the Crown in a right and undoubted Line, had firſt procur'd him to controvert this Marriage; being, for the reſt, as happy in the Affection and Virtues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirm which alſo, he cauſed *Anne Bullen* to depart the Court, in ſuch an abrupt and diſcontented Faſhion, that ſhe determin'd to abſent her ſelf altogether. Neither could ſhe be induced, as *Sanders* hath it, to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded, not without Threats, to bring her thither.

thither. Who by repreſenting the common Danger to them both, obtained at length, though not without much Difficulty, the Conſent of his unwilling Daughter to return; where yet ſhe kept that Diſtance, that the King might eaſily perceive how ſenſible ſhe was of her late Diſmiſſion.

It was now mid-*May* 1529. when our King underſtanding how the Pope intended a ſtrict League with the Emperor, and judging wiſely alſo, that *Francis*, upon the reſtoring of his Children, might eaſily be drawn from him, did reſolve, without relying any longer on either of their Promiſes, to take the beſt Courſe he could, for giving a Concluſion to this Buſineſs. And the rather, in that Matters ſeem'd daily more and more indiſpos'd for that Concluſion he deſir'd. For tho' *Campejus*, according to the Order he had from the Pope, as I find by a Diſpatch of *John Caſalis*, dated *December* 17, 1528. did both perſuade the Queen to a Divorce, and diſſuade the King from it, as having either way the End he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would he, as I find in the ſame Diſpatch, let go out of his Hand the decretal Bull mentioned before, being the abſolute Deciſion of the Cauſe, the Diſpenſation being relative to the Queen's entring into Religion, or other Diſſolution of the Marriage; in Regard (as the Pope pretended) it was got by the Importunity of Cardinal *Woolſey*, with Intention that it ſhould be ſhewed to the King and Cardinal only, as an Arrha or Token of his good Will, and afterwards burnt; proteſting nevertheleſs to the ſaid *Caſalis*, that he deſired the Cardinals ſhould proceed according to their Commiſſion, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* ſhould by no Means be ſhewed to any of the King's Counſellors, or other Perſon whatſoever, tho' upon Oath of Secrecy; it being ſufficient that the King and Cardinal had ſeen it already in *Campejus*'s Hand. How our King yet was ſatisfied with this Evaſion of the Pope's, appears not to me by any Record, more than that he ſtill ſolicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publickly. Howbeit the Pope, who had far other Thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* Secretly, as well from all his Cardinals; as fearing leſt the Emperor ſhould call him to a Council for it. For the more Caution, taking order that the Memory of it ſhould be razed out of all his Archives. And, not ſtaying here, as I find by our Records, he commanded one *Franciſco Campana*, his Servant, into *England*, on pretence to confer with the King and Cardinal, but indeed to charge *Campejus* to burn the Decretal. For colouring of all which, he finally objected to our King, that he had not kept Promiſe with him, about the Reſtitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all theſe Difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the Fear which he had of the Emperor, ſends to Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a thouſand or two thouſand Men, to be kept at the Coſt of the *French* King and his, whereof the *Comte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis* ſhould be Captains; and, in the mean while, that a general Peace ſhould be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperor put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince; or that he thought them too ſlender to defend him; or that it would argue Partiality to do any thing on theſe Terms; or that otherwiſe he had made his private Peace with the Em-

peror, which certainly was the Truth; I do not find the Pope accepted this Offer. Howſoever, he ſeemed ſtill to fear the Emperor; inſomuch, that, by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, dated *January* 3, 1529. I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a general Peace, eſpecially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, which alſo followed at *Cambray* this Year, declar'd to Cardinal *Woolſey*, he thought it neceſſary to go himſelf in Perſon into *Spain*, and that Cardinal *Woolſey* ſhould go along with him; not yet as Pope and Cardinal, but as two Legates, or Ambaſſadors, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey, if at leaſt it were really intended, was interrupted by the Sickneſs of the Pope, which was thought ſo deſperate, that our Cardinal *February* 7. wrote to *Stephen Gardiner*, then at *Rome*, that, by all Means, he ſhould procure the Papacy for him, being, as Affairs then ſtood, the moſt indifferent and equal that could be found in *Chriſtendom*. To which Purpoſe alſo, beſides our King's Recommendations, the Cardinal had obtained the *French* King's Letters, written with ſo much Earneſtneſs for him, that tho' the Convaleſcence of the Pope did fruſtrate this Deſign, *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wiſhed to keep the Letter at all Events. I find alſo, Order was given, that if *Woolſey* could not be choſen, the Cardinals which were for him, being a third part of the whole Number, ſhould put in a Proteſtation, and departing the Conclave, ſhould in ſome ſecure Place proceed to an Election, notwithſtanding any to be made at *Rome*. But, whether the Pope having Notice of this untimely Ambition of our Cardinal, were now offended with him, or that otherwiſe his Ingagement to the *Spaniard*, whereof, in a Diſpatch from the Pope to the Emperor *July* 21, 1528. that came to our King's Hands, there is mention, did hold him off; I find after this Time the Pope more averſe than ever. Therefore, notwithſtanding a Deſign of his, that Cardinal *Woolſey* and *Campejus*, having finiſhed the Buſineſs of the Divorce, ſhould afterwards go to conclude an univerſal Peace, yet all that paſt in this Affair afterwards, on his Part, was little more than Illuſion. Which Sir *Francis Bryan* diſcovering, in a Diſpatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to be done; which our King alſo believing, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his Sollicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the *Lutherans* in vain oppoſing it, to have perſuaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, uſeth more than one Menace; tho' ſo much in vain, that, for a Concluſion, he adviſed our King to proceed upon the Commiſſion given to the Legates, the Pope being, as he alledged *April* 21, 1529. ſo aw'd by the *Ceſareans*, as he had rather ſuffer much in anothers Name, than do any thing in his own. To incourage him the more alſo, *Gardiner* calls the Breve falſe and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Regiſters at *Rome*. Moreover, for ſeconding this Advice, *Gardiner*, by another Letter *May* 4. ſays there was danger of recalling the Commiſſion given to *Woolſey* and *Campejus*; which was confirmed by divers other Letters from our Agents. Whereof *Gregory Caſalis*, in a Diſpatch *June* 13. following, gives a Reaſon, in theſe Words of the Pope; who, being at that Time more ſlackly relieved from the Confederates than he thought, and divers of his Subjects, for the reſt, in Arms againſt him, ſaid that he had rather run all Hazards, and ſerve

Cæſar

Cæſar in his Stable, than ſuffer the Injuries of the Multitude, Subjects, and rebellious Vaſſals. The Remedy whereof he expected only from the Emperor. So that not only Fear, but even Hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one Reaſon, encline to the Emperor. Our King alſo, being well inform'd hereof by certain excuſatory Letters from *Rome*, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and Emperor, (whereof there ſhall be mention) was already upon Term of Concluſion, and an Interview appointed; gave order firſt to recal *Gardiner* and *Bryan*; yet ſo as he neglected not, at the ſame Time, to ſend *William Bennet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, to hinder the Advocation of the Cauſe; whereof he was ſo Jealous, that he intercepted not only thoſe Diſpatches which were ſent to *Rome* from *Campejus*, or any elſe, but even thoſe intelligences which Queen *Katharine* ſhould give to her Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*. So that now our King, finding his Conſcience unſatisfied, his Nobility in Suſpence, and the People murmuring at theſe Procraſtinations in an Affair that ſo much concern'd the Succeſſion, charged the two Cardinals to proceed; as being ſatisfied by a particular Diſcuſſion of this Buſineſs before Archbiſhop *Warham*, and divers the learned'ſt Men of both Univerſities, at *Lambeth*, that his Cauſe was fair.

And now publick Notice of a ſolemn hearing being given, the Court was appointed to ſit; the Queen chuſing Archbiſhop *Warham* and *Nicholas Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law, and *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Doctors of Divinity, her Counſel, *&c.* according to the Permiſſion the King gave her in that Behalf. The Paſſages whereof, out of an antient and authentick Record in Parchment, ſubſcribed by the three Notaries, uſed in this Buſineſs and remaining in the Cuſtody of that great Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Knt. I ſhall ſet down, with as much particularity, as the Context of my Hiſtory will ſuffer.

The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cauſe, was a great Hall in *Black-Fryers*, in *London*, commonly call'd the *Parliament-Chamber*. The Time, the thirty-firſt of *May* 1529. The Judges, the two Cardinals above-mention'd.

After the Commiſſion was read, our Chronicles ſay, the King was call'd, and appear'd perſonally in Court, at whoſe Feet the Queen proſtrated herſelf, demanding Juſtice, Right, and Pity, *&c.* But now to come to the authentick Record. I find the King and Queen were by Biſhop *Longland*, the King's Confeſſor, cited to appear upon *June* 18. next enſuing. The King, for obſerving his Time, gave *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of his Chapel, and *John Bell*, Doctor of Decrees, a Commiſſion ſealed in green Wax, and dated at *Greenwich*, *June* 15. by which he conſtituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuſe or accept the Court and Judgment of the two Cardinals, and if need were to Appeal; allowing them alſo to ſubſtitute other Proctors; binding himſelf finally *ſub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum*, to ratify what they ſhould do. But the Queen, uſing a ſhorter Way, appear'd in Perſon, proteſting yet againſt the Cardinals, as incompetent Judges; requiring further, that this her Proteſtation might be recorded, and ſo departed preſently out of the Court. This while the Cardinals, who took into their Commiſſion *John Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Clark*, Biſhop

Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Iſlip*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; and Doctor *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls, ſent unto the Queen Letters Monitory, declaring, if ſhe appear'd not, they would, notwithſtanding, proceed to execute their Commiſſion; for which Purpoſe the above-mentioned Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was employed, but ſhe refuſing, is pronounced Contumacious.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legates, againſt our King and Queen *Catherine*, the principal Subſtance whereof was, that Prince *Arthur* did marry and carnally know Queen *Catherine*, confirming alſo this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his Death. After which, King *Henry* being his Brother, did marry the ſaid Lady *Catherine*, *Anno Dom.* 1509, in the Face of the Church, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet, being as well *Divino* as *Eccleſiaſtico jure* prohibited, and, unleſs it may be otherways made good, to be reputed in itſelf altogether null and void, had cauſed huge Scandal, both in the Clergy and People of *England*, and of many other Places; inſomuch, that it hath come to the Pope's Ears; who taking Notice hereof, gave Commiſſion to thoſe Cardinals to hear and proceed in this Buſineſs, according to the Importance of it.

This being done, the Queen is cited a ſecond time to appear, which ſhe refuſing, is pronounced again Contumacious. This hindred not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Dr. *Taylor*, Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, to examine the Witneſſes; while themſelves, calling for the Diſpenſations that were alledged in favour of this Marriage, a certain *Bull* and *Breve* were exhibited.

The *Bull* being under Lead, after the Manner of the *Roman* Court, was an Original, but the *Breve* was only a Copy ſubſcrib'd and ſign'd with the Hand of *Juan Vergara*, a Canon of *Toledo*, and Publick Notary, *authoritate Apoſtolica*; and with the Seals of *Balthazar Caſtiglione*, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Reverend Father in God *Alfonſus de Fonſeca*, Arch Biſhop of *Toledo*.

Againſt theſe Diſpenſations, the following Objections were uſed.

1. THAT the Peace and Unity betwixt *England* and *Spain* was firm, before the granting of the Diſpenſation, which yet was alledged as a Cauſe.

2. That the ſaid Diſpenſation, as being grounded on this Pretext, muſt be held ſurreptitious, *Henry* 8. being then not above thirteen, and conſequently unable for Marriage; which alſo, if the Pope had known before-hand, or that otherwiſe it had been repreſented to him, he would not have eaſily granted any ſuch Diſpenſation.

3. Becauſe it was pretended that *Henry* 8. had deſired the Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms; whereas, being then not above thirteen, he muſt be thought uncapable of ſuch Thoughts.

4. That tho' this Diſpenſation might once be thought to have his Force and Virtue, yet ſeeing the Motive of granting it was grounded upon the abovementioned Peace; and that one of the ſaid Princes died before the Solemnizing of the ſaid Marriage, the Cauſe of the Diſpenſation muſt be held void.

5. That, ſuppoſing the Objection of Affinity were taken away by Virtue of the ſaid Diſpenſation, yet the Objection *de publica honeſtate* was not cleared.

6. That the *Breve* above-mentioned appears, by the Tenor of it, to contain many Falſhoods and Suſpicions; and particularly

tieularly that the Style, Inditing, as alſo many Clauſes and Circumſtances differ from the *Bull*, ſo that it may be thought forged ſince the Time of the Queſtions moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them together may be manifeſtly gathered.

This alſo was urged by theſe Reaſons:

1. That in the Regiſter-Book of the Breves at *Rome*, no ſuch Breve is found, or any Argument that ſuch a Breve was made.

2. That likewiſe, neither in the *Chartophylacio*, or Paper-chamber of the King, no ſuch Breve is extant, nor otherways, in the private Treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made hereof.

3. That in the Date of the ſaid Breve, as it is exemplified, the Year of our Lord is diſcrepant from the vulgar Account: For whereas the Style of the Court of *Rome* begins always from the Nativity of our Lord, this ſeems to be a Year before *Julius* was made Pope.

All which Objections were delivered to the King's Proctor, that he might anſwer to them.

Whereupon Witneſſes being ſummon'd to appear *July* 12, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*; *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*; *Thomas*, Marquis *Dorſet*; *George*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*; *Thomas*, Viſcount *Rochfort*; *Robert*, Viſcount *Fitzwater*; *John*, Biſhop of *Carlile*; Sir *David Owen*, Sir *John Huſſey*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, Knts. with divers others, preſented themſelves to be examined by the Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*, above-mentioned.

In the mean while theſe two Articles were added to the former, as ſerving to ſtrengthen the Objections above-mentioned.

1. That the Year for Popes Breves begins *December* 26, and the Year for Bulls the 25th of *March*.

2. That in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdom of *England*, the Form hath been in Words, *De præſenti, ego accipio, &c.*

Buſineſſes being thus ripe for Examination of Witneſſes, the Depoſitions of two antient Ladies, who excuſed themſelves by their Infirmity from appearing in Perſon, were publickly read.

1. The firſt being *Mary*, Counteſs of *Eſſex*, ſaid little, but in general Terms.

2. But *Agnes*, the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who was preſent at the Marriage at St. *Paul*'s, in *London*, declared the Age of Prince *Arthur* at the Time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about fifteen; and moreover did poſitively affirm, that ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catherine* alone in Bed together, the next Night after their Marrige. Which therefore, as alſo a following Depoſition of the Viſcounteſs *Fitzwater*, may ſerve to anſwer *Saunders* his Tale, where he ſaith a grave Matron was put into the ſame Bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her carnally.

3. *George*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, depoſed, the Marriage was celebrated at St. *Paul*'s, *Decimo ſeptimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501, adding further, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter*, *ſecundo Henrici ſeptimi*: And that he believed the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able ſo to do, as alſo becauſe himſelf knew his Wife being not ſixteen.

4. *William Warham*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being examined, proteſts not to reveal any Secrets of the Queen, as being her ſworn Counſellor. For the reſt, as he anſwered warily to the Queſtions propounded him concerning the Validity of the Match, inſomuch that he referr'd himſelf therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; ſo

yet

yet he made no Difficulty to confeſs that he approv'd it not at firſt; which alſo he declar'd, not only in a Conteſtation which he had with *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who perſuaded it, but in certain Words to King *Henry* VIIth himſelf, whom he told plainly, that the Marriage ſeem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleaſing to God. Adding further, that becauſe the ſaid King *Henry* VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage; that he the ſaid Deponent intreated him to perſuade his Son Prince *Henry*, to proteſt that he would not take the Lady *Catherine* to Wife, and that he ſhould renew this Proteſtation when he came to the Crown; which alſo he the ſaid Deponent believeth was made. Notwithſtanding, that when the Bull of Diſpenſation was granted, that he the ſaid Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the Murmuring of the People, on that Occaſion, was quieted; 'till the King's Conſcience being troubled, revived it again.

5. Sir *William Thomas*, Knt. depoſed, Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catherine* lived five Months, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in Houſhold together as Man and Wife; and that he heard Sir *William Wodal*, who was at the Prince's Chriſtning, ſay, that he was above fifteen at the Time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Catherine* elder.

6. Sir *Anthony Poynes*, Knt. depoſed, that Prince *Arthur* was above fifteen at the Time of his Marriage.

7. *Thomas*, Marquis *Dorſet*, depoſed, he ſaw a Regiſter of the Nativity of the King's Children, by which he found the Prince born the 20th of *September*, 1586. and, that at the Time of his Marriage, which was upon a *Sunday* in *November*, *Decimo ſeptimo Henrici ſeptimi*. He was of a good and ſanguine Complexion, and able, as he ſuppos'd, for that Purpoſe.

8. *Robert*, Viſcount *Fitzwater*, depoſed, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen *Catherine* elder; and that, the next Day after being in Bed together, which he remembred, after they entred to have been ſolemnly bleſs'd, he waited at Breakfaſt on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice* St. *John* did carve, and he, the Lord *Fitzwater*, gave Drink; at which Time the ſaid *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how he had done that Night? The Prince anſwered, I have been in *Spain* this Night.

9, 10, 11. *Thomas*, Lord *Darcy*, *William*, Lord *Montejoy*, and *Henry Guldeford*, Knight of the Garter, ſaid little but by Way of publick Report.

12. *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, depoſed, that he was in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace the Morrow next following the Day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfaſt; confirming moreover in Effect, the Words of *Maurice* St. *John*, before ſet down. Furthermore he added, that the *Shrovetide* following the Marriage, which was in *November* preceding, the ſaid Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in Body; which grew, as the ſaid *St. John* related, by reaſon the ſaid Prince lay with the Lady *Catherine*.

13. *David Owen* depoſed, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter*, *ſecundo Henrici ſeptimi*; which he knew, becauſe he was at the Chriſtning.

14. *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, depoſed, that he being the Day of the Marriage in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and the Morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfaſt, heard the Prince's Words to *Maurice* St. *John*, when he ſaid he had been that Night in the midſt of *Spain*; by which Words,

as alſo becauſe Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion, and Nature, and above fifteen, he believes that he carnally knew his Lady; becauſe himſelf alſo at the ſame Age did carnally know and uſe; and he believes this the rather, that he heard from credible Perſons, that the ſaid Prince *Arthur* did lie with the ſaid Lady *Katharine* five or ſix Nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knt. depoſed, that being, the Morrow after the Marriage, in the Princes Privy Chamber, the ſaid Prince ſpake afore divers Witneſſes theſe Words, *Willoughby*, give me a Cup of Ale, for I have been this Night in the midſt of *Spain*; after which he ſaid; Maſters, it is a good Paſtime to have a Wife, which Words he repeated alſo divers other Times. Moreover, he heard ſay they lay at *Ludlow* together the Shrovetide next following.

16. *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely* ſaid, he could depoſe nothing concerning the carnal Knowledge, but that he doubted of it, becauſe the Queen often calling her Conſcience to witneſs, ſaid to this Deponent, that ſhe was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, tho' otherwiſe he muſt confeſs them both to be of lawful Age at the Time of their Marriage. He doubted further, whether the Cardinals were competent Judges, an Appeal being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverel*, Knight, depoſed, the People ſaid commonly, that it was unfit one Brother ſhould marry the other Brother's Wife.

18. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rochefort*, depoſed, that he heard divers of Prince *Arthur*'s Followers confirm the Words he uſed, of his having been in *Spain* the Night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard ſay, that King *Henry* VIII. was perſwaded by his Confeſſor, about two Years ſince, to abſtain from the Bed of the Lady *Katharine*, leſt he ſhould offend his Conſcience.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *John Huſſey*, Knights, depos'd the Age of King *Henry* VIII. was thirty-eight upon the Eve of the Feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* laſt; which Viſcount *Rochefort* alſo confirm'd, ſaying the Place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the Year was 1491. and Day the twenty-eighth of *June*, which *Robert* Viſcount *Fitz-water* confirmed alſo, adding, that King *Henry* VII. died two Days before the Feaſt of St. *George*, twenty Years ſince; with whom *David Owen*, Servant and Counſellor to King *Henry* VII. agreed, ſave only, that he ſaid it was three Days before the Feaſt.

24. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* depoſed, that *Pedro de Ayala* or *Allea*, and Doctor *de Puebla*, Embaſſadors from *Spain*, were much in Favour heretofore with *Henry* VII. and that *Henry* VII. died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Henry*, and the Princeſs *Katharine*, and Queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* her Mother died alſo before that Time.

25. *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Counſellor to *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. for thirty-ſix Years laſt paſt, depoſed, that he conceived *Henry* the Eighth to be under thirteen, at the time of Diſpenſation granted; becauſe King *Henry* his Father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent replied to the King, that any Proteſtation he ſhould then make would be of no Force, and therefore he ſhould make it again one or two Days after his coming to Years of Puberty.

26, 27. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, examined again, ſaid little but what was formerly ſet down.

28. *Pedro Mates*, Doctor of both Laws, Native of *Barcelona* in *Spain*,

who had lived in the Court of *Rome* thirty Years, as a Pleader, depoſed, that the Date of Years there is computed after three divers Manners: So that Judgments, Contracts, and laſt Wills bear date from the Nativity 25th of *December*; Apoſtolick Letters under Lead, *March* 25. Apoſtolick Letters by Brief, under the Fiſherman's Ring, with the Impreſſion of red Wax, are written ſimply and abſolutely, without mentioning our Lord or his Nativity, or the Incarnation, but only *Anno* M. D, &c. Yet ſo that he conceived it began always from the Nativity, namely, *December* 25, neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Pope's Secretary alter the Stile.

29. *Nicholaus Ruſtious* of *Lucca* in *Italy*, ſaith, that *Annus Domni in Brevibus Apoſtolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. *Thomas* Viſcount *Rochefort*, *Henry Guilford* Knt. *Thomas* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William Falke Notarius publicus*, *John Taverner*, and *John Clamport*, being examined, depoſed, that the Forms of Marriages are always *in verbis de præſenti*, in *England*.

37. The Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife to Viſcount *Fitzwater*, depoſed, that ſhe ſaw the Lady *Katherine* and Prince *Arthur* in Bed together, which was bleſt, and that ſhe left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depoſitions were publiſhed, and the King's Proctor ſummoned to receive thoſe Acts and Writings he delivered into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounced Contumacious.

The Commiſſioners yet proceeded to require the Sight of the *Archiva* and Record concerning this Buſineſs, for which Pupoſe *Thomas Wriotheſly*, and *Thomas Tong*, King of Arms, had been employed; Theſe Men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Caſtle of *Ludlow* the ſecond of *April*, 1502, and that his Brother *Henry* was born the 28th of *June* 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine* was the 14th of *November* 1501.

This being done, a Depoſition of *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, taken by Doctor *Woolman*, *April* 5, and 6. 1527. was read. The moſt ſubſtantial Part whereof was, that he conceived, Dr. *Puebla* did firſt motion this Match, and that more than one Bull was imparted for diſpenſing therewith, whereof two remained in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the ſame Tenor, and gotten without asking the Conſent of *Henry* VIII. Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry* VIII, when he came to Age, did expreſly conſent to, or diſſent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Proteſtation was made in the Name of *Henry* VIII. to this Effect; That notwithſtanding any Contract or Tokens mutually ſent, or Cohabitation in the Houſe of King *Henry* VII. he would not hold himſelf bound to ratify this Act done in his Non-age. Furthermore, that upon Conference had betwixt *Henry* VII. and himſelf, he found it was the Intention of that King, that his Son *Henry* ſhould Marry the ſaid Lady *Katharine*, altho' he deferred the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by Reaſon of ſome Diſcord which was at that Time betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, for the calling back of the Dowry. He added Moreover, that King *Henry* intended not, that he knew, to marry the Mother of *Charles* V. but his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

This Examination being compleat, and ſet down by *Andrew Smith* Notary, the ſaid

ſaid Dr. *Woolman* required him to ſubſcribe his Hand; which was refuſed by the ſaid Biſhop, both becauſe he was Blind of both Eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counſel or Advice about it. But Dr. *Woolman* preſſing him on the King's Part, that he ſhould ſubſcribe his Name, he at laſt aſſented, out of the Reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contravened him in any thing. Whereupon he ſubſcribed his Name *April* 8. the Year above-mention'd, being 1527.

Nicholas Weſt, Biſhop of *Ely*, in Preſence of the Commiſſioners, acknowledged and confeſſed that a Proteſtation made by *Henry* was ſubſcribed with his own Hand. Whereupon the Commiſſioners, in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did in the Preſence of the above-mention'd Proctor, continue and prorogue the Court, till *Friday* next following, warning the ſaid Proctor alſo to be there. Upon which Day, being the twenty-third of *July*, the Court being ſet, the Promoter above mentioned ſignified unto the Commiſſioners, that all that was requiſite for the Inſtruction and Information of their Underſtanding and Conſciences, had been judicially propoſed and exhibited to them, and remained in their Cuſtody, and that therefore this Day was aſſigned, and appointed for concluding the Buſineſs. Notwithſtanding becauſe Cardinal *Campejus* alledged and proteſted on the Word of a true Prelate, that a certain general Vacation, which he termed the Feaſt of Harveſt, and Vintage, was obſerv'd in the Court of *Rome* every Year, before the ſaid *Friday*; and becauſe he and his Collegue were bound to follow the Stile of the ſaid Court in the Proceſs of the above-mention'd Cauſe; therefore the ſaid Judges, in the Preſence of the King's Proctor, and on the Queen's Obſtinacy, did prorogue the Concluſion of this Buſineſs, until the firſt of *October* next following, warning the King's Proctor then to appear, and receive a Concluſion of this Buſineſs as ſhould be according to Juſtice. All which paſſed in the Preſence of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other Perſons.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mention'd; which I have with more Particularity ſet down, that it is ſo rare and unuſual a Caſe to find a Prince ſubmit himſelf, in his own Kingdom, to the Judgment of two Perſons, whereof one was a ſuſpected Stranger, the other in Birth but of the meaneſt of his Subjects; and after all this, to receive no other Fruit hereof, but Delay and Diſſatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Diſmiſſion, but by a ſudden Advocation of the Cauſe, to the Pope, inhibiting further Proceedings here, as will appear ſhortly after; the Conſequences whereof extended further yet than our King then thought, or the Pope could eaſily have imagined.

Theſe Proceeding were ſubſcribed by the Notaries *William Clayburgh*, Doctor of both Laws, *Protonotarius Apoſtolicus*, *Florianus Montinus*, and *Richard Watkins*, who acknowledged the Raſures, Interlineations and Lines in the Margin, together with the Number of the Leaves in the Parchment Book, being ſixty-nine. To which alſo Letters Teſtimonial from *Nicholas Wotton*, Doctor of the Laws, and the Biſhop of *London*'s Official, having the Seal of the Office, were annexed. After all which a Diſpenſation, written by a later Hand, and in looſe Paper, was found in the ſaid Book.

While theſe things paſſed thus in *England*, the Queen found Means to inform the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-*

Countries, of the whole Proceſs, who thereupon ſends Word of it to *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, intreating them to aſſiſt their Aunt; which they accorded, diſpatching their Orators to the Pope, whom alſo the Queen conſtituted her Proctors in the Court of *Rome*; giving them Commiſſion to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that ſhe was never carnally known by Prince *Arthur*. Shortly after which, the ſaid Orators in the Queen's Name, made a Proteſtation againſt the two Legates now in *England*, every Page ſubſcribed with Queen *Katharine*'s own Hand, intreating the Pope to advoke the Cauſe, to annul the Proceedings in *England*, to warn the King to deſiſt his Suit, or at leaſt to try it at *Rome*, &c. or, otherwiſe that they would ſeek their Remedies elſewhere. The Pope being thus preſſed at *Rome*, and having now concluded the Treaty with the Emperor at *Barcelona*, *July* 3, 1529. about three Weeks before the Cauſe was prorogued by *Campejus*, could no longer, either with the Safety of his Perſon or Dignity, favour our King; ſo that what Excuſes ſoever, in the frequent Diſpatches he made about this Time, were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and Evaſion, till, finally, declaring himſelf more openly for the Emperor, he ſign'd an Advocation of the Cauſe to himſelf, inhibiting further Proceedings under great Penalties. And herein, as our Agents did obſerve, the Pope's principal Miniſters did not a little concur; that the Benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents, being Sir *Gregory Caſalis* and Dr. *Bennet*, both by repreſenting the Defection of our King from the *Roman* See, and the Ruin of the Cardinal of *York*, labour to ſtay theſe Proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into *England*, about the Beginning of *September*, the King then being in his Progreſs; and becauſe it was ſent to the Queen to make her Benefit of it, the King, by *Stephen Gardiner* now his Secretary, ſends to *Woolſey*, to perſuade the Queen to let this Inhibition, or as he calls it a citatory Letter, Sleep, it containing Matters prejudicial to his Perſon, and not to be publiſhed to his Subjects: And that it will be ſufficient for the Ceſſation of the Proceſs, that the Pope by Letter to *Woolſey*, *July* 19. hath ſignified his Advocation of the Cauſe. Nevertheleſs, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it ſhould be privily executed upon the two Legates, rather than be divulged in *Flanders*; which it ſeems was done accordingly. Howbeit, ſhortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the Cenſures and Penalties mentioned in the Inhibition would not be well taken by our King, diſpatched a Breve to him of *Auguſt* 29.

Before yet theſe Briefs were ſent, the Pope, wiſely conſidering that by the Diligence of our Agents, not only the firſt Minutes of them were ſent to *England*, but alſo that his Treaty with the Emperor was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit to advertiſe our Cardinal, that the League betwixt him and the Emperor was made to ſuit the Times, and for the Advantage of Chriſtianity; exhorting him therefore to do him good Offices with the King, which alſo he explicated in another Diſpatch, of *September* 23. wiſhing that Aid might be ſent againſt the *Turk*. All which being contrary to the King's preſent Deſigns, could not upon what Terms ſoever be repreſented, without much Offence, and ill Conceit of Cardinal *Woolſey*.

Woolſey. The King believing that underhand he held Intelligence with the Pope, to the Prejudice of his Affairs. Which *Polydore* alſo affirms, ſaying, that he writ privately to the Pope to ſuſpend the Cauſe, till they could bring the King to ſome better Temper. This alſo I believe was confirm'd in the King's Mind, by ſome Notice he might have of a joint Diſpatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our Records) from *Woolſey* and *Campejus*, during their Seſſion, whereby they deſired the Pope to avoke the Cauſe, in caſe it grew ſo doubtful that they could not determine it; both as they would be free from the Trouble and Danger, and as they conceiv'd, he might better help the King by the Plenitude of his Power; who perchance, as they ſaid, would be content therewith, if the Pope would promiſe to end the Matter, ſhortly afterwards to his Satisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our King's Knowledge, and that for the reſt, it left the Buſineſs in more Perplexity and Irreſolution than ever; ſo the King, who, I find by *Cavendiſh*, had recover'd ſomething under the Cardinal's Hand, which he urg'd againſt him, began to frown; whereof alſo the Courtiers took that Notice, as now his Fall was voiced every where. Tho' yet it was not in that Precipice, but that the King admitted him ſtill to no ſmall Degrees of his wonted Acceſs and Favour. Howbeit, as the Cardinal was now in his Decadence, all theſe Steps did but lead unto his Ruin. To which alſo the ſecret ill Offices of the angry Queen, and deſpighted *Anne Bullen* did contribute; who, tho' hating one another, did conſpire to his Deſtruction. The Cauſes on the Queen's Part are touch'd before, which alſo were not a little ſet forwards by the Induſtry of the Emperor. And for thoſe of *Anne Bullen*, beſides her unkind Diſmiſſion from the Court, which ſhe conceived to have been the Cardinal's Advice, another inveterate Grudge made her irreconcileable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuſcript of one Mr. *George Cavendiſh*, Gentleman Uſher to the Cardinal, I have thought fit to inſert.

This Gentlewoman being deſcended on the Father's ſide, from one of the Heirs of the Earls of *Ormond*, and on the Mother's from a Daughter of the Houſe of *Norfolk*, was from her Childhood, of that ſingular Beauty and Towardneſs, that her Parents took all care poſſible for her good Education. Therefore, beſides the ordinary Parts of virtuous Inſtructions, wherewith ſhe was liberally brought up, they gave her Teachers in playing on muſical Inſtruments, ſinging, and dancing; inſomuch, that when ſhe compoſed her Hands to play, and Voice to ſing, it was joyn'd with that Sweetneſs of Countenance, that three Harmonies concurred; likewiſe, when ſhe danced, her rare Proportions varied themſelves into all the Graces that belong either to Reſt or Motion. Briefly, it ſeems the moſt attractive Perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at firſt, nor before ſhe had lived ſometime in *France*, whither, in the Train of the *French* Queen, and Company of a Siſter of the Marquis of *Dorſet*, ſhe went in the Year 1514. After the Death of *Lewis* the Twelfth, ſhe did not yet return with the Dowager, but was received into a Place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, Siſter to *Francis*, where ſhe ſtaid, till ſome Difference grew betwixt our King and *Francis*; therefore, as ſaith *Du Tillet*, and our Records, about the

the Time when our Students at *Paris* were remanded, ſhe likewiſe left *France*, as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to ſuffer her to ſtay there any longer. All this while therefore no Argument of extraordinary Affection towards her was diſcovered in our King. So that tho' it be probable, that ſhe were at the Interview betwixt the Kings and Queens, near *Guiſnes*, abovementioned, yet ſhe left not the *French* Court. But, at laſt, being come thither, about the twentieth Year of her Age, received into our Queen's Service, however the King might take Notice of her, the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Earl of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son, yet appear'd firſt enamour'd of her; inſomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the Train of our Cardinal, whom he attended in ordinary, his Addreſſes were continually to her; whereof he made that Uſe, as at length he obtain'd her good Will to Marriage. So that, in what kind ſoever the King's Affection might manifeſt itſelf, neither was ſhe ſo ſatisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquiſh this advantageous Offer, nor the Lord *Percy* aware that he was oppoſed by ſo puiſſant a Rival. But this Treaty, which proceeded to little leſs than a Contract, coming at laſt to our King's Ears, the Danger he found himſelf in of loſing a Beauty he had contemplated ſo long, that it was become his deareſt Object, made him reſolve to acquaint the Cardinal with his Love to her; wiſhing him alſo to diſſuade the Lord *Percy* from it. The forward Cardinal, hereupon both violently dehorts the Lord *Percy* from the Gentlewoman, and uſeth all Arts to inſinuate himſelf into her good Opinion and Favour. But Mrs. *Bullen*, whether ſhe were ignorant, as yet, how much the King loved her, or howſoever had rather be that Lord's Wife, than a King's Miſtreſs, took very ill of the Cardinal this his unſeaſonable Interruption of her Marriage. The Cardinal alſo fearing the Revenges of that Sex, and, for the reſt, being unwilling to come to ſharper Terms with the Lord *Percy* than he had already uſed, deſires the King to write to the Earl of *Northumberland* to come up; alledging there was no ſuch way to preſerve the Gentlewoman for himſelf, and together to conceal his Love, as to uſe a cunning Diſſuaſion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby alſo he might be induced to interpoſe his fatherly Authority for diſſolving of the Match. Hereupon the Earl repairing to Court, the Cardinal firſt, and afterwards the King diſcovered the Cauſe of his ſending for, in very kind, but withal in ſuch covert and ambiguous Terms, that betwixt Unwillingneſs to diſparage the Gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers Reaſons why the Lord *Percy* ſhould not marry her, the Earl was not without ſome Hazard of miſapplying the King's Affection to himſelf. However, he ſo check'd his Son, that fear of diſpleaſing his Father, became at length the predominant Paſſion. So that it neither ſerved him to declare the Merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his Promiſe, before Witneſſes, had engaged him further than that he knew well how to come off: The Apprehenſion of the King's Diſpleaſure having wrought that Impreſſion in the Earl, that he would take no Denial or Excuſe on his Son's Part, till he had made him renounce all his Pretences to her; which alſo he urged ſo far, as at length his Son conſented to marry the Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s Daughter. But the Hatred which *Anne Bullen* conceived againſt the Cardinal concluded not ſo; nor indeed could

ever

ever end till ſhe had procured his final Ruin. And this is the trueſt Relation of *Anne Bullen*, that I have been able to gather out of thoſe Records and Manuſcripts that have come to my Hands. So that now I ſhould have proceeded with my Hiſtory, were I not conſtrained in a ſort to vindicate both her Honour and her Progenitors from thoſe foul Calumnies which in a Book of *Nicholas Sanders*, an *Engliſhman*, *De Schiſmate Anglicano*, are caſt upon them.

This Author, tho' learned, yet more credulous than becomes a Man of exact Judgment, reports, out of one *William Raſtal*, a Judge, (in his Life of Sir *Thomas More*) that *Anne Bullen* was the King's Daughter, by the Wife of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, while he was employ'd by the King, Embaſſador in *France*; and that this Gentlewoman coming to the Age of fifteen, was deflowered by ſome Domeſticks of her Father's, and then ſent to *France*; where alſo ſhe behaved herſelf ſo licentiouſly, that ſhe was vulgarly called *the Hackney of* England, till being adopted to that King's Familiarity, ſhe was term'd his *Mule*. Many other Paſſages of this kind are alſo inſerted by *Saunders*, which I forbear, as being ſorry to have occaſion for publiſhing thus much. But how impoſſible theſe Things are, the ingenious Reader may eaſily find out, when he compares the Times: For if *Anne Bullen* went to *France* with *Mary* the *French* Queen, 1514. (as is proved by divers principal Authors, both *Engliſh* and *French*, beſides the Manuſcripts I have ſeen) and was here vitiated at fifteen Years of Age, it muſt follow that ſhe was born about or before 1498, at which time our King was neither above ſeven or eight Years old at moſt, and therefore unable to get a Child, eſpecially nine Months before, nor had that Regal Power in his Hands for Employment of Embaſſadors till ten or eleven Years afterwards. So that Mr. *Sanders* or *Raſtal*'s Affirmation herein is but Fiction, as the reſt certainly is, ſhe having always lived in good Reputation. As for the Beauty and Handſomeneſs of *Anne Bullen*, which the ſame Author doth traduce, beſides that it contradicts common Senſe, (ſhe having been, by their Allegation a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant ſtill with the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, doth ſufficiently convince. And for her Religion there is no probability that it ſhould at firſt be other than what was commonly profeſt. Since it appears by original Letters of hers, that ſhe was a ſpecial Favourer of the Clergy of that time, and a Preferrer of the worthieſt Sort of them to eccleſiaſtical Livings, during her chief Times of Favour with the King. Tho' I will not deny but, upon his Defection from ſome Articles of the *Roman* Church, ſhe might alſo comply. But I ſhould be glad that Mr. *Sanders* had not divers other things which might require a ſerious Review; tho' I muſt not deny but, as he hath in ſome Things follow'd Cardinal *Pole*, a Perſon of great Learning, and much reverenced in his Time, ſo he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinal was ſo near in Blood to divers whom the King put to death, he may be thought perchance more partial than to be believed every where: Neither will it ſatisfy all Men, that he pretends, in more than one Place, to have known even ſo much as the King's Thoughts by Revelation; ſo that I ſhall leave theſe Things to the Liberty of the indifferent Reader, and turn to my Hiſtory.

Our

Our King, who at the firſt Prorogation of the Sentence, by Reaſon of the *Feriæ Vindemiarum*, hoped yet, that at leaſt, *October* 1, when the Court was appointed to ſit again, he might have the Cauſe determined, ſeeing now all Proceeding in *England* inhibited, the Cauſe avocated to *Rome*, *Campejus* recalled, and finally finding, by many Diſpatches, that the Pope and the Emperor had appointed ſhortly to meet at *Bononia*, was much troubled; and the rather, for that the two Cardinals Proceeding hitherto had been little more than Illuſion; whereupon alſo he became much incenſed againſt them. Yet containing a while his Anger, he neither alter'd his Faſhion to *Wolſey*, nor declared any Diſlike of *Campejus*. Inſomuch, that he calmly gave him Leave to depart. So that no Argument of Suſpicion or Diſlike appear'd hitherto on either ſide. *Campejus* thus diſmiſs'd and rewarded, was conducted honourably on the Sea-ſide, where he expected only a fair Wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon Pretence he carried either Money or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ranſack'd all his Coffers, Bags and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal Bull our King ſo much long'd for. I find alſo, by ſome Relation, that divers Love Letters betwixt our King and *Anne Bullen*, being conveyed out of the King's Cabinet, were ſought for, tho' in vain, they having been formerly ſent to *Rome*. Which Uſage ſo offended *Campejus*, that he complained immediately to our King; proteſting he would not proceed in his Journey till he had Reparation for the Wrongs done to his Perſon and Dignity; and that the People were ſatisfied concerning certain ſcandalous Rumours, which he heard were ſcattered Abroad to the Prejudice of Cardinal *Woolſey* and himſelf. But our King by his Letter, of *October* 22, anſwer'd, that it muſt not be expected from him. As for the *Jus Legati* pretended to be violated, our King anſwer'd, that he conceived it was expired, not only as it was revoked by the Pope's late Inhibition, but particularly, by the Interpoſition of his own regal Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge. Adding moreover, that he wondered ſomewhat, that *Campejus* underſtood our Law ſo little, as not to fear how he uſurped after that Time, the Name of a Legate in this Kingdom; ſince he, having been made Biſhop here of *Salisbury*, was bound by Oath to the Conſervation of the Royal Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a Miſtake; the Commandment having been given long ſince, when there was juſt Occaſion for it, and not in Relation to his particular, who therefore he was ſorry to have been ſo roughly uſed; deſiring the Cardinal, for the reſt, to excuſe the ſaid Searchers, ſince they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as a Cauſe of his Stay. As for the other Part, which was the Rumour, our King ſaid, it was uncertain from whence it came: Notwithſtanding that it was, tho' not altogether fixed in his Breaſt, yet, ſo generally receiv'd and believed in his Kingdom, that it would be hard to remove that Opinion. In which Regard alſo, it was in vain for him to ſtay here ſo much as one Hour. Howſoever, that he might make this Uſe of it, as to know how ill his Subjects took this Fruſtration of the Buſineſs. But as his royal Care ſhould be to prevent the Inconveniences might follow hereof, ſo that it belonged to *Campejus*'s Wiſdom to continue thoſe good Intentions he had made ſhew of. For we, ſaith the King,

then only ſhall be capable of doubting, when you by Facts ſhall make the contrary plainly appear.

Campejus being now, more than once licenced, thought it Time to be gone; ſo that, coming at laſt to the Pope, he acquainted him with all the Proceedings, not forgetting the Dangers in which Cardinal *Woolſey* was, for his too much Obſequiouſneſs to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperor, or that otherwiſe he ſecretly hated the Cardinal, for his late unſeaſonable Ambition to ſucceed in the Papacy, ſeem'd to care for nothing ſo much as the conſerving of his late League, tho' yet he was not ſo ſecure of our King, but that he fear'd not a little his often threatned Defection. So that he omited nothing, that might ſtand with his other Intereſts, for the containing of him in his wonted Devotion. Inſomuch that he offered new Projects daily for his Satisfaction. Among which *Gregory Caſalis* relates one, which ſhall be ſet down in its Place.

Cardinal *Woolſey* being now diveſted of his late Power, wherein he had the Glory, in ſome Sort, to have been Superior to his King, and for the reſt being left alone, and expoſed not only to a general Hatred, but to the private Machinations of the preſent and future Queen, became ſenſible of his ill Eſtate; though yet he did not believe himſelf ſo near his Overthrow, as it appeared afterwards. But what could he hope for, when ſuch puiſſant Enemies did procure his Deſtruction? Therefore, tho' he received ſome Advices from *Rome*, which might argue a Care rather than a Power for his Conſervation, yet in Effect what ſecret Intelligence ſoever paſs'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperor firſt, and after to Queen *Katharine*, who cunningly caus'd it to be whiſper'd into the King's Ears, by ſome more indirect ways than it could poſſibly be imagined to proceed from her. Likewiſe Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, having learned from ſome of the King's wiſeſt and graveſt Counſellors, divers Malverſations of the Cardinal, was ſo far from diſguiſing them, that ſhe even miſinterpreted his better Actions. *Edmund Campion* adds to theſe Reaſons, that Sir *Francis Bryan* being in *Rome* did, by the Means of a Familiar of one who kept the Pope's Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinal's, which wrought his Ruin, in this Manner; having firſt ſhewed her the Cardinal's Hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan ſo dexterouſly performed the reſt, as upon Pretence of viſiting her Servant in his Study, ſhe convey'd away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediately to ſend it to our King. Which Relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I ſuppoſe to be the more improbable, that I find by original Diſpatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the King's Diſ-favour to the Cardinal appeared. Howſoever, the way the King took to overthrow him was merely Legal, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after moſt Men's Opinion. In the Carriage whereof yet, that Secrecy was uſed, that the Cardinal did not, or perchance out of Greatneſs of Mind, would not take Notice of what was intended againſt him. So that though the Bill or Indictment was put in, at the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term, yet did he ride, that Day, to the Chancery with his accuſtomed Pomp. Of which our King being advertis'd, thought fit to forbid him the Place; as thinking it undecent, that a Man, who was upon Terms of Conviction, ſhould adminiſter that high

Charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ſent, the 18th of *October*, to require the great Seal of him. But the Cardinal, inſtead of rendring it, diſputed their Authority, alledging the Place of Lord Chancellor was by the King's Letters Patents, given him during Life. The two Dukes hereupon return'd to Court, bringing the next Day the King's Letters to the Cardinal, who having read them, deliver'd immediately the great Seal; in Sequence thereof, alſo ſubmitting himſelf to the King, who commanded him to leave *York Place*, and ſimply to depart to *Aſher*, a Country Houſe near *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He charged his Officers alſo to Inventory and bring forth his Goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into Hangings, beſides whole Pieces of rich Stuffs were ſet upon divers Tables in his Houſe; the Variety and Number whereof may be imagined, when, as *Cavendiſh* hath it, of fine *Holland* Cloth alone there were a Thouſand Pieces. Beſides, the Walls of his Gallery on the one Side were hang'd with rich Suits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, Cloth of Tiſſue, and Cloth of Bodkin; on the other ſide was placed the moſt glorious Suit of Copes that had been ſeen in *England*. In a Chamber near to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of maſſy Gold, and in a Chamber adjoining vaſt Quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinal commanded Sir *William Gaſcogne*, his Treaſurer, to deliver to the King, when he was requir'd.

In the mean while the Bill againſt the Cardinal proceeded, the moſt ſubſtantial Parts whereof being extracted out of the original Record, I have thought fit to preſent to the Reader. The Ground upon which *Chriſtopher Hales*, the King's Attorney, proſecuted the Cardinal, was a Statute of 16 *Rich.* II. in which is enacted, That, whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of right, and were wont of old Time to ſue in the King's Court to recover their Preſentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to preſent, and when Judgment ſhall be given in the ſaid Court upon ſuch a Plea and Preſentment, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other ſpiritual Perſons, which have Inſtitutions of ſuch Benefices within their Juriſdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of ſuch Judgments by the King's Commandments, of all the Time aforeſaid, without interruption, and alſo be bound of Right to make Execution of many other the King's Commandments; of which Right the Crown of *England* hath been peaceably ſeized, as well now, as in the Time of all his Progenitors. And whereas the Biſhop of *Rome*, for ſo he is term'd in the Act, had made divers Proceſſes and Cenſures of Excommunication upon certain Biſhops in *England*, becauſe they have made Execution of ſuch Commandments, and alſo becauſe he hath ordain'd and purpos'd to tranſlate ſome Prelates of the Realm, ſome out of the Realm, and ſome from one Biſhoprick to another within the ſaid Realm, without the King's Aſſent and Knowledge, and without the Aſſent of the Prelates, which ſo ſhall be tranſlated; which Prelates be much profitable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm; which Tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffered, the Statutes of the Realm ſhould be defeated and made void, and his ſaid Liege Sages of his Council, without his Aſſent, and againſt his Will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the Subſtance and Treaſure of the Realm ſhall be carried away,

away, and ſo the Realm deſtitute as well of Counſel as of Subſtance, to the final Deſtruction of the ſame Realm; and ſo the Crown of *England*, which hath been ſo free at all Times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately ſubject to God in all things touching the Legality of the ſame Crown, and to none other, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Pope; and the Laws and Statutes of the ſaid Realm, by him defeated and avoided at his Will, in perpetual Deſtruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm, *&c.* Therefore the King, by the Aſſent of his Lords, and at the Requeſt of the Commons, hath ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd, that, if any purchaſe or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſued in the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, any Tranſlations, Proceſſes, and Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Inſtruments, or any other Thing whatſoever, which touch the King, againſt him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other Execution whatſoever within the ſame Realm or without; that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors, and Counſellors, ſhall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attached by their Bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to anſwer to the Caſes aforeſaid, or that Proceſs be made againſt them by a Writ of *Præmunire facias*, in Manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Proviſors, and other, which do ſue in any other Court, in Derogation of the Regality of our Lord the King.

Upon which Statute it was alledged, that *Thomas*, *Legatus de Latere*, Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *York*, and Primate of *England*, being not ignorant of the Premiſſes, had obtained certain Bulls from *Clement* VII. by which he exerciſed Juriſdiction and Authority Legatine, to the Deprivation of the King's Power eſtabliſhed in his Courts of Juſtice; which ſaid Bulls he cauſed to be publickly read in *Weſtminſter*, *Auguſt* 28. *Anno Reg.* 15. aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of *Legatus de Latere*, which he hath exercis'd from the ſaid 28th of *Auguſt* to this Day, to the Prejudice of the Right of both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and that by Colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke-Guilford* in the County of *Surrey*, being of Right in the Donation of the Prior of St. *Pancras*, to one *James Gorton*, who alſo enjoyed it accordingly. All which was to the Contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the aforeſaid Statutes of 16 *Richard* the Second. Moreover that, by Colour of the ſaid Authority, he had cauſed the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of many, out of his Dioceſs, to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their Goods and Chattels to be adminiſtred by ſuch as he appointed. Alſo that, under Colour of the ſaid Authority, he had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſs, and drawn divers Penſions from Abbeys to the Contempt of the King and his Laws.

The Proof of which particulars, tho' evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his Conviction, till, through the King's ſpecial Permiſſion, by Writ of *October* 28. *John Scuſe* and *Chriſtopher Genney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; Where, for all other Anſwers, they proteſted in the ſaid Cardinal's Name, that the ſaid Cardinal did not know the Impetration of the ſaid Bulls

to have been to the Contempt and Prejudice of the King, or that it was againſt any Statute of Proviſors heretofore made. As for the Particulars wherewith he was charged by Maſter Attorney, he confeſt them all true in the Manner and Form alledged: And ſo ſubmitted himſelf to the King. Whereupon the Court gave Sentence that he was out of the King's Protection, and his Lands, Goods, and Chattels forfeit, and that his Perſon might be ſeized on.

Not contented herewith yet, another Proof of the ſame kind was by the King's Attorney produced againſt the Cardinal, namely, that contrary to the Right of the true Patron, being the Maſter and Fellows of the Hoſpital of St. *Lazarus* in *Burton-Lazar*, he had, by the ſame Authority, given away the Pariſh-Church of *Galby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, then vacant by the Death of one *Woodroff*, to one *John Allen*, Doctor of both Laws, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinal, together with all his vaſt Poſſeſſions, into the King's Hands. Concerning which the Criticks of the Time gave ſundry Opinions, the moſt Part yet ſuppoſing him capable of the King's Mercy, had he been either leſs rich or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by Law, but by the Rigor of it. All which they conſidered the more, that the Cardinal had ſo long exercis'd his Legatine Power, without that the King either ſeem'd to diſlike it, or any other had queſtion'd him for it. Therefore, howſoever he was convicted by Form of Juſtice, they yet clear'd him in great Part, and not they only, but the King. Inſomuch, that the Impreſſion taken of his antient Services, was not defac'd wholly. So that notwithſtanding his beſt Goods were ſeiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other Poſſeſſions, and, with them, his intire Liberty, yet he both ſent him a Protection, and left him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, which he had lately given him after the Death of *Richard Fox*, only he confin'd him for the preſent to his Houſe at *Aſher*, till his further Pleaſure were ſignified. Being upon his Way, the King, touched with ſome Compaſſion, ſent him by one Maſter *Norreys*, not only a gracious Meſſage, but a Ring, which was a Token betwixt them, when any ſpecial Buſineſs was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoyed Cardinal alighted from his Mule, and in the Dirt upon his bare Knees, acknowledged the Comfort he receiv'd. To ſhew his Thankfulneſs alſo to Maſter *Norreys*, he preſented him with a Chain of Gold, at which a Piece of the Croſs did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to ſend to the King; till at laſt having eſpied in his Train a facetious Natural, in whom he took much Delight, he deſir'd Maſter *Norreys* to preſent him to the King. Which Promotion yet this Fellow, for the approving himſelf no Counterfeit, did ſo ſlight, as the Cardinal was forced to ſend ſix of his talleſt Yeomen to bring him to Court. The Cardinal coming at laſt to *Aſher*, found himſelf ſo deſtitute of all Neceſſaries, as, till one Maſter *Arundel* firſt, and after the Biſhop of *Carliſle* provided him, he wanted even the moſt ordinary Parts of Houſholdſtuff. And thus the ill-accommodated Cardinal paſſed ſome Weeks in expectation of the King's further Pleaſure, not neglecting in the mean while, to uſe thoſe Friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former Favour; or when that could not be done, for the making his Fall more eaſy. For which purpoſe

purpoſe one Maſter *Thomas Cromwel*, his Servant, who came afterwards to great Preferment, was employed, but Miſtreſs *Bullen* ſecretly oppoſed all. So that the Cardinal, being now in a manner hopeleſs of regaining the King's good Opinion, diſmiſſed, not without Tears on both Sides, the greateſt Part of his numerous Family, without other reward than what Maſter *Cromwel* and ſome of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King, hearing the Cardinal to be ſomewhat humbled, ſent Sir *John Ruſſel* with a Turquoiſe Ring to him as a Token of his Care and Affection. But it was not Gifts that the Cardinal expected from the King, but Liberty and Reſtitution to his former Greatneſs; which yet was ſo much in vain, as his Offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that he had particularly advantag'd himſelf of the Cardinal's Puniſhment, unleſs he made ſome Uſe thereof to the General, ſo he call'd a Council of the Nobles, to ſit in the Star-Chamber, who having ſufficiently condemn'd him, he afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began *November* 3, 1529. Wherein the King alſo did wiſely, ſince by intereſſing the Publick in his Condemnation, he both declin'd the Cenſure of thoſe who thought the late Proceedings to have been of the ſevereſt, and indear'd his People by putting the Power of puniſhing him into their Hands. Therefore they took it as an intire Satisfaction for all they had hitherto ſuffer'd; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this Favour. And thus did the King return to that former good Opinion he had of his Subjects.

Here upon certain Articles againſt the Cardinal were preferred in Parliament. The Original whereof found among our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe; and the rather for that our vulgar Chronicles miſ-report them.

CONſtrain'd by Neceſſity of our Fidelity and Conſcience, complain and ſhew to your royal Majeſty, we your Graces humble, true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, that the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Graces Chancellor, preſuming to take upon him the Authority of the Pope's Legate *de Latere*, hath by divers and many ſundry Ways and Faſhions committed notable, high, and grievous Offences, miſuſing, altering and ſubverting the order of your Graces Laws, and otherwiſe contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Eſtate, and Dignity Royal, to the ineſtimable Damage of your Graces Subjects of every Degree, and conſequently to the great Hindrance, Diminution, and Decay of the univerſal Wealth of this your Graces Realm, as it is touched ſummarily and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in Compariſon of all his Enormities, Exceſſes, and Tranſgreſſions committed againſt your Graces Laws.

That is to ſay,

I. FIrſt, where your Grace, and your noble Progenitors within this your Realm of *England*, being Kings of *England*, have been ſo free, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediate Subject to Almighty God, in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, and the ſame Preeminence, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, lawful and peaceable Poſſeſſion, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, uſed, and enjoyed without Interruption, or Buſineſs therefore, by the ſpace of two hundred

dred Years and more; whereby your Grace may preſcribe againſt the Pope's Holineſs, that he ſhould not, nor ought to ſend, or make any Legate to execute any Authority Legatine, contrary to your Graces Prerogative within this your Realm.

Now the Lord Cardinal of *York* being your Subject, and natural Liege Born, hath of his high, orgullous, and inſatiable Mind, for his own ſingular Advancement and Profit, in Derogation, and to the great Imbelliſhment and Hurt of your ſaid royal Juriſdiction, and Prerogative, and the large Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of the ſame, obtain'd Authority Legatine, by Reaſon whereof he hath not only hurt your ſaid Preſcription, but alſo by the ſaid Authority Legatine hath ſpoiled and taken away from many Houſes of Religion in this your Realm, much Subſtance of their Goods; and alſo hath uſurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much Part of their Juriſdiction, in Derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great Hurt of your ſaid Ordinaries, Prelates, and Religious.

II. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, being your Ambaſſador in *France*, made a Treaty with the *French* King for the Pope, your Majeſty not knowing any Part thereof not named in the ſame; and binding the ſaid *French* King to abide his Order and Award, if any Controverſy or Doubt ſhould ariſe upon the ſame betwixt the ſaid Pope and the *French* King.

III. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal being your Ambaſſador in *France*, ſent a Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſalis*, under your Great Seal, in your Graces Name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Command or Warrant of your Highneſs, nor your ſaid Highneſs advertis'd or made Privy to the ſame.

IV. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his preſumptuous Mind in divers and many of his Letters, and Inſtructions ſent out of this Realm to outward Parties, had join'd himſelf with your Grace, as in ſaying and writing in his ſaid Letters and Inſtructions, *The King and I.* And, *I would ye ſhould do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty Thanks.* Whereby it is apparent that he uſed himſelf more like a Fellow to your Highneſs, than like a Subject.

V. Alſo, where it hath ever been accuſtom'd within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do ſwear their Houſhold Servants, the firſt Part of their Oath hath been, that they ſhould be true Liege-men to the King and his Heirs Kings of *England*; the ſame Lord Cardinal cauſed his Servants to be only ſworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereign above him.

VI. And alſo, whereas your Grace is our Sovereign Lord and Head, in whom ſtandeth all the Surety and Wealth of this Realm, the ſame Lord Cardinal knowing himſelf to have the foul and contagious Diſeaſe of the great Pox, broken out upon him in divers Places of his Body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your Ear, and blowing upon your moſt noble Grace, with his perilous and infective Breath, to the marvellous Danger of your Highneſs, if God of his infinite Goodneſs had not better provided for your Highneſs. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his Diſeaſe was an Impoſtume in his Head, and of none other thing.

VII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath given, by Prevention, the Benefices of divers Perſons, as well Spiritual as Temporal, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your

your Laws and Statutes therefore provided; by Reaſon whereof he is in Danger to your Grace of Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods, and his Body at your Pleaſure.

VIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, taking upon him otherwiſe than a true Counſellor ought to do, hath uſed to have all Ambaſſadors to come firſt to him alone, and ſo hearing their Charges and Intents, it is to be thought he hath inſtructed them after his Pleaſure and Purpoſe, before that they came to your Preſence; contrary to your high Commandment by your Graces Mouth to him given, and alſo to other Perſons ſent to him by your Grace.

IX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath practiſed ſo, that all manner of Letters ſent from beyond the Sea to your Highneſs have come firſt to his Hands, contrary to your high Commandment by your own Mouth, and alſo by others ſent to him by your Grace; by Reaſon whereof your Highneſs, nor any of your Council had Knowledge of no Matters, but ſuch as it pleaſed him to ſhew them; whereby your Highneſs, and your Council have been compelled of very Force to follow his Devices, which oftentimes were ſet forth by him under ſuch crafty and covert Means, that your Highneſs and your Council hath oftentimes been abuſed. Inſomuch, that when your Council have found, and put divers Doubts, and Things which have afterwards enſued, he to abuſe them, uſed theſe Words; *I will lay my Head that no ſuch Thing ſhall happen.*

X. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath practiſed that no manner of Perſon, having Charge to make eſpial of Things done beyond the Sea, ſhould at their Return come firſt to your Grace, nor to any other of your Council, but only to himſelf, and in Caſe they did the contrary, he puniſhed them for ſo doing.

XI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted Licence under your Great Seal for carrying out of Grain and other Victual, after the Reſtraint hath been made thereof, for his own Lucre, and ſingular Advantage of him and his Servants, for to ſend thither as he bare ſecret Favour, without your Graces Warrant or Knowledge thereof.

XII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal uſed, many Years together, not only to write unto all your Ambaſſadors Reſident with other Princes in his own Name all Advertiſements concerning your Graces Affairs, being in their Charge: and in the ſame his Letters wrote many Things of his own Mind, without your Graces Pleaſure being known, concealing divers things which had been neceſſary for them to know: But alſo cauſed them to write their Advertiſements unto him; and of the ſame Letters he uſed to conceal for the compaſſing of his Purpoſes, many Things both from all your other Counſellors, and from your ſelf alſo.

XIII. Alſo, where good Hoſpitality hath been uſed to be kept in Houſes and Places of Religion of this Realm, and many poor People thereby relieved, the ſaid Hoſpitality and Relief is now decayed, and not uſed; and it is commonly reported that the Occaſion thereof is, becauſe the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath taken ſuch Impoſitions of the Rulers of the ſaid Houſes, as well for his Favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Viſitation, by his Authority Legatine: And yet, nevertheleſs, taketh yearly of ſuch Religious Houſes, ſuch yearly and continual Charges, as they be not able to keep Hoſpitality, as they uſed to do, which is a great Cauſe that there be ſo many Vagabonds, Beggars, and Thieves.

XIV. Alſo,

XIV. Alſo, where the ſaid Lord Cardinal ſaid, before the Suppreſſion of ſuch Houſes as he hath ſuppreſſed, that the Poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſet to Farm among your Lay-Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly Rent, as they ſhould well thereupon live, and keep good Hoſpitality; and now the demain Poſſeſſions of the ſaid Houſes, ſince the Suppreſſion of them hath been ſurvey'd, mete, and meaſured by the Acre, and be now ſet above the Value of the old Rent; and alſo ſuch as were Farmers by Covent-Seal, and Copy-holders be put out, and amoved of their Farms, or elſe compel'd to pay new Fines, contrary to all Equity and Conſcience.

XV. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, ſitting among the Lords, and other of your moſt honourable Council, uſed himſelf that if any Man would ſhew his Mind according to his Duty, contrary to the Opinion of the ſaid Cardinal, he would ſo take him up with his accuſtomable Words, that they were better to hold their Peace than to ſpeak, ſo that he would hear no Man ſpeak but one or two great Perſonages, ſo that he would have all the Words himſelf, and conſumed much Time with a fair Tale.

XVI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal by his Ambition and Pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poor Subjects for want of Diſpatchment of Matters; for he would no Man ſhould meddle but himſelf. Inſomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wiſe Men, that ten of the moſt wiſe, and moſt expert Men in *England* were not ſufficient in convenient Time to order the Matters that he would retain to himſelf: And many Times he deferred the ending of Matters, becauſe that Suitors ſhould attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no ſmall Pleaſure, that his Houſe might be repleniſh'd with Suitors.

XVII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath uſed, if any ſpiritual Man having any Riches or Subſtance, deceaſed, he hath taken their Goods as his own; by reaſon whereof their Wills be not perform'd: And one mean he had, to put them in fear that were made Executors, to refuſe to meddle.

XVIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal conſtrain'd all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, or elſe he will uſurp half or the whole of their Juriſdiction by Prevention, not for good Order of the Dioceſe, but to extort Treaſure; for there is never a poor Archdeacon in *England*, but that he paid him yearly to him a Portion of his Living.

XIX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath not only by his untrue Suggeſtion to the Pope, ſhamefully ſlander'd many good Religious Houſes, and good virtuous Men dwelling in them, but alſo ſuppreſſed by reaſon thereof above thirty Houſes of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he ſhould not ſuppreſs any Houſe that had more Men of Religion in number, above the Number of ſix or ſeven, he hath ſuppreſſed divers Houſes that had above the Number; and thereupon hath cauſed divers Offices to be found by Verdict, untruly, that the religious Perſons, ſo ſuppreſſed, had voluntarily forſaken their ſaid Houſes, which was untrue, and ſo hath cauſed open Injury to be committed, to the high Diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

XX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath examined divers and many Matters in the Chancery, after Judgment thereof given at the Common Law, in Subverſion of your Laws; and made ſome Perſons

Perſons reſtore again to the other Party condemned, that they had in Execution by Virtue of the Judgment in the Common Law.

XXI. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath granted many Injunctions by Writ, and the Parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them. And by Reaſon thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawful Poſſeſſion of their Lands and Tenements. And by ſuch Means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himſelf, whereby he and divers of his Servants have gotten much Riches, and your Subjects ſuffered great Wrongs.

XXII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, to augment his great Riches, hath cauſed divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be ſuſpended, which could not be revived till that the ſaid Lord Cardinal were rewarded, and alſo have a yearly Penſion of the ſaid Pardon.

XXIII. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, not regarding your Laws nor Juſtice, of his extort Power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and alſo Patents of the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and of the Abby of St. *Albans*, which had good and ſufficient Grant thereof by your Laws.

XXIV. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, at many Times when any Houſes of Religion have been void, he hath ſent his Officers thither, and with crafty Perſuaſions hath induced them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before ere he named or confirmed any of them, he and his Servants received ſo much great Goods of them, that in Manner it hath been to the undoing of the Houſe.

XXV. Alſo by his Authority Legatine, the ſame Lord Cardinal hath viſited the moſt Part of the religious Houſes and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty-fifth Part of their Livelihood, to the great Extortion of your Subjects, and Derogation of your Laws and Prerogative; and no Law to bear him ſo to do.

XXVI. Alſo when Matters have been near at Judgment, by Proceſs at your Common Law, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath not only given and ſent Injunctions to the Parties, but alſo ſent for your Judges, and expreſly by Threats commanding them to defer the Judgment, to the evident Subverſion of your Laws, if the Judges would ſo have ceaſed.

XXVII. Alſo, whereas neither the Biſhoprick of *York* nor *Wincheſter*, nor the Abby of St. *Albans*, nor the Profit of his Legation, nor the Benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Penſion out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate Taking could not ſuffice him, he hath made his Son *Winter* ſpend 2700 *l.* by the Year, which he taketh to his own Uſe, and giveth him not paſt 200 *l.* yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Alſo where the ſaid Lord Cardinal did firſt ſue to your Grace to have your Aſſent to be Legate *de Latere*, he promiſed and ſolemnly proteſted before your Majeſty, and before the Lords both ſpiritual and temporal, that he would nothing do or attempt by Virtue of his Legacy, that ſhould be contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the Damage or Prejudice of the Juriſdiction of any Ordinary, and that by his Legacy no Man ſhould be hurt or offended; and upon that Condition and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm, which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he had made this Promiſe, he was buſy in his Sute at *Rome*, to viſit all

the Clergy of *England*, both exempt and not exempt.

XXIX. Alſo upon the Suit of the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Rome*, to have his Authority Legatine; he made untrue Surmiſe to the Pope's Holineſs againſt the Clergy of your Realm, which was, that the regular Perſons of the ſaid Clergy had given themſelves to a reprobate Senſe; which Words Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans* applied to abominable Sin; which Slander to your Church of *England* ſhall for ever remain in the Regiſter at *Rome*, againſt the Clergy of this your Realm.

XXX. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal had the moſt Part of the Goods of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop of *London*, Biſhop *Savage* of *York*, Mr. *Dalby*, Archdeacon of *Richmond*, Mr. *Tornyers*, Dr. *Rothal*, late Biſhop of *Durham*, and of Dr. *Fox*, late Biſhop of *Winchester*, contrary to their Wills and your Laws and Juſtice.

XXXI. Alſo at the *Oyer* and *Terminer* at *York*, Proclamation was made, that every Man ſhould put in their Bills for Extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in againſt the Officers of the ſaid Lord Cardinal of Extortion, for taking twelve Pence of the Pound for Probation of Teſtaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Juſtice *Fitz-Herbert*, and other Commiſſioners; the ſame Lord Cardinal removed the ſame Indictments into the Chancery by *Certiorari*, and rebuked the ſame *Fitz-Herbert* for the ſame Cauſe.

XXXII. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath buſied and endeavoured himſelf, by crafty and untrue Tales, to make Diſſenſion and Debate amongſt your Nobles of your Realm, which is ready to be proved.

XXXIII. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal's Officers have divers Times compelled your Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for Carriages. And alſo his Servants hath taken both Corn and Cattle, Fiſh, and all other Victuals at your Graces Price or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Laws.

XXXIV. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath miſuſed himſelf in your moſt honourable Court, in keeping of as great Eſtate there in your Abſence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there preſent in your own Perſon.

XXXV. Alſo his Servants, by Virtue of your Commiſſion under your Broad Seal by him to them given, have taken Cattle, and all other Victual, at as low Price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your Prerogative, againſt the Laws of your Realm.

XXXVI. Alſo where it hath been accuſtomed that your Purveyors for your honourable Houſhold have had yearly out of your Town and Liberty of St. *Albans* three hundred or four hundred Quarters of Wheat; Truth it is, that ſince the Lord Cardinal had the Room of Abbot there, your ſaid Purveyors could not be ſuffered by him and his Officers, to take any Wheat within the ſaid Town or Liberties.

XXXVII. Alſo he hath divers Times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for Cauſes before him in the *Star-Chamber*, that they nor other for them ſhould make labour, by any manner of Way directy or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your gracious Favour or Pardon, which was a preſumptuous Intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farm by Covent-Seal of the Abbot and Covent of *Cheſter*, and afterwards by his Power and Might, contrary to Right, committed the ſaid Sir *John Stanly* to the Priſon of *Fleet* by the Space of one Year, until ſuch

ſuch Time as he compelled the ſaid Sir *John* to releaſe his Covent Seal to one *Legbe* of *Adlington*, which married one *Lark*'s Daughter, which Woman the ſaid Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her two Children. Whereupon the ſaid Sir *John Stanley*, upon diſpleaſure taken in his Heart, made himſelf Monk in *Weſtminſterr* and there died.

XXXIX. Alſo on a Time your Grace being at St. *Albans*, according to the antient Cuſtom uſed within your Verge, your Clerk of the Market doing his Office, did preſent unto your Officers of your moſt honourable Houſhold the Prices all Manner of Victuals, within the Precinct of the Verge; and it was commanded by your ſaid Officers to ſet up the ſaid Prices both on the Gates of your honourable Houſhold, and alſo in the Market-place within the Town of St. *Albans*, as of ancient Cuſtom it hath been uſed; and the Lord Cardinal, hearing the ſame, preſumptuouſly, and not like a Subject, cauſed the aforeſaid Prices which were ſealed with your Graces Seal, accuſtomably uſed for the ſame, to be taken off, and pulled down in the ſaid Market-place where they were ſet up, and in the ſame Place ſet up his own Prices, ſealed with his Seal, and would, if it had not been letted, in ſemblable Manner uſed your Seal ſtanding upon your Graces Gates; and alſo would of his preſumptuous Mind have openly ſet in the Stocks within your ſaid Town your Clerk of your Market. By which Preſumption and Uſurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himſelf to be equal with your Royal Majeſty.

XL. Alſo the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and preſumptuous Mind, hath enterprized to joyn and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under your Arms in your Coin of Groats, made at your City of *York*, which like Deed hath not been ſeen to have been done by any Subject within your Realm before this Time.

XLI. Alſo where one Sir *Edward Jones*, Clerk, Parſon of *Crowley* in the County of *Buckingham*, in the eighth Year of your moſt noble Reign, let this ſaid Parſonage with all Tythes, and other Profits of the ſame to one *William Johnſon* by Indenture for certain Years, within which Years the Dean of the ſaid Lord Cardinal's College in *Oxford*, pretended Title to a certain Portion of Tythes within the ſaid Parſonage, ſuppoſing the ſaid Portion to belong to the Parſonage of *Chichley*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford*, lately ſuppreſſed, where of Truth, the Parſons of *Crowley* have been peaceably poſſeſſed of the ſaid Portion, Time out of Mind: Whereupon a *Subpœna* was directed to the ſaid *Johnſon* to appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Hampton Court*; where without any Bill, the ſaid Lord Cardinal committed him to the *Fleet*, where he remained by the Space of twelve Weeks, becauſe he would not depart with the ſaid Portion; and at the laſt, upon a Recognizance made, that he ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal, whereſoever he was commanded, he was delivered out of the *Fleet*. Howbeit, as yet the ſaid Portion is ſo kept from him, that he dare not deal with it.

XLII. Alſo where where one *Martin Docwra* had a Leaſe of the Manor of *Balſal* in the County of *Warwick*, for Term of certain Years, an Injunction came to him out of the *Chancery*, by Writ, upon Pain of 1000 *l.* that he ſhould avoid the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Manor, and ſuffer Sir *George Throgmorton*, Knight, to take the Profits of the ſame Mannor, to the Time the Matter

depending in the *Chancery*, between the Lord of St. *John*'s and the ſaid *Docowra* were diſcuſs'd; and yet the ſaid *Docowra* never made Anſwer in the *Chancery*, nor never was called into the *Chancery* for that Matter. And now of late he hath received the like Injunction, upon Pain of 2000 *l.* contrary to the Courſe of the Common Law.

XLIII. Alſo, whereas in the Parliament Chamber, and in open Parliament, Communication and Devices were had and moved, wherein Mention was, by an Incident, made of Matters touching Hereſies and erroneous Sects. It was ſpoken and reported by one Biſhop there being preſent, and confirmed by a good Number of the ſame Biſhops, in Preſence of all the Lords ſpiritual and temporal then aſſembled, that two of the ſaid Biſhops were minded and deſired to repair unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of ſuch Errors as then ſeemed, and were reported to reign amongſt the Students and Scholars of the ſame, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect and Opinions, as otherwiſe; the Lord Cardinal informed of the good Minds and Intents of the ſaid two Biſhops in that Behalf, expreſly inhibited and commanded them in no wiſe ſo to do. By means whereof the ſame Error (as they affirm'd) crept more abroad, and took greater Place: Saying furthermore, that it was not in their Defaults that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but in the ſaid Lord Cardinal; and that it was no Reaſon any Blame or Lack ſhould be arrected unto them for this Offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the ſaid Lord Cardinal, beſides all other his heinous Offences, hath been the Impeacher and Diſturber of due and direct Correction of Hereſies; being highly to the Danger and Peril of the whole Body and good Chriſtian People of this your Realm.

XLIV. Finally, Foraſmuch as by the aforeſaid Articles is evidently declared to your moſt royal Majeſty, that the Lord Cardinal by his outragious Pride, hath greatly ſhadowed a long Seaſon your Graces Honour, which is moſt highly to be regarded; and by his inſatiable Avarice and ravenous Appetite to have Riches and Treaſure without Meaſure, hath ſo grievouſly oppreſſed your poor Subjects, with ſo many manifold Crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Common-wealth of this your Graces Realm is thereby greatly decayed and impoveriſhed: And alſo by his Cruelty, Iniquity, Affection and Partiality, hath ſubverted the due Courſe and Order of your Graces Laws, to the undoing of a great Number of your loving People.

Pleaſe it your moſt royal Majeſty therefore of your excellent Goodneſs towards the Weal of this your Realm, and Subjects of the ſame, to ſet ſuch Order and Direction upon the ſaid Lord Cardinal, as may be to the terrible Example of others to beware ſo to offend your Grace and your Laws hereafter: And that he be ſo provided for, that he never have any Power, Juriſdiction or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoveriſh the Common-wealth of your Realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great Hurt and Damage of every Man almoſt, high and low. Which for your Grace ſo doing, will daily pray, as their Duty is, to Almighty God, for the proſperous Eſtate of your moſt royal Majeſty, long to endure in Honour and good Health, to the Pleaſure of God, and your Hearts moſt Deſire.

Subſcribed the firſt Day of *December*, the 21ſt Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* VIII.

T. More.
T. Norfolk.
Char. Suffolk.
Tho. Dorſet.
H. Exeter.
G. Shrewſbury.
R. Fitzwater.
Jo. Oxynford.
H. Northumberland.
T. Darcy.
T. Rochford.
W. Mountjoy.
Will. Sandys.
W. Fitz William.
Henry Guldeford.
Anth. Fitz-Herbert.
John Fitz-James.

Theſe Articles were preſented to the King by the Lords, and then ſent down to the lower Houſe: Where *Tho. Cromwell*, obtaining the Place of a Burgeſs, ſo wittily defended the Cardinal his Maſter, that no Treaſon could be laid to his Charge. And upon this honeſt beginning *Cromwell* obtained his firſt Reputation. Yet could not the reſiſting of this Brunt, nor even the gracious Meſſages received frequently from the King, chear up our Cardinal. For as he found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any Satisfaction, which certainly was the only Way to procure the Cardinal's Reſtitution, and that for the reſt, no evident Sign of the King's Relenting appear'd, ſo being not able to ſupport any longer his many Afflictions, he fell dangerouſly ſick. The News whereof being brought to the King's Ears, moved ſo much Compaſſion, as not only he, but by his Intreaty, Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, whom the Cardinal had in vain importuned to interceed for him, alſo ſent him ſeveral Tokens; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the King's Image was curiouſly Engraven, a Gift heretofore of the Cardinal's, together with a gracious Meſſage delivered by Dr. *Butts* his Phyſician; that his Highneſs was not angry with him in his Heart, which he ſhould know ſhortly. Whereupon as the Cardinal recovered his Health, ſo the King, for confirming his Promiſes, ſealed his Pardon, *February* 12. and three Days after, by Letters Patents, reſtor'd him to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. Moreover, he ſent him Money, Plate, rich Hangings, and Furniture for his Houſe and Chapel, in that Quantity, as the Cardinal was for the preſent much recover'd: Hoping alſo, that ſince he had reſigned his Houſe called *York Houſe*, but afterwards by the King ſtiled the Mannor of *Weſtminſter*, now *White-Hall*, that his Puniſhment ended there, and himſelf now upon Terms of regaining the King's Favour. The Confidence whereof alſo made him to be an humble Supplicant to the King, that, for his Health's Sake, he might have leave to remove to *Richmond-Houſe*, the Uſe of which he had received in exchange from the King, for that his ſumptuous Palace which he built and called by the Name of *Hampton Court*.

It is now Time to look a while on foreign Hiſtory. Our Narration left the Count *de St. Pol* in *Italy*, where he had quarter'd that part of the Soldiers which remain'd of that Years Wars, in their Winter Garriſons; But the Spring being come, he took divers Places on this ſide the *Teſino*, and at laſt joined his Forces with the Duke of *Urbin*, General of the *Venetians*, and *Franciſco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durſt not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* ſtrongly defended, or that the Count *de St. Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoa*, their Army marched to *Landriano*, *June* 21, 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being advertis'd, uſed that Diligence, that he ſurpriſed the Count *de St. Pol*, when part of his Army was marched before, and wholly defeated the reſt, taking him Priſoner.

This while the Emperor equipped a great Fleet for *Italy*, with Intention to be

be crown'd there, having firſt, for the more ample furniſhing of himſelf with Money, pawn'd the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal* for 350,000 Ducats.

The Pope hearing of theſe great Preparatives at the ſame Seaſon that the Defeat of *St. Pol*, ſucceeding that of *Lautrech* in *Naples*, had wholly diſabled the Army of the Confederates, reſolved to comply with the Times. So that, before the News thereof could eaſily be conveyed to the Emperor, he endeavour'd his own Peace, for this purpoſe employing one *Antonio Muſetolor* a *Neapolitan*; who prevailed ſo far, as he concluded a League at *Barcellona*, *June* 29.

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Deſigns, and betake himſelf intirely to the Emperor, at the ſame Time when the two Cardinals ſat on their Commiſſion in *England*. So eaſy was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialiſts, and the good Turns from all his Confederates, when a readier Way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himſelf on the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Florentines*, who, during his late Captivity, had expulſed the Family of *Medicis* out of the City.

Francis alſo underſtanding that, upon this ſecond Overthrow of his Forces in *Italy*, his Reputation was loſt, and his Confederates diſcouraged, and hearing beſides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperor, thought it better to reſerve his Money for Ranſoming his Children, than to caſt it away in the Wars. So that, notwithſtanding his reiterated Proteſtations of Affection to our King, he underhand laboured a Peace with the Emperor. The Overtures whereof alſo were willingly accepted, both as *Charles* doubted a Change of Religion in *Germany*, and as the Turk had made no little Progreſs in *Hungary*. For which Cauſes alſo he choſe rather to hearken to thoſe Motions were made for delivering of the Children of *Francis* upon reaſonable Terms, than to detain them any longer unuſefully. Thus both their Minds ſecretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam *Louiſe*, Mother of *Francis*, and Regent of *France*, and Madam *Anna Margarita* Aunt to *Charles*, and Regent of the *Low-Countries*. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as Affairs then ſtood, they were thought no ill Mediatreſſes. Both as the Suppleneſs of their Sex could better decline that rough Diſpute, which, conſidering the late Cartels, could ſcarce be eſchewed betwixt the Servants of either Prince, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to eſſay, if after ſo many broken or avoided Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by Women would hold; howſoever for Women to treat of Marriage or Children's Buſineſs, was no ſtrange thing. But the Event ſhewed they were able Negotiatreſſes. For though their firſt Meeting, being at *Cambray*, was not without ſome of that Emulation and Puntille which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at laſt they fell to treat in good earneſt. The Propoſition which before all other Madam *Louiſe* made, was that a Meſſenger might be ſent to ſee the Eſtate of the Children of *Francis*, it being in vain, ſhe ſaid, to treat of their Delivery, when, for any thing ſhe knew, they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more ſubſtantial Articles of a Treaty.

Madam *Margarita* ſaid, indeed, ſhe had no other Inſtruction, but to demand the Execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*; but Madam *Louiſe*, repreſenting ſometimes

times the Unreaſonableneſs, and ſometimes the Impoſſibility of performing thoſe Articles, reduced her to more moderate Terms. Whereunto alſo our King's Ambaſſadors, *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did no little conduce. For as our King knew the Weight he could add on either ſide would ſway the Balance, ſo he interpoſed Offices; Hoping to get either *Francis* to procure his Divorce, or *Charles* to ſuffer it. But as thoſe Princes Affairs requir'd a more quick and ſerious Diſpatch, than to attend the Deciſion of ſo great and doubtful a Buſineſs, they cared little to ſatisfy our King, or to comply with Mrs. *Bullen*. Therefore, ſetting apart thoſe Conſiderations, they attended only their own Intereſts; and Madam *Louiſe* very particularly the News of her Grand Children's Safety. For which purpoſe having employed one *Vordin*, he gave this Account as it is extant in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory.

That he found the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* in the Caſtle of *Pedrazu*, under the Guard of the Marqueſs *de Verlanga*, in a dark Chamber, ill furniſh'd, having forgotten all their *French*, ſo that when *Vordin* ſpake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter, that their beſt Entertainment was playing with little Dogs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he preſented them new Cloaths, the Marqueſs would not ſuffer them to be put on, whereof *Vordin* gives this ridiculous Reaſon, that the *Spaniards* believed there were Witches in *France*, that could tranſport any one in the Air when their Charms might but touch the Body. But *Vordin* was deceiv'd; the true Reaſon being, that out of a certain Curioſity for Preſervation of thoſe Princes, as well as diſcharge of his own Truſt, *Verlanga* would neither ſuffer thoſe, nor any other Cloaths to be worn by the Princes, till others had put them on firſt. But Madam *Louiſe* was ſo ill ſatisfied with this Relation, that ſhe haſtened the Peace. To which purpoſe, as the Cardinal *de Salviati*, the Pope's Legate, did contribute his Endeavours, but with Favour certainly to the Emperor, ſo our Ambaſſadors likewiſe did co-operate, but ſo, as they had principal Regard of *Francis*: our King believing that he might be the ſooner induced openly to aſſiſt him, when his Children were free. Thus theſe pompious Ladies, (who met at *Cambray*, *July* 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without ſome Difficulty, Madam *Louiſe* once breaking off the Treaty, ſo that, had not the Emperor, by an Expreſs Courier, enlarg'd the Inſtructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had followed. At laſt they concluded this Treaty, in which alſo our King was comprehended.

Bellay Lib. 3. ſays, that, beſides the two Millions of Crowns, mention'd in the Treaty *Francis* paid, for the Emperor, to our King 500,000 Crowns as a Penalty the Emperor had incurr'd for not marrying the Princeſs *Mary*. Moreover, that he was bound to diſ-ingage, from our King, a rich Jewel in the Form of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the Wood of the true Croſs, being pawn'd heretofore by *Philip*, Father of the Emperor, to *Henry* VII. for fifty thouſand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which Payments, together with the Jewel, as the ſame Author confeſſeth to have been ſent to the Emperor, ſo he acknowledgeth, in the Manner of it, the great Liberality of our King; who, beſides giving *Francis* four Years Term, for Payment of 400,000 Crowns, which, as he ſaith, was the Money lent by our King to *Charles*, did remit and forgive him abſolutely the 500,000 Crowns a-

bove-mention'd; and, for the Jewel, preſented it to his Godſon *Henry* II. Son of *Francis* by the Conveyance of *Guillaume Seigneur de Langey*, whom the *French* King ſent for that purpoſe into *England*.

Beſides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the ſame Time and Place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady *Margarite*, in the Name of the Emperor. Our King's Commiſſioners being *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and Mr. *John Hacket*, our King's Reſident there. Which yet, becauſe it contains nothing of extraordinary, but only the Continuation of Traffick for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or ſell any *Lutheran* Books on either Side, I purpoſely omit.

Francis underſtanding this Concluſion of Peace at *Cambray*, haſteth thither, that he might both render the Lady *Margaret* a Viſit, and promiſe not to fail in the Performance of thoſe Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the *Spaniſh* Writers ſay he held no longer than until the Ambaſſadors of his Confederates in *Italy* came to him; ſo that, when, together with his Breach of League with them, they repreſented their own miſerable Eſtate at that preſent, he excuſed himſelf, through the Neceſſity of his Condition at that Time; aſſuring them nevertheleſs, that, notwithſtanding any Treaty, he would continue his Love to and Care of them, only when firſt he might have his Children. So that in Effect he ſecretly aſſiſted them ſtill; as hoping thereby to defend himſelf againſt the Emperor, when Occaſion were. Which alſo he extended ſo far, as, upon preſumption thereof, he broke ſome Articles, lately concluded with the *Spaniard*. The News of this Treaty was no ſooner brought to Queen *Leonora*, but ſhe, for the better complying with her Huſband, interceded with the Empreſs, upon pretence that *Charles* attempted to draw ſome of the *Swiſs*, heretofore allied with *Francis*, unto his Service, and that the Children of *Francis* might have ſome more Liberty, and the *French* detain'd in *Villalpando* a leſs ſtraight Priſon; which alſo was granted her by the Empreſs.

For the Emperor taking his Opportunity, while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in Agitation, departed from *Barcelona* the 28th of *July* 1529. and arriv'd at *Genoa* the 12th of *Auguſt* after, with a royal Train, and about eight thouſand Soldiers. And here, as *Sandoval* obſerves, began the wearing of ſhort Hair, the Emperor cutting off his, as a Vow for his Paſſage, or, as others have it, for a pain in his Head, long Hair having been accuſtomed many Ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this Voyage of the Emperor's, ſends ſome Cardinals to meet him at *Genoa*, himſelf in the mean while, preparing to attend him at *Bononia*. While the Emperor having found a Reception from the *Genoeſe*, temper'd betwixt Love and Fear, did ſo civilly interpret all to be Reſpect, that he bid them a kind Farewel, and ſo held on his Way till he came near the Confines of the Pope's Poſſeſſions: Where three Cardinals, carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies, met him; and, after due Congratulations, made it appear, that the antient Cuſtom of all thoſe who entered upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to ſwear firſt not to offer any Violence to it. The Emperor accepts the Oath, yet ſo as he ſaid he would not prejudice his own Imperial Right. And becauſe this was near to *Piacenza*, divers underſtood his Words

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to have Relation to that Place, which as alſo *Parma*, is ſaid to have belong'd antiently to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperor had now a great Army in *Italy* under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*, which was employ'd chiefly againſt the *Venetians*, to which it is probable alſo he would have joined his own Forces, had not News come to him of the great Miſchiefs which *Barbaroſſa*, that famous Pirate, did on the Seas, and of the *Turks* Entry into *Hungary*, with Two hundred and fifty thouſand Men. For as this ſtartled the Emperor from his Deſigns in *Italy*, ſo he conſidered as well how uſeful the Pope would be in diſpoſing other Princes to joyn againſt this formidable Army. For which Reaſons, as alſo for making his Coronation more glorious, he reſolved to proteſt againſt all other Enterpriſes, and apply himſelf wholly to that War. And the rather, becauſe the *Turk* had lately undertaken the Protection of *John Sepuſe*, Pretender to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and now laid Siege to *Vienna*, and endanger'd therein the ancient Patrimony of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; beſides, the Proteſtants in *Germany*, having about this Time, made ſome high Demands, he thought it his Part to correct or ſuppreſs them. Only he judged it neceſſary not to give any publick Demonſtration thereof, until the Affairs of *Italy* were compoſed. Therefore, he firſt makes a Peace with the *Venetians*, upon Condition they ſhould reſtore the Places with-held in *Naples* from him, and give back to the Pope likewiſe the Poſſeſſions of the Church. Moreover, that they ſhould pay him a great Sum of Money towards his Charges. Which Articles the *Venetians* (as being in Effect abandoned of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of *Urban* (their General) might be comprehended therein. Which alſo was accorded. They, together with the Pope, interceded likewiſe for *Franciſco Sforza*, deſiring he might be reſtor'd to his former Eſtate. The Emperor alſo, conſidering that he could make no ſecure Peace in in *Italy*, unleſs he remov'd all juſt Cauſes of Jealouſy, begins to think how he might gratify *Sforza* herein, upon a Propoſition of a Marriage to be made between him, and *Chriſtierna* younger Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, and *Iſabel*, Siſter to the Emperor; which yet becauſe of her Unripeneſs for Marriage (being now but ten Years old) took no Effect till 1534. So that when the Buſineſs of *Florence* might have been ended, all *Italy* now ſeem'd compoſed to Quietneſs. Theſe Things thus ſettled, the Emperor entred *Bononia* about the Beginning of *November*, with more Glory, doubtleſs, in that he was inform'd how the *Turk* had raiſed his Siege from *Vienna*, about twenty Days before. From whence after a Month's Siege, he was forced to retire by the Valour of an old *German* Garriſon, commanded by *Philip* Count *Palatine*, having done nothing notable, but crowned with his own Hand, at *Buda*, *John Sepuſe* King of *Hungary*. His Reception alſo was magnificent, while the Youth of that City having apparell'd themſelves in a Livery, attended his Horſe like Lacquies, that they might have the better Pretence to be near him. After whom followed his Army, ſome choice Perſons whereof carried *Antonio de Leyva* on their Shoulders; (though whether in Regard of his antient Infirmity of the Gout, or otherwiſe, for more Oſtentation, is not certain.) In which Equipage he went to the Church of St. *Petronio*, at the Gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a Scaffold, and placed himſelf on the Top, with his *Tiara* or Triple Crown on his Head, and for the reſt,

attended with a great Train of Cardinals, did in that Poſture expect him. The Emperor alighting here from his Horſe aſcended the Steps, and humbled himſelf to a Kiſs of the Pope's Foot, which the Pope preſently diverted to a Pax or Kiſs on the Cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all Mens Eyes, ſo was it the more conſiderable unto the Spectators, for that the Conjunction of thoſe two great Lights (as they term'd it) could not but portend ſome ſtrange Effect to *Chriſtendom*. *Charles* was then about twenty-nine, that is to ſay, in the prime Age to temper his Countenance betwixt Lovelineſs and Majeſty; though nothing yet, in his Face, was ſo remarkable as his great nether Lip. Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that Family, even to this Day, from the Houſe of *Burgundy*. The Pope though gray, retain'd yet much Vigour in his Eyes, though obſerv'd for nothing ſo much as his Beard, which not only he, but alſo all the Cardinals, as our Agent *Richard Cook* hath it, wore at a great Length; beſides, he ſaid, many of them had their Robes or Veſtures of a Violet Colour, inſtead of Scarlet, appearing for the reſt, as the ſame *Crook* relates, in their Faſhions ſomewhat Soldier-like. This Interview being paſt, not without a ſerious Proteſtation of the Emperor's, that he would ſtrive to reduce the Affairs of Religion into better Terms, they both lodg'd in the ſame Houſe, for the more Conveniency of that private Conference which often paſt betwixt them; which alſo continued for ſome Months before they departed. Wherefore though it were thought that the Emperor would make his Advantage, as having the Pope in his Power and Cuſtody; yet the Pope and *Venetians* ſo managed the Buſineſs, as, joyning Offices together, as is aboveſaid, they obtain'd that *Franciſco Sforza* ſhould be admitted to the Emperor's Preſence, and in Conſequence thereof not only pardon'd, but reſtor'd to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which Act of the Emperor's, as it was magnanimous beyond Expectation, ſo was it no leſs opportune; both as it quieted not the *Eſtates* alone, but even Minds of the *Italians*; and, as he diſpos'd them thereby to give them their beſt Aſſiſtance towards his great Affairs in *Germany*. Beſides, he excludes *Francis* from Hope of attempting that Dutchy, unleſs he would declare himſelf an open Diſturber of the Peace of *Italy*. He did not omit yet, to capitulate with *Sforza*, that the Marquis *de Guaſto*, and *Antonio de Leyva* ſhould have certain Lands aſſign'd them out of the Dutchy, and that he might put Garriſons in ſome of the moſt important Places thereof, till Conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a Kind of univerſal League, under Pretence of the Good of *Chriſtendom*, was by the Pope's Means concluded, Place being left for thoſe that would enter into it, which alſo was publiſhed the firſt of *January* 1530, in the Church of St. *Petronio*. And thus the Emperor proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron, which ſhould be received at *Milan*, being brought, and after put on in the Pope's Chappel; the other, of Gold, was ſet on his Head, *February* 24. (which was his Birth-day) by the Pope in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more notable, than that the Emperor, by antient Cuſtom, muſt firſt put on the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly inveſted in this imperial Dignity, the Pope the mean while ſaying Maſs, both in *Latin* and in

Greek. The Rites whereof appear'd ſo much more new and ſtrange, that ſince the Time of *Frederick* 1442, no Emperor had been publickly crowned. This being done, *Franciſco Sforza* was reſtored to an actual Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate. The Emperor placing only a Commander in the Fortreſs or Cittadel of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, and cauſing the City of *Monzo*, with vaſt Poſſeſſions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus ſettled *Lombardy*, he commandeth his Army to march againſt the *Florentines*, whom the Pope paſſionately deſired to chaſtiſe, for the many Injuries his Name and Family had lately received from them.

All which Signs of Amity and Correſpondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crook*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was eaſy to imagine what Hope of Favour he might expect from the Pope in his important Buſineſs; yet leſt he ſhould omit any Thing which might ſerve for Juſtification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawful Way, he ſent to the moſt famous Univerſities of *Italy*, and elſewhere, to have their Opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any Way to prevail himſelf, either of his own Power among his Clergy, or of the Counſel the Pope had formerly given him, till he had firſt diſcovered what the learned'ſt Men in Chriſtendom held in that Point. He alſo writ Letters with his own Hand to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis* (then with the Pope) to tell them, that he had ſent Sir *Thomas Bolen*, newly created Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokeſly*, Elect Biſhop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, and that they ſhould adviſe together what was to be done. Theſe coming to *Bononia*, after ſome Paſſages with the Emperor, who told them he could not deſert his Aunt's Cauſe, repaired to the Pope; to whom having propoſed the King's Affair, they received this Anſwer from him; that though he was urg'd by the Queen's Sollicitor to proceed againſt the King, yet he deſired rather that all proceeding ſhould be ſuſpended in the *Roman* Court, upon Condition that King *Henry* on the other Side, would promiſe not to innovate any Thing in the mean while in *England*. Whereof Information being given our King, he anſwered, that his Holineſs hath fed him hitherto with fair Words only, without Intent to aid him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambaſſadors Audience to juſtify his Cauſe.

In the mean while our King attends his Parliament Buſineſs, where Sir *Thomas More*, who was now returned from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being, in Reward of his Service, made Lord Chancellor, gave in an eloquent Oration at the Parliament Chamber in *Black Fryars*, the firſt Overtures of the King's Intentions in that Parliament. To which our King attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoyning Palace of *Bridewel*, *Thomas Audley* being choſen Speaker for the lower Houſe. And now as *Luther*'s Doctrine was ſecretly admitted into many Places of this Kingdom, with much Approbation, ſo it gave thoſe Impreſſions, as even the moſt ignorant began to examine whether the Errors then ordinarily controverted did belong to the Doctrine, or to the Government of the Church. And this alone, as it was the firſt Step, ſo was it a great and bold Sally towards that Reformation which followed afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among thoſe, who in their Studies had no other Deſign but Truth, and ſatisfying their Conſcience; ſo few underſtood the State of the Que-

ſtions propos'd, ſave only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private Intereſt would not retract, or for Fear of unſettling the received Grounds of Religion in Men's Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet proved a pernicious and fatal Soleciſm. For whereas in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of ſome of the late Doctrines of the *Roman* Church, and a benign Interpretation of the reſt, might have conſerved an univerſal Peace among Chriſtians, they now by an obſtinate and wilful impugning of all thoſe who ſaid it was poſſible for them to err, did leave the Undertaking of this great Work either to diſcontented Clergymen, or to the more laick and improvident Sort; which therefore as it prov'd in ſome Kind, tumultuous and refractory, ſo certainly the Authors on either Side were much to be blamed; when in handling of Controverſies, they either out of Affectation of Glory, or Hopes of gaining large Stipends from their Followers, upon Pretence of revealing ſome new or readier Way for obtaining Heaven and everlaſting Salvation, did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet according to the Rules both of Piety and Wiſdom, they ſhould have proceeded more moderately; conſerving, in the midſt of their Differences, a brotherly Love, and pronouncing the Errors, on what Part ſoever, more worthy Pity than Hate. Which Rule yet was ſo little obſerv'd in *England*, that many Reformers Books, and Perſons, were publickly burnt, while their Diſciples, for Revenge, fell foul upon the Perſons of their Adverſaries, ſetting forth Books to the Prejudice of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order. Which coming at laſt to the King's Knowledge, made him enquire further into the Abuſes of the Clergy, permitting the Redreſs thereof to the lower Houſe of Parliament; where Complaint for Exactions for Probates of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and Prieſts that were Farmers of Lands, *&c.* being made, the Spirituality was much offended, and eſpecially *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who, as our Hiſtory hath it, in a paſſionate Speech told the Lords, that the Commons would nothing now but down with the Church. Saying further, that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the Danger the Kingdom was in, by the Example of *Bohemia*. The lower Houſe being informed thereof, ſent the King a Complaint by their Speaker, deſiring Reparation. But *Fiſher* excuſing himſelf as he could, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* on the Part of the King, mediated the reſt. Notwithſtanding which, the Injury which the Commons thought they had received herein was not ſo digeſted, but that one who had made Uſe of the Evangelicks Doctrine ſo far, as to take a reaſonable Liberty to judge of the preſent Times, and howſoever was offended that the Biſhop rejected all on want of Faith, ſpoke to this Effect.

If none elſe but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would leſs trouble me. But ſince ſo many Religious and different Sects, now conſpicuous in the whole World, do not only vindicate unto themſelves the Name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us reſign our Faith to a ſimple Obedience; I ſhall crave Leave to propoſe, what I think fit in this Caſe, for us Laicks and ſecular Perſons to do. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better Expedient ſhall be offered; but

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that I would be glad we conſidered hereof, as the greateſt Affair that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all human Actions it be hard to find that Medium or even Temper which may keep us from declining into Extreams, it will be much more difficult in religious Worſhip; both as the Path is ſuppoſed narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every Side. And becauſe each Man is created by God a free Citizen of the World, and obliged to nothing ſo much as the Inquiries of thoſe Means by which he may attain his everlaſting Happineſs, it will be fit to examine to whoſe Tuition and Conduct he commit himſelf. For, as ſeveral Teachers, not only differing in Language, Habit and Ceremony, or at leaſt in ſome of theſe, but peremptory and oppoſite in their Doctrines, preſent themſelves, much Circumſpection muſt be uſed. Here then taking his Proſpect, he ſhall find theſe Guides directing him to ſeveral ways; whereof the firſt yet extends no further than to the Laws and Religions of each Man's native Soil or Dioceſs, without paſſing thoſe Bounds. The ſecond, reaching much further, branches itſelf into that Diverſity of Religions and Philoſophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former Times, until he be able to determine which is beſt. But in either of theſe, no little Difficulties will occur. For if each Man ought to be ſecure of all that is taught at Home, without enquiring further, how can he anſwer his Conſcience? When looking Abroad, the Terrors of everlaſting Damnation ſhall be denounced on him, by the ſeveral Hierarchies and viſible Churches of the World, if he believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongſt theſe again, ſuch able and underſtanding Perſons may be found, as, in all other Affairs, will equal his Teachers. Will it be fit that he believe, God hath inſpir'd his Church and Religion only and deſerted the reſt; when yet Mankind is ſo much of one Offſpring, that it hath not only the ſame common Father in God, but is come all from the ſame carnal Anceſtors? Shall each Man without more Examination, believe his Prieſts in what Religion ſoever, and, when he hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other Side, if he muſt argue Controverſies before he can be ſatisfied, how much Leiſure muſt he obtain? How much Wealth and Subſtance muſt he conſume? How many Languages muſt he learn? And how many Authors muſt he read? How many Ages muſt he look into? How many Faiths muſt he examine? How many Expoſitions muſt he confer? And how many Contradictions reconcile? How many Countries muſt he wander into? And how many Dangers muſt he run? Briefly, would not our Life on theſe Terms be a perpetual Peregrination? While each Man poſted into the other's Country, to learn the Way to Heaven, without yet that he could ſay at laſt, he had known or tried all. What remains then to be done? Muſt he take all that each Prieſt upon pretence of Inſpiration would teach him, becauſe it might be ſo? Or may he leave all, becauſe it might be otherwiſe? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impoſſible, when yet in one Age it were poſſible, after incredible Pains and Expences, to learn out, and number them. On the other Side, to reject all Religions indifferently is as impious; there being no Nation, that in ſome kind or other doth not worſhip God. So that there will be a Neceſſity to diſtinguiſh. Not yet that

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any Man will be able, upon Compariſon, to diſcern which is the perfecteſt, among the many profeſſed in the whole World; each of them being of that large Extent, that no Man's Underſtanding will ſerve to comprehend it in its uttermoſt Latitude and Signification; but, at leaſt, that every Man might vindicate and ſever, in his particular Religion, the more eſſential and demonſtrative Parts from the reſt, without being mov'd ſo much as the Threats and Promiſes of any other Religion, that would make him obnoxious, as to depart from this Way: There being no ordinary Method ſo intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each Man to his deſired End. Having thus therefore recollected himſelf, and together implored the Aſſiſtance of that ſupreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; he muſt labour in the next place to find out what inward Means, his Providence hath deliver'd, to diſcern the true, not only from the falſe, but even from the likely and poſſible; each of them requiring a peculiar Scrutiny and Conſideration. Neither ſhall he fly thus to particular Reaſon, which may ſoon lead him to Hereſy, but after a due Separation of the more doubtful and controverted Parts, ſhall hold himſelf to common, authentick, and univerſal Truths, and conſequently inform him, what, in the ſeveral Articles propoſed to him, is ſo taught, as it it firſt written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Laws and Religions he can hear of in the whole World; for this certainly can never deceive him; ſince therein he ſhall find out how far the Impreſſions of God's Wiſdom and Goodneſs are extant in all Mankind, and to what degrees his univerſal Providence hath Dilated itſelf; *While thus aſcending to God by the ſame ſteps he deſcends to us, he cannot fail to encounter the Divine Majeſty. Neither ought it to trouble him, if he find theſe Truths variouſly complicated with Difficulties or Errors; ſince, without inſiſting on more Points than what are clearly agreed, on every Side, it will be his Part to reduce them into Method and Order; which alſo is not hard, they being but few, and apt for Connexion; So that it will concern our ſeveral Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular Direction; leſt, otherwiſe, they do like thoſe who would perſuade us to renounce Day-light, to ſtudy only by their Candle. It will be worth the Labour, aſſuredly, to inquire how far theſe Univerſal Notions will guide us, before we commit ourſelves to any of their abſtruſe and ſcholaſtick Miſteries, or ſupernatural and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they alſo may Challenge a juſt Place in our Belief, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Teſtimony; but that they cannot be underſtood as ſo indifferent and unfallible Principles for the Inſtruction of all Mankind.* Thus, among many ſuppoſed inferior and queſtionable Deities, worſhipped in the four Quarters of the World, we ſhall find one Chief ſo taught us, as above others to be highly reverenced.

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, *&c.* deliver'd us as Inſtruments or Parts of his Worſhip, he ſhall find Virtue ſo Eminent, as it alone concludes and ſums up the reſt. Inſomuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally reſolv'd into it; good Life, Charity, Faith in, and Love of God, being ſuch neceſſary and eſſential Parts of Religion, that all the reſt are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

Among the many Expiations, Luſtrations, and Propitiations for our Sins, taught in the ſeveral Quarters of the World,

World, in ſundry Times, we ſhall find that none doth avail without hearty Sorrow for our Sins, and a true Repentance towards God, whom we have offended.

And laſtly, amidſt the divers Places and Manners of Reward and Puniſhment, which former Ages have delivered, we ſhall find God's Juſtice and Mercy not ſo limited, but that he can extend either of them even beyond Death, and conſequently Recompenſe or Chaſtiſe eternally. Theſe therefore, as univerſal and undoubted Truths, ſhould in my Opinion be firſt receiv'd. They will at leaſt keep us from Impiety and Atheiſm, and together lay a Foundation for God's Service, and the Hope of a better Life. Beſides, it will reduce Men's Minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a ſolid Practice of Virtue, or when we fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpoſe thro' God's Grace to amend our ſinful Life, without making Pardon ſo eaſy, cheap or mercenary, as ſome of them do. Laſtly, it will diſpoſe us to a general Concord and Peace: For when we are agreed concerning theſe eternal Cauſes and Means of our Salvation, why ſhould we ſo much differ for the reſt? ſince as theſe Principles exclude nothing of Faith, or Tradition that tends to God's Glory, in what Age or Manner ſoever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the Belief of any pious Miracle that conduceth to God's Glory; without that, on this Occaſion, we need to ſcandalize or offend each other. The common Truths in Religion, formerly mentioned, being firmer Bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions, whether written or unwritten, ſhould diſſolve them. Let us, therefore, eſtabliſh and fix theſe Catholick or univerſal Notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatſoever elſe is faithfully taught upon the Authority of the Church. So that, whether the Eaſtern, Weſtern, Northern, or Southern Teachers, *&c.* and particularly whether my Lord of *Rocheſter*, *Luther*, *Eccius*, *Zuinglius*, *Eraſmus*, *Melanchon*, &c. be in the Right, we Laicks may ſo build upon thoſe Catholick and infallible Grounds of Religion, as whatſoever Superſtructures of Faith be rais'd, thoſe Foundations yet may ſupport them.

But a few Men are of the ſame Mind in all Points of Religion, ſo, it is probable this Overture was entertain'd diverſly: Some wiſhing a Reformation upon what Terms ſoever; others, if it could be ſafely done, as thinking there may be Diſeaſes in Religion, like that of the *Cancer Occultus*, which Phyſicians ſay, it is more ſafe to let alone than to cure. Yet as it was manifeſt that in Probats of Teſtaments, Plurality of Benefices, and divers other ways abovemention'd, the Clergy had incroach'd and uſurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, ſo they would now omit no longer to give a redreſs to theſe groſſer Faults. Therefore about laſt Wills and Teſtaments, which Cardinal *Woolſey*'s Legatine Power had ſo diſordered, as Sir *Henry Guilford* proteſted openly, that himſelf being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir *William Compton*, who died 1528. of the Sweating Sickneſs, could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before he had paid 1000 Marks, ſome profitable Orders were made. And the Buſineſs of Mortuaries, exacted with much Extremity even on the pooreſt, was ſettled. Moreover ſpiritual Perſons were abridg'd from taking of Farms, and from Plurality of Livings, unleſs they were qualified either by certain Univerſity Degrees, or by the Nobility,

Nobility, to whom a competent Number of Chaplains were aſſign'd. Non-reſidence alſo, then very uſual, was forbidden, but in ſome Caſes, and for the reſt explain'd, and interpreted. An Act alſo paſſed for a general Pardon of all Offences, Forfeitures, Puniſhments, *&c.* except Murders, and Treaſons; which the King granted by way of gratifying his Subjects, for a Releaſe of a great Loan of Money from them, *Anno* 15. *Henry* VIII. which motioned and aſſented to by the Lords, was, with much ado, confirmed by the Lower Houſe. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Aſſize, which being Complicate before, were reduced to a more ſingle Method. And this was much to the Eaſe of the Subjects. It was alſo declared Felony for Servants to imbezzle their Maſters Goods to the Value of forty Shillings and upwards. And Order taken, that, after a Felon was attainted, but not before, ſtoln Goods might be reſtored. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Braſs ſhould be carried beyond Sea. Which ſeems to regard principally making of great Ordnance; about this Time appearing of great Uſe. Artificers Strangers alſo were reſtrain'd to certain Rules. As that they might not keep above two Strangers Servants in their Houſe. That they ſhould bear ſuch Charges as natural Subjects did, paying all Subſidies, *&c.* and take an Oath to be True and Obedient to the King and his Laws. That they ſhould have no Conventicles, but meet in the common Halls of their Craft. They they ſhould not have Journeymen or Prentices Strangers above ten at a Time. Moreover, Authority was given to the Preſident of the King's Council to aſſociate with the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* both for the Puniſhment of Riots, and unlawful Aſſemblies, *&c.* and ſetting of Prizes of Wines, as alſo all other Acts, limitted and appointed by any Statute to be done by the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* Other Laws alſo were enacted, which for being merely Legal, and therefore relative chiefly to the Maſters of the Law, or otherwiſe Mechanical, or at leaſt ſo particular, that they belong not properly to Hiſtory, I purpoſely omit. And ſo, a Week before *Chriſtmas*, the Parliament was prorogued to the Year following.

Before yet I come to the Year 1530. I muſt not omit to mention *Haradin Barbaroſſa* that famous Pirate, who, from a low and obſcure Beginning, had, by his Valour and Conduct, as we have before touched, obtained the Kingdom of *Argier*. For being not Fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his Men, he did, with no leſs Succeſs, attempt divers ſtrong Places; ſo that he was generally feared; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinon* a *Jew*, and many other notable *Picarons* had ranged themſelves under him; whereby his Forces were ſo increaſed, that no Navigation was ſecure in the Parts adjoining to him. This Year, particularly, he had taken *Penon de Velez* from the *Spaniard*, and defeated a Fleet of theirs ſhortly after. And now this Deſign was to make himſelf Maſter of the Seas from *Gibraltar* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperor employed divers, but unfortunately; inſomuch that *Andrea Doria* himſelf, though recovering ſome Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where Part of *Barbaroſſa*'s Sea Forces, under the Command of one *Haly*, a Pirate of *Tunis*, rode at Anchor; yet when he cauſed ſome Soldiers to be landed to attempt

the Caſtle, *Haly* gathering a few reſolute Men together charged them deſperately, and gave them a Repulſe with the Loſs of ſo many, as made *Doria* deſiſt from his Enterprize; which being advertiſed to the Emperor, made him reſolve to invade *Barbaroſſa* in his own Country, the Succeſs whereof ſhall be related hereafter. The Context of my Hiſtory requiring me now to ſpeak of the *Florentines*; on whom as the Pope paſſionately deſired to be reveng'd, ſo the Emperor, having his pretences alſo, did for complying with him, ſend an Army thither under the Command of *Philibert* Prince of *Orange*, the Marquis of *Guaſto*, *Juan de Urbano*, and others of Note, and about twenty-ſix thouſand Men. The Pope yet uſed Diſtinction; for if he deſired that the Enemies of his Name and Family, with their Adherents, ſhould be puniſhed, he intreated as well that the City and Country, whereof he was a Native, ſhould be ſpared. But as the Prince of *Orange* thought this a Subtilty fitter for a School-man than a Soldier, he undertook them together. While *Malateſta Baglioni*, a brave Gentleman, aſſociated with *Franciſco Carduci*, and ten others, were choſen the chief Directors of the *Florentine* Affairs. And by their Advice the ſmaller Places of *Tuſcany*, for avoiding that final Deſſolation that Aſſaults do bring, yielded themſelves betime. Yet ſo as *Juan de Urbino*, a Soldier of Note, was killed at one of them. And thus Siege was laid to the fair City; the Suburbs whereof being very weak, were thrown down, that they might the better fortify their Ramparts, and eſpecial Care taken to keep the Paſſage for Victuals open. Yet as the War was thought to proceed out of Unkindneſs rather than Hate, ſo divers of the more innocent Sort perſuaded the reſt to implore the Pope's Mercy. The Reſult whereof was, that at laſt an Ambaſſade was ſent. But as by the Craft of the adverſe Party, Election was made of mean and deſpicable Perſons, the Deſign was eluded; the Pope not vouchſafing ſo much as to hear them. This made them reſolve to defend themſelves. Inſomuch that all their Fear being now actuated into Deſperation, that by continual Sallies (as well by Night as Day) not only wearied the Beſiegers, and ſlew divers of their ableſt Commanders, but finally killed *Philibert* Prince of *Orange* himſelf, who being young, valiant, and liberal, was much lamented among the Soldiers. Famine, yet, at laſt preſſing the *Florentines*, a Parly was propoſed; but the more daring Sort (chuſing rather to die with their Arms in their Hands, than to yield to the incenſed Pope) ſallied forth with that Fury and Diſorder, that one would have thought they pretended not ſo much to Victory, as to ſome other Death than Hunger. The more unquiet Sort, being thus at length worn out and ſpent, the reſt, by the Means of *Malateſta*, came to a Compoſition with the Emperor, the Pope alſo, out of Compaſſion to his Country, conſenting to it, upon theſe Terms; that they ſhould pay 80000 Ducats towards the Charge of the Army. That their popular Government ſhould be changed to monarchical, under the Rule and Dominion of *Aleſſandro de Medici* (Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbin*) and his Heirs; their ancient Privileges being nevertheleſs reſerved. And thus, after above ten Months Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperor; who, for more ample Teſtimony of his Favour, beſtowed *Margarita* his natural Daughter, upon *Aleſſandro de Medici*, together with the Title of Duke. I find yet, by a private Diſpatch, that he was

not very well pleaſed with theſe Articles, as believing he might have made more Advantage of his Conqueſt; though, for contenting the Pope he gave Way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the Buſineſs of *Germany*. For as the Affairs of Religion in thoſe Parts, together with the Invaſion of the Turk, required his Preſence, ſo he departed from *Italy*, above five Months before the Rendition of that Place: making, in his Way, the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his Brother *Ferdinand* at *Inſpruch*, with much Demonſtration of Love. Where he alſo adviſed concerning the preſent Eſtate and Diſpoſition, not of the Affairs only, but even Perſons and Favourites of thoſe with whom he was to treat. So that coming at laſt to *Ausburg*, where a general Diet and Aſſembly was appointed, with much Solemnity, the Electors and other Princes of *Germany* meeting there, he required their Grievances. The Account whereof yet I muſt omit a while, that I may come to the Reſtitution of *Francis* his Children.

The Jewel, Money, and Acquittances required for Diſcharge of his precious Hoſtages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to perform his Agreement. Only as he confeſt himſelf much enabled hereunto by the ſpecial Goodneſs and Bounty of our King, ſo he failed not to take his Advice upon all Occaſions. And thus, the Day being come, *Anne de Montmorency*, Grand Maſter of *France*, and *Hernando Velaſco Condeſtable de Caſtilla* were choſen by both Princes, for the Perſons to whoſe Fidelity and Care they thought fit to commend this important Buſineſs. And becauſe the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the moſt ſubſtantial whereof, beſides thoſe extant in the Treaty of *Cambray*, to which Relation muſt be had, were theſe following.

I. That a Bridge or *Pontone*, of forty foot long, and fifteen broad, ſhould be erected upon Boats faſtned with Anchors upon the midſt of the River betwixt *Fuentarabie* and *Audaja*; whereupon the Exchange ſhall be made.

II. That no Troops of Horſe ſhould be within ten Leagues of the Place for ten Days before, and ten Days after the Delivery, nor no conſiderable Number of Foot, and that no Gentleman ſhould paſs that Way, but thoſe who were appointed.

III. That at the Day of Delivery, no Company of Men or Women ſhould be within three Leagues of the Place.

IV. That in *Fuentarabie* there ſhould be none but the ordinary Garriſon, being fifty Men, and that the Cannon ſhould be diſmounted.

V. That a hundred Horſe, and four hundred Foot, which afterwards was reduced to a leſs Number, ſhould be allowed on either ſide to come to the Bank of the River.

VI. That twelve Perſons ſhould be admitted on either Side to paſs over and ſee theſe Articles obſerved; And that two Galleons ſhould coaſt the River, with equal Numbers of both Nations to prevent Surprizes.

VII. That the Money ſhould be brought in one Shallop, and the Hoſtages in another, to the two Sides of the Bridge; and that for counter-ballancing the Money, ſo much Iron ſhould be put in the other.

VIII. That in the Shallop of the Hoſtages ſhould be twelve *Spaniards*, the *Condeſtable*, and *Seigneur de Praet* being comprehended, and *Monſieur de Briſac*, a *French-man*, with Swords and Daggers, the Hoſtages having Daggers only. And

that the like Number and Arms ſhould be permitted to *Montmorency* in the other Shallop. And one *Alvaro de Lugo* a *Spaniard*, with two Pages to go along with them in Lieu of the Hoſtages, and twelve Oars on either Part unarm'd.

IX. That coming both at the ſame Time to the two Sides of the Bridge, the *Condeſtable*, and *Montmorency* ſhould land firſt on the ſaid Bridge, and call to them in equal Number their Companies. And that the *Spaniards* ſhould paſs into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewels were, along the one Side of a Barrier erected, and the *French*, on the other Shallop of the Hoſtages.

X. That Queen *Leonora* ſhould go in a Shallop apart with ſix Ladies Attendants, the reſt being eight Cavaliers and ſix Oars of either Nation; but that ſhe would not paſs till the Exchange were made. Notwithſtanding which Agreement, ſo much Time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the Money, that many Weeks preceding were ſpent before they could accord of the Payment. The *Spaniard* finding the Gold to want of its Purity, and the Deſcheo or Loſs being valued at 40000 Crowns. Beſides, as the River on the *Spaniſh* Shore was ſhallower than on the *French*, there wanted not ſome Jealouſy and Wrangling. Howſoever, at length the Delivery was made. Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd, did poſt from *Bourdeux* to *Varin*, where with much Joy he receiv'd his Children, and Queen *Leonora de Seres*, whom alſo he married an Hour before the Day following.

And now *Francis* remembring how much it concern'd him to correſpond with our King, to whom he owed firſt his own, and next his Childrens Liberty, ſent over to acquaint him therewith.

Our King alſo conſidering that *Francis* being now diſ-engaged, might more freely declare himſelf, did, by a particular Meſſage, not only make known the little Hope he had of the Pope's Favour in his particular Buſineſs, but deſired that King's Aſſiſtance, for obtaining the Reſolution of the Univerſities and learned Men in his Kingdom, concerning the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage; for which Purpoſe he induced *Guillaume de Bellay*, ſent by *Francis* to him in the Beginning of this Year, to co-operate with them, as alſo thoſe of *Italy* and *Germany*, not omitting together to employ at *Paris*, his Kinſman and Beneficiary *Reginald Pole*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Edward Fox*, Maſter *William Paget*, after, being ſent to *Orleans* and *Thouloufe*, and *Francis*, together readily promiſing his Aſſiſtance. And becauſe our King and many Agents about this Time employ'd in *Italy*, as namely Doctor *Richard Croke*, a Man excellent in the *Greek* Tongue, at *Padua*; *Hierome de Ghinucci*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Gregory Caſalis* at *Rome*; Doctor *Stokeſly* at *Venice*, *Thomas Cranmer*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Andreas* and *Johannes Caſalis*, and *Previdellus*; he had enough to do, while ſometimes he laboured to reconcile, and ſometimes again to make Uſe of their various Advertiſements. *Stokeſley* writ in a Letter dated *June* 13. that he had gotten the Opinions of the Univerſity of *Bononia*; and that more would have concurred, had not the Pope contradicted. *Croke* ſaid, the Pope and Emperor threatned all that ſubſcribed in Favour of the King's Cauſe. He writes alſo, that the Emperor's Ambaſſador in *Padua*, challenged one Friar *Thomas*, for favouring the King's Cauſe, and told him, if this Concluſion ſhould take Effect, many of the greateſt Princes of *Chriſtendom* ſhould be diſherited, or ta-

ken as illegitimate; accounting in thoſe as well the Emperor, as the King of *Portugal*. Notwithſtanding which, he had gotten eighty principal Mens Hands, a good while ſince, and had obtained thirty more, which yet by their Means were burnt. By a Letter alſo of *Crokes*, *Aug.* 24. It appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of *Venice*, to oppoſe the King in his Demand. Further more he proteſted none would take Money, Lawyers only excepted, for delivering their Opinions, though he forced ſometimes a ſmall Reward on them when they had done. Which particular Doctor *Stokeſley*, in a Diſpatch, *Sept.* 23. 1530. did confirm; ſaying, it was their Manner both in *Padua* and *Bononia* to refuſe Money with theſe Words, *What we freely receive from the Holy Ghoſt, we as freely and willingly impart.* Moreover *Croke* by a Letter, *Aug.* 31. 1530. ſaid, Cæſar *by Threatnings, Prayers, Money and the Prieſthood, partly frightens our Side, and partly confirms his own:* Certifying our King further, that *Andreas Caſalis* and *Previdellus* did reveal his Highneſs's Secrets to the *Ceſarians:* In Concluſion, I find that many would have given their Opinion in Favour of the Divorce, if they durſt. So that though the King's Agents did now and then differ in ſome Points, they all yet agreed, that moſt of the learned Men in thoſe Parts would have favoured the King in the Point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperor oppugned it. *Croke* adds further, that the Emperor got ſome Hands in *Mantua* for Money, but they were of the meaner Sort. Whereas twenty-nine Doctors in that Place had freely ſubſcribed on his Highneſs's Part. Now as *Gregory Caſalis* ſeem'd among all his Highneſs's Agents, at this Time, the moſt induſtrious, ſo he ſolicited the Pope continually on our King's Behalf, not neglecting alſo the *Ceſarians*, to whom he gave, and from whom he received that Intelligence, as he made Advantage of all. By which dangerous and ſuſpected Wiſdom yet he prevailed ſo far, that at length he had Authority, as it ſeems, to write a Diſpatch, importing that the Pope gave the King Leave to have two Wives.

How this Letter was believed or accepted yet, doth not appear to me; So that although *Melancton* is ſaid to have concurred in ſome ſuch Opinion, no Effect followed thereof. For I find, that at this very Time, King *Henry*, jealous of the Queen's, or, as our Hiſtorians ſay, of *Woolſey*'s procuring Bulls againſt him, ſet forth this Proclamation, *Sept.* 19.

THE King's Highneſs ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of Perſon, of what Eſtate, Degree or Condition ſoever he or they be of, do purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, or elſewhere, nor uſe and put in Execution, divulge or publiſh any Thing heretofore within this Year paſſed, purchaſed, or to be purchaſed hereafter, containing Matter prejudicial to the high Authority, Juriſdiction and Prerogative Royal of this his ſaid Realm, or to the Let, Hindrance, or Impeachment of his Graces noble and virtuous intended Purpoſes in the Premiſſes; upon Pain of incurring his Highneſs's Indignation and Impriſonment, and farther Puniſhment of their Bodies, for ſo doing, at his Grace's Pleaſure, to the dreadful Example of all other.

Thus did the King begin to ſhake off the *Romiſh* Yoke; to which he was much animated

animated by the Concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spiritual and Temporal.

And now Cardinal *Woolsey* it seems had tried his uttermost Skill for recovering of the King's Favour; whereof also some Hope was given him, in his being permitted to remove to *Richmond*. But as his Enemies suspected he would make Use of this Nearness to obtain Access to the King, so they labour'd instantly to send him to the North. Wherein they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Revenues of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and Abbey of St. *Albans*, as also some other Places of his forfeited by the *Præmunire*, might be applied in Part to the King's Servants; a Pension only out of *Winchester*, being reserved to the Cardinal. The Revenues also of his two Colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other Affliction: Insomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his Knees, with weeping Eyes, that the College of *Oxford* might stand, and importuned *Cromwel* to this Purpose, since they are in a Manner, saith he, *The Work of his own Hands*. But *Cromwel* return'd him no Comfort herein, saying, the King was determined to dissolve them, though whether he meant to restore them again, and found them in his own Name, he knew not; but wishes him to be content, *&c.* Howsoever, in the Traffick of these other Lands, as well as Negotiating his Master's Business, *Cromwel* shewed that Dexterity, which at last won him much Credit, both with the King and his principal Counsellors. And now the Cardinal being commanded to *York*, had no Excuse for retarding his Journey, but want of Means, which also he signified to the King; who thereupon sent him a Thousand Pounds, with which a Train, reduced now to about one hundred and sixty Persons, he set forth, giving by the Way much Alms, and not a few other Arguments of Devotion, which also made him gracious with the People, who resorted from all Places adjoining, to him. And thus with slow and unwilling Removes, he came to *Cawood* Castle near *York*, about the End of *September*, 1530, where he prepared according to the antient Custom, to be installed with much Ceremony about a Month after; all Access to the Choir, being till then forbidden. But whether the Solemnity of this Action was thought by our King to be unreasonable, and misbecoming one in Disgrace; or that otherwise the Cardinal had cast forth some discontented Words, which were related again to the King; here certainly began his final Ruin. Which, as his Enemies, at this distance did with more Boldness and Advantage procure, so had he less Means to repair himself. Insomuch, that without being able to discover or prevent their Machinations, he was forced to suffer all that could be either truly or, almost, falsly surmised against him. Neither had he other Hope, but that the Punishments he had already endured, might be accepted as an intire Satisfaction for all his Offences. And now his Stallation grew near, when the Earl of *Northumberland*, Warden of the Marches, with one Sir *Walter Welsh*, Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, came by the King's Command to *Cawood* to arrest the Cardinal, wherein he used that Diligence and Secresy, that he plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any escaped to advertise the Cardinal thereof. Neither did he, at the Earl's coming up Stairs receive him in other Terms than those of a Guest, till entering into a private Chamber together, the Earl in a low and troubled

Voice

Voice arreſted him of High Treaſon. The diſmayed and penſive Cardinal ſtayed awhile before he anſwered, but at laſt recovering his Spirits, demanded the Sight of the Earl's Commiſſion, proteſting that, otherwiſe he would not obey; urging further, that he was a Member of the College of Cardinals at *Rome*, and ſo exempt from all Princes Juriſdiction. But while the Earl replied, that he might not ſhew his Commiſſion, Sir *Walter Welſh*, who had now arreſted Doctor *Auguſtine*, the Cardinal's Phyſician, comes in, and confirms what the Earl had ſaid. The Cardinal believing, by this Time, that they were in good earneſt, yields to Sir *Walter Welſh*, as the King's Servant, and not to the Earl; to whom he ſaid he would not ſubmit himſelf, before he was better ſatisfied of his Authority. Which whether he did out of Stubbornneſs to the Earl, who had been heretofore educated in his Houſe, or out of deſpight to Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, who, he might conceive, had put this Affront upon him, in finding Means to employ her ancient Sutor to take Revenge in both their Names, doth not appear to me by my Author. Howſoever, he proteſted he was no way faulty in his Allegiance. Doctor *Auguſtine*, whoſe Offence yet doth not appear to me, was diſpatch'd to *London*, in the Poſture of a Traitor, his Legs were tied to his Horſe. But the Cardinal had ſome Reſpite; though yet commanded to prepare for his Journey; which he began at length in a deliberate Manner, that if he removed ſlowly before from the King, he moved now more ſlowly to him. Inſomuch that had not the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to whom, being the Steward of the King's Houſhold, the Earl of *Northumberland* was commanded to deliver him, till the King's further Pleaſure were known, told him, that the King commanded he ſhould be uſed kindly, as one whom he highly favoured; it is probable, that the afflicted Cardinal would have fallen under the Burthen of his own Griefs. Furthermore, the Earl aſſured him on the King's Part, that though his Highneſs could do no leſs that put him to his Trial, yet that it was more for the ſatisfying of ſome Perſons, than out of Miſtruſt of his Traiterous Doings. And thus at *Sheffield* Caſtle, he had ſtaid a Fortnight, when a Wind Cholick, which ended in a Dyſentery, took him. In which State, Sir *William Kingſton*, Captain of the King's Guard, and Conſtable of the Tower, attended with twenty-four Yeomen of the Guard, all of them formerly Servants to the Cardinal, did find him. So that notwithſtanding the many Encouragements of the Earl, ſeconded by Sir *William Kingſton*, who on his Knees ſaluted him, the Cardinal remained ſtill ſick and comfortleſs. Neither did it avail him, that Sir *William Kingſton*, on the King's Part, gave him many gracious Words, adding furthermore, that he ſhould make no more Haſte than ſtood with his Health and Convenience. For the Cardinal became ſtill more and more dejected. Notwithſtanding as he conſider'd that Delay would but argue Guiltineſs, ſo he proceeded in his Journey the beſt he could, till he came to *Leiceſter* Abbey, where a Fever complicate with his former Diſeaſe, ſeizing him, he languiſh'd, not without manifeſt Signs of his End. Being thus upon his Bed, Sir *William Kingſton* came again to comfort him, but the Cardinal finding now that Death would diſcharge him of all Trials, but that before God, ſpake to this Effect:

Had I ſerved God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me

me over in my gray Hairs; but this is my juſt Reward. Notwithſtanding, I pray ye commend me moſt humbly to the King, deſiring him to call to Mind all Matters that have paſt betwixt us, and eſpecially about Queen *Katharine*, and then ſhall his Grace know whether I have offended him. He is a Prince of a Royal Courage; but rather than he will want or miſs any Part of his Will or Pleaſure, he will endamage the Loſs of one Half of his Realm. For, I aſſure you, I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes the Space of three Hours, to perſuade him from his Will and Appetite, but could never diſſuade him from it. Therefore Maſter *Kingſton*, I warn you, if ever you be of his Council (as for your Wiſdom you are meet) that ye be well aſſured and adviſed what you put in his Head, for you ſhall never put it out again. After which Words (as *Cavendiſh* hath them) he began an Exhortation to take Heed of the *Lutherans*, by the Example of thoſe of *Bohemia*, leſt they ſhould likewiſe ſubvert the Secular Power.

But as in the proſecuting of this Diſcourſe his Speech fail'd him, ſo did his Breath preſently after, inſomuch, that he died, and was buried there in the Abby Church, *November* 30. before Day. And not, where he had begun a Monument for himſelf, long ſince, wherein as appears by our Records, he had not omitted his own Image, which one *Benedetto*, a Statuary of *Florence*, took in Hand 1524. and continued till 1529. receiving for ſo much as was already done 4250 Ducats. The Deſign whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded far that of *Henry* VII. Nevertheleſs, I find the Cardinal, when this was finiſh'd, did purpoſe to make a Tomb for *Henry* VIII. but dying in this Manner, King *Henry* made uſe of ſo much as he found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the Tomb of the Cardinal partake the ſame Fortune with his College, as being aſſumed by the King; both which yet remain ſtill unperfect. The News of the Cardinal's Death being brought to our King, did ſo much afflict him, that he wiſhed it had coſt him twenty thouſand Pounds upon condition he had lived. Howbeit he omitted not to enquire of about one thouſand and five hundred Pounds, which the Cardinal had lately got, without that the King could imagine how. So that, till it appeared he borrowed it of divers Perſons, he might perchance ſuſpect it to be the Remainder of ſome of his antient Acquiſitions.

And thus concluded that great Cardinal. A Man in whom Ability of Parts, and Induſtry were equally eminent, tho', for being employed wholly in ambitious Ways, they became dangerous Inſtruments of Power in active and mutable Times. By theſe Arts yet he found Means to govern not only the chief Affairs of this Kingdom, but of *Europe*; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not ſeek to him; and as this procur'd him divers Penſions, ſo, when he acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, ſo cunningly to diſoblige that Prince who did ſee him laſt, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other Side. But not of ſecular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of *Rome* he was no little courted; of which therefore he made eſpecial Uſe, while he drew them to ſecond him on moſt Occaſions. His Birth being otherwiſe ſo obſcure and mean, as no Man had ever ſtood ſo ſingle: for which Reaſon alſo, his chief Endeavour was not to diſpleaſe any great Perſon, which yet could not ſecure him againſt

againſt the divers Pretenders of that Time. For as all things paſſed thro' his Hands, ſo they who failed in their Suits generally hated him, all which, tho' it did but exaſperate his ill Nature, yet this good Reſultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be juſt; whereof alſo he obtain'd the Reputation in his publick Hearing of Cauſes. For as he loved no body, ſo his Reaſon carried him. And thus he was an uſeful Miniſter of his King, in all Points, where there was no Queſtion of diſſerving the *Roman* Church; of which, at what Price ſoever, I find he was a zealous Servant; as hoping thereby to aſpire to the Papacy, whereof, as the factious Times then were, he ſeem'd more capable than any, had he not ſo immoderately affected it. Whereby alſo it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations; that Prince, who was ableſt to help him to this Dignity, being ever prefer'd by him, which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperor and *French* King, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon theſe Terms, he doubted not to convey vaſt Treaſures out of this Kingdom, eſpecially unto *Rome*, where he had not a few Cardinals at his Devotion. By whoſe help, though he could not obtain that ſupreme Dignity he ſo paſſionately deſired, yet he prevail'd himſelf ſo much of their Favour, as he got a kind of abſolute Power in ſpiritual Matters at Home. Wherewith again he ſo ſerv'd the King's Turn, as it made him think the leſs of uſing his own Authority. One Error ſeem'd common to both, which was that ſuch a Multiplicity of Offices and Places were inveſted in him. For as it drew much Envy upon the Cardinal in particular, ſo it derogated no little from the Regal Authority, while one Man alone ſeemed to exhauſt all. Since it becometh Princes to do like good Huſbandmen when they ſow their Grounds, which is, to ſcattter and not to throw all in one Place. He was no great Diſſembler, for ſo qualified a Perſon; as ordering his Buſineſſes for the moſt part ſo cautiouſly, as he got more by keeping his Word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was far from exact) it conſiſted chiefly in the Subtilties of the *Thomiſts*, wherewith the King and himſelf did more often weary than ſatisfy each other. His Style in Miſſives was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the Point. Briefly, if it be true, (as *Polydore* obſerves) that no Man ever did riſe with fewer Virtues, it is as true, that few that ever fell from ſo high a Place had leſſer Crimes objected againſt him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his firſt coming into *England* committed to Priſon by him, as we have ſaid) may be ſuſpected as a partial Author. So that in all probability he might have ſubſiſted longer, when either his Pride and immenſe Wealth had not made him obnoxious, and ſuſpected to the King, or that other than Women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and cloſe Enemies, ſo for the moſt Part, they carry their Buſineſſes in that Manner, they leave fewer Advantages againſt themſelves, than Men do. In concluſion, as I cannot aſſent to thoſe who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compaſſion of the People a little before his End, ſo I cannot but account it a principal Felicity, that during his Favour with the King, all Things ſucceeded better than afterwards, though yet it may be doubted whether the Impreſſions he gave, did not occaſion divers Irregularities which were obſerv'd to follow.

I will return now a while to the Buſi-

neſs of the Emperor at *Augſburg*, where, by his Command, the General Diet was appointed the eighth of *April*, 1530. Cardinal *Campejus* being employed for theſe Buſineſſes on the Pope's Behalf. The Emperor coming thither in the beginning of *June*, the firſt point reſolved, was, that until Controverſies in Religion were ſettled, all the Preachers on both Sides (ſome moderate Perſons to be nominated by the Emperor only excepted) ſhould be ſilenc'd: Which being done, the Emperor declares, that the Cauſes of calling together the Aſſembly were, Firſt, the Invaſion of the *Turk*. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion; demanding their Advice and Help in both; which that they might perform with leſs Confuſion, he commanded their ſeveral Propoſitions to be put in Writing and read. Whereupon the reformed Princes made Inſtance, that Matters of Religion might be firſt compos'd, promiſing afterwards to proceed unto the reſt. Not long after which, *Campejus* in a Latin Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperor herein; adding further in the Pope's Name, that ſuch Order ſhould be taken as Unity in Religion might be conſerv'd, to the End that all might go againſt the *Turk*. Which alſo was ſpoken in Sequence of the Emperor's Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where he endeavoured nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in Agitation in *Germany*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, with whom *Melanchthon* was, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the Lantgrave and others, deſired the Emperor to receive in Writing the Confeſſion of their Faith, called from this Diet, *Confeſſio Auguſtana*, which the Emperor at laſt granted; admitting afterwards the Confeſſion of *Straſburgh*, *Conſtance*, *Lyndaw*, *Memingen*, and ſome other great Towns, who following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in ſome Points. Whereupon, Advice being taken with *Campejus*, what was to be done, it was determined, that ſome able Perſons of the *Romaniſts* ſhould, by way of Confutation, return a written Anſwer hereunto, accompanied with a ſtrict Command of the Emperors to obey it. But this again, was mitigated, and the Reaſons, at laſt, examined on both Sides. The Reſultance whereof, among the more ſober, was, that ſince they agreed on ſo many Points, their chief Labours ſhould be not to make any Schiſm for the reſt; ſince it could not be denied, but ſome things required Reformation. But the more heady ſort, on either ſide, would not acquieſce ſo, requiring an abſolute Aſſent to their ſeveral Opinions; inſomuch that they kindled in their Diſputations againſt each other. The Duke of *Saxony*, particularly, demanding, that the Anſwer to their Confeſſion might be given to them in Writing, which yet was not ſuddenly approv'd by the Emperor; tho' at laſt finding no other way to avoid Tumult, he granted their Requeſt, on this Condition, that they ſhould not print or publiſh the ſaid Anſwer. Wherewith ſome were ſo diſcontented, that they returned Home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conſcience, unleſs they diſputed it Abroad, and inſtructed others. At laſt in *Auguſt* 1530. ſeven Perſons were appointed on each Side, to determine Controverſies, of which two ſhould be Perſons of Quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the *Romaniſts* took the Biſhop of *Augſburgh*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, two Lawyers, and *Winpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochlæus*, Divines. The other ſide chooſing *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*,

burgh, *John Frederick* of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melanchon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepfius*, Divines. But these not agreeing sufficiently, though coming somewhat nearer than they are at this present, *Melanchon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others were permitted to decide the Business. But because the Protestants thought they had yielded already, to as much as was possible for them with Safety of Conscience, the Business was remitted again to a greater Number. To which Course yet the Protestants would not condescend, but desired a Course should be taken for preserving of Peace till a General Council were call'd. The Emperor finding Things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt Threats and Promises, as each was most obnoxious; writing notwithstanding to the Pope, as I find by the *Spanish* History, that there was no Way for ending of Differences but by a Council, which therefore he desir'd might be granted, for those Reasons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* should tell him. He omitted not also to write to the College of Cardinals for this purpose: Adding further, for a Motive, that divers Princes, in which our King also concurr'd, agreed in the same Request; as judging it necessary, not only for the Cause above-mention'd, but even for the Pope's proper Conservation. He required also the Dispatches usual for making his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Lastly, he desir'd Permission to sell the Ornaments and Goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at least to have the fourth Part of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, it being, as he said, for the Defence of the common Faith. Which coming, at last, to the Princes Notice, was so suspected, that they opposed it. So that, tho' otherwise they were averse enough from the *Roman* Church, yet, whether out of the Danger they foresaw of putting so much Money into the Emperor's Hands, or that otherwise they would make themselves necessary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Erasmus* understanding now what was doing, writes to *Campejus* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as Affairs then stood, it was better to suffer, than to make War against the *Lutherans*; supposing perchance, no Peace so devoid of Religion, as a Civil War. The Emperor finding Matters thus discomposed, calls the Princes together, promising that a Council should be call'd, as soon as the Place might be agreed; upon Condition they would keep Peace in the mean while, and the Religion antiently professed. But the Protestants, affirming that theirs was the antient Religion, thank'd the Emperor for the rest, desiring only the Council might be pious and free. The Emperor not satisfied thus, would needs dispute himself awhile, which the *Spanish* say he did with that Eagerness that he drew his Dagger; but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Conclusion, instead of making an amicable Accord, he published a rigorous Decree; commanding the Practice of the antient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Protestants every where should permit the *Romanists* the Use thereof, denouncing severe Punishments to those which obey'd not: Howbeit, he promised, within six Months to obtain from the Pope sufficient Authority for calling a Council the Year following. In the mean Time, that Peace should be kept with all those who subscrib'd to this Decree; who also, and no other, might be admitted to sit as Judges in the Imperial Chamber.

The Protestants now considering, that it was impossible to come to an exact Decision

Deciſion of the Points controverted, and being offended withal that the Emperor denied them a Copy of this Decree, took their Leaves ſomewhat abruptly, and returned: Whereupon the Emperor (intending chiefly the Safeguard of *Germany* againſt the *Turks*) commanded the other Princes Attendance. From whom he demanded Money, towards the War; which as few denied, to their Powers, ſo the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Proteſtants offer'd freely to contribute their Parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the Exerciſe of their Religion till the above mention'd Council was called. But the Emperor, not thus contented, inſiſted ſtill on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed, which were many, could not agree among themſelves, concerning the Lord's Supper, and ſome other Articles. The Conſequence whereof being not difficult to foreſee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who alſo had brought them near to a Head. Neither was there other Impediment, but that Singularity they affected in their ſeveral Opinions. Which yet proved to the Detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, agreed ſufficiently among themſelves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally embrac'd. But as the *Romaniſts* took this Occaſion to brand the Reformed, ſo they again regarding more their Reputation, engaged to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publick writing, than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by Degrees rather violently confirm their own Aſſertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the Terrors and Difficulties which their ſeveral Teachers impoſed on them. In which State of Things yet the reformed Princes and Cities, for preventing further Inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themſelves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the End of *December*, at the ſame Time that the Emperor having concluded the Diet at *Augſburg*, the 19th of *November*, had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen*, *December* 29, concerning the chuſing a King of the *Romans*. And here a defenſive League being made by the Proteſtants, they thought fit to ſignify it to the Emperor; and together to declare certain Objections againſt the pretended Election. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperor proceeds to make his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, *January* 5, 1531, which alſo being advertis'd to the confederate Proteſtants, *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* manifeſted the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the Advice certainly of *Francis*; who as he had his Deſigns that Way, ſo he endeavoured nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving Order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* in *France*, upon Condition that the eldeſt Son ſhould always quarter the Arms thereof with thoſe of *Dauphine*. And in theſe Terms ſtood the Affairs of *Germany* in the End of 1530. which I have delivered with the more particularity, for that the manifeſt Separation from the *Roman* Church began here, there being little elſe material in regard of *England* that I can find, ſave that our King, (as appears by a Diſpatch of the fifteenth of *July* 1530) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his Intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I ſhall conclude this Year with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low Countries*; which were very damageable;

ſhortly after which followed the Death of the two great Ladies who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, departed firſt, who having been propoſed in Marriage to our *Henry* VI. when ſhe was then about twenty-ſeven Years of Age, and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*, died in the fifty-ſecond Year of her Age, with the Reputation of governing the *Low Countries* with much Diſcretion for the Space of twenty-three Years. The News whereof being brought the Emperor, made him neglect all his other Buſineſſes, to come to the Burial; which being performed with much Solemnity, he ſubſtituted his Siſter *Donna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her Place. Madam *Louiſe*, Mother of *Francis* died ſhortly after, for whom the King kept a ſolemn Obſequie, a Lady from whom *France* received many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if ſhe governed wiſely, during the King's Captivity, and again procur'd both his and her Grandchildrens Delivery; ſhe was thought alſo out of ſome particular Deſpight to *Bourbon* to have given him the firſt Cauſes of Diſcontentment: And to have occaſion'd in Part the Loſs of the Duchy of *Milan*.

Our King during theſe great Affairs of Chriſtendom, reſolving his Parliament ſhould continue, caus'd it to ſit again, *January* 6, 1530-31. Where theſe Laws were enacted.

That, becauſe much Wooll was imployed to Uſes not ſo beneficial to the Kingdom, and ſometimes tranſported by Strangers, it was decreed, that none ſhould buy Wooll in ſome principal Shires, to the Number of twenty-eight, but thoſe who would make Cloth or Yarn thereof, and that Strangers ſhould not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewiſe have its Inconveniency, was continued only for ten Years, as it had been in ſome former Kings Times.

Alſo a Law was made againſt Exactions, on Apprentices by Maſters, Wardens, *&c.* And this was beneficial for poor Men, who were not able to put their Children to learn Occupations, without paying extraordinary Sums. A Remedy alſo was taken for repairing of decayed Bridges, and High-ways, and the Manner of raiſing the Money, which before was uncertain, ſet down. The carrying over of Horſes, Mares, Geldings, alſo was forbidden, upon a Penalty, to all Places but *Calais*. Moreover, Denizens, notwithſtanding their Privileges, were ordered to pay ſuch Cuſtoms as they paid before. For which Purpoſe the Officers and Miniſters of Cities and Boroughs, *&c.* where ſuch Cuſtoms, *&c.* were due, were commanded to ſet up a Table in ſome open Place, containing the particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the *Stilliart*, called then *Theutonici*. Together with which, it was provided, that the Tables touching Scavage to be ſet up at *London*, ſhould be firſt viewed and examined by the Chancellor, and Treaſurer in *England*, the Preſident of the King's Counſel, the Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Steward, and the two Chief Juſtices; or by four of them at leaſt, and by them ſubſcribed. And this was preventing of the ſecret Exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, *&c.* upon Wares to be ſold within their Precincts. A Law was made alſo againſt *Egyptians*, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got Money, and Credit among the more ignorant Sort. And whereas ſome penal Statutes were made heretofore againſt Strangers who were Handicrafts-men; it was declared,

ed, that the ſaid Strangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Chirurgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be Handicrafts-men. And becauſe the Abuſe of taking Sanctuary, and flying to hallowed Places was great about this Time; inſomuch that many Criminals finding Refuge and Protection in them, did there adjure the Realm, and ſo went into foreign Parts, by which Means they diſcovered the Secrets of the State, to the great Prejudice thereof. And whereas alſo, when they were to be tried before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of ſome Sanctuary or hallowed Place, and Juſtice thereby delayed; divers good Orders were taken to remedy theſe Inconveniencies, which yet I mention not at large; becauſe they, together with the Uſe of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and aboliſh'd. And now the Buſineſs of *Premunire*, into which the whole Clergy was ſaid to fall, by ſupporting the Power legantine of the Cardinal, having fully been debated by the King's Council learned, and reſolved againſt them; whereupon alſo they were brought to the King's Bench; It was agreed in the Convocation Houſe, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the firſt Queſtion was, in what Form to make it; the Title of *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, or Protector and ſupreme Head of the *Engliſh* Church and Clergy, was by ſome inſerted in the Proem; but this again being demurred on, ſome of the King's Council, together with *Cromwel*, came in and perſuaded them to approve it: but they being ſilent; the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, he who is ſilent ſeems to conſent; whereto one anſwered, Therefore we are all ſilent, but at laſt this Clauſe being added, as far as may be allowed by the Law of Chriſt, nine Biſhops, whereof *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was one, and fifty-two Abbots and Priors conſenting thereunto, as alſo the major Part of the lower Houſe, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proem, they petitioned the King, that he would accept the Sum of 100000 *l.* of the Province of *Canterbury*, 18840 *l.* being afterwards given by the Province of *York*, in lieu of all Puniſhments: They promiſing, for the future, to make no Conſtitution, nor execute any, without the King's Leave. All which the King graciouſly accepting, granted them a Pardon for all Offences againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, Proviſions and *Præmunire*, and in all other Penalties and Forfeitures, except Treaſon, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having paſs'd the Lords, came to the lower Houſe, the Commons, not knowing how far this might concern them, made ſome Difficulty till themſelves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a Check, ſaying, that was not the Way to exempt themſelves. Whereupon the lower Houſe, becoming ſenſible of the King's Diſpleaſure, and their own Danger, humbled themſelves in that Sort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewiſe.

I Shall begin the Foreign Buſineſs of this Year, 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* at *Aix*, *January* the 11th. on whom it was thought, the Emperor his Brother did confer this Dignity, that he might the better eaſe himſelf from the Troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in ſo many Kinds and Places, that his Council in *Spain* writ a Letter, exhorting him to leave thoſe Parts, and return. To which alſo conduced, that *Ferdinand* had received

received the Year before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſo that he was now enabled to ſuſtain the Dignity of that Charge to the which I find alſo the Duke of *Bavaria* aſpired. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperor's ſole Authority, and without thoſe Formalities antiently uſed, it was not every where allowed for authentical. So that it was thought fit an Imperial Mandate ſhould be ſent forth every where in *Germany*, to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Proteſtants were required to aſſiſt in a War againſt the *Turks*; for which alſo all military Preparations were made: But whether the Proteſtants doubted leſt this ſhould be intended againſt them, or that otherwiſe they thought all Hope of reconciling Differences in Religion to be vain, they prepared to defend themſelves. They would indeed have been glad to ſee ſome general and moderate Reformation; But as thoſe they called the moſt erroneous Points of the *Roman* Clergies Faith, proved to be their moſt profitable and commodious Doctrines, the Romaniſts fighting for them, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, all Accord was judged deſperate: Notwithſtanding which, neither would they have broken thoſe neceſſary Bonds of Charity, which Religion ſhould ſtrengthen, or lived under other Name than that of Catholick, when the Romaniſts would have allow'd the antient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that for reducing divers Things to their primitive Inſtitution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the *Roman* Church would remit nothing of its Rigor, under pretence that it was inſpir'd from above; they not only caſt off all Hope of Accommodation, but adviſ'd how to obtain a benign Cenſure of their Actions abroad. Therefore, they ſent ſeveral Letters to our King, and *Francis*, dated 16th of *February*, 1531. from *Smalcald*, reciting what had formerly paſs'd at *Worms* and *Augſburg*, betwixt the Emperor and them; ſaying farther, that the Emperor propos'd to them certain Articles, called the *Interim*, which they ſhould hold till a General Council were ſummoned, but that they were ſuch, as they could not with any Safety of Conſcience admit; concluding with a Requeſt, that their good Offices with the Emperor might be interpoſed for the Convocation of a pious and free Council, out of all the Parts of the Chriſtian World; which alſo the Emperor had promis'd. But before the ſeveral Anſwers of theſe Princes were return'd, the Emperor, doubting the Conſequences of this Aſſembly, requires again their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*. To which the Princes replied, that before themſelves had Security given for Peace, it was unſeaſonable to grant Help againſt others. Which being privately advertis'd to the *French* King, he left a while his *Amouretes*, to which he was now much addicted, and ſtudied nothing more than how to make ſome Advantage of the Diviſion. For the preſent yet he returned this Anſwer only to the Princes, dated the 21ſt of *April*, 1531. that he deſir'd Peace and a General Council, and was glad to underſtand they inclin'd that Way; only that they muſt take Care of chooſing a ſecure and indifferent Place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much he eſteem'd them, he ſaid they might gather by this, that during his War with the Emperor, all free Acceſs, and Intercourſe was permitted them. Our King alſo by his Letters, of *May* 3. writ, that he was glad to underſtand their Deſign was to conſerve the antient Religion, and to cure only the Diſeaſes crept into it.

it. Therefore, that they ſhould eſpecially take heed of thoſe who deſired to innovate, bringing in Parity of Degrees and Perſons, and making the Magiſtrate contemptible. Of whom he could not but take Notice, ſome of them having come out of *Germany* to his Realm; concluding, that he deſir'd a Council, and that he would mediate with the Emperor for them. The Princes thus animated, proteſt againſt the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, as being done in an undue Manner, preparing withal to defend themſelves. Which being related to the *Swiſs*, made them deſire to enter into the Confederacy. But the Duke of *Saxony* refuſed; alledging, that ſince they differ'd about the Lord's Supper, they could not ſafely accept their Help and Friendſhip, leſt ill ſhould happen to them, as to thoſe *(ut ſcriptura teſtatur) qui muniendi ſui cauſa cujuſque modi preſidiis uſi ſunt.* For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to be read, ſo out of the literal Senſe thereof, the Manner of thoſe Times was promiſcuouſly to draw Arguments, for whatſoever in Matters of State or otherwiſe was to be done. Inſomuch, that the Text which came neareſt the Point in Queſtion, was taken as a Deciſion of the Buſineſs; to the no little Detriment of their Affairs: The Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular Inſtructions in thoſe Points.

But this is ſo much leſs ſtrange, that the Year preceding, the Scriptures, heretofore not permitted to the View of the People, were now tranſlated in divers Languages, and into *Engliſh*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, tho', as not being warranted by the King's Authority they were publickly Burnt, and a new and better Tranſlation promiſed to be ſet forth, and allowed to the People. It being not thought fit by our King that under what Pretence or Difficulty ſoever, his Subjects ſhould be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and Means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniences were obſerv'd to follow. For as the People did not ſufficiently ſeparate the more clear and neceſſary parts thereof from the obſcure and acceſſory; and as again taking the ſeveral Authors to be equally inſpir'd, they did equally apply themſelves to all; they fell into many dangerous Opinions: little caring how they liv'd, ſo they underſtood well, bringing Religion thus into much Irreſolution and Controverſy. While few Men agreeing on the ſame Interpretation of the harder Places, vexed each other's Conſcience, appropriating to themſelves the Gift of the Spirit. Whereof the *Roman* Church, much perplex'd at firſt with theſe Defections, did at laſt prevail it ſelf; as aſſuming alone the Power of that Deciſion; which yet was uſed more in Favour of themſelves, than ſuch an Analogy, as ought to be found in ſo perfect a Book. So that few were ſatisfied therewith, but ſuch as renouncing their own Judgment, and ſubmitting to theirs, yielded themſelves wholly to an implicite Faith; in which, though they found an apparent Eaſe, yet as, for juſtifying of themſelves, the Authority of their Belief, was derived more immediately from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few Difficulties were introduced, concerning both: while the more ſpeculative Sort could not imagine, how to hold that as an infallible Rule, which needed human Help to vindicate and ſupport it; Nevertheleſs, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this Time, it generally appear'd what the *Roman* Church had added or alter'd in Religion, ſo many recover'd a juſt Liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation

tion of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergy, which yet, through the Obſtinacy of ſome, ſucceeded worſe, than ſo pious Intentions deſerv'd.

The former Proceedings of King *Henry*, being advertis'd to the Pope, made him fear a total Defection in our King, inſomuch, that at *Rome* they ſtudied nothing more than how to retain him in his antient Devotion; ſome Arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which Intention alſo it did not a little conduce, that he had taken ſome diſtaſte againſt the Emperor; who, being deſir'd to appoint certain Judges to determine all Differences betwixt him and the Duke of *Ferrara*, concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, choſe ſuch as ſentenced on the Duke's behalf; which ſo incenſed the Pope, that he fell off from the Emperor, as will appear hereafter. For which Reaſon alſo it is probable, that our King might have cloſed with him, and received ſome Satisfaction in the Affair of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this Time, as is above-ſaid, concurr'd to the ſetting up of the regal Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. To whom therefore he thought fit to communicate what his Agents, in *Italy* and other Places, had done, concerning ſo much controverted Points of the lawfulneſs of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet ſitting, the Lord Chancellor, accompanied with Dr. *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, and divers other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, came into the Lower-Houſe *March* 30, 1531. and told them; that they could not be ignorant, how the King, having married his Brother's Wife, was troubled in Conſcience, and therefore had ſent to the moſt learned Univerſities in *Chriſtendom*, to be reſolv'd in that Point; and namely had imploy'd the Biſhop of *London* there preſent, for this purpoſe. Not yet but that his own Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* could have ſufficiently decided the Point, but that he might the more amply ſatisfy himſelf and the World. Whereupon Sir *Bryan Tuke* was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Bourges* in *Berry*, and *Tholouſe* in *France*, and of *Bononia* and *Padua*, in *Italy*, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawful. After which, above a hundred Books of ſeveral Doctors, (whereof Dr. *Cranmer*'s was one) confirming the ſame Opinion, were exhibited. The peruſing of which yet, the Day being far ſpent, was referr'd to a further Time. As alſo the Reſolution of our two Univerſities, brought after the reſt to our King.

Which Copy tho' blurr'd, upon what Occaſion I know not, for it is not probable it ſhould be intended to the King in that Manner, was diſpatch'd the Day following, as the Act of the Univerſity, by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. As for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, I find *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox* were employ'd; where, notwithſtanding the King's Letters, and the Diligence us'd on their Parts, not a few Difficulties did occur. Inſomuch that it was firſt denied, then the Voices on both Sides were brought even, and at laſt, ſome abſenting themſelves, it was agreed, that the Queſtion ſhould be diſputed by twenty-eight Delegates, and that two Parts of three ſhould determine it; which accordingly was done in Favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Protectors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whoſe Names are extant in the ſame Record. Which Averſeneſs, more than in foreign Univerſities, whether it ſhould be attributed to the Power of the Pope in *England*, or

to their particular Scrupulosity of Conscience, is more than I will determine; tho' on this Occasion, I can do no less, than repeat some Arguments drawn, in Favour of the Divorce, out of our Records. First, the Place in *Leviticus*, Ch. xviii. 16. Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brother's Wife. Secondly, St. *Basil*'s Opinion, tending this Way, where he saith, that he shall be excommunicated that marrieth his Wife's Sister. Thirdly, because two Epistles, transcribed out of the Pope's Registers, and sent into *England*, by Doctor *Stokesly*, (whereof one was of *Gregory*, the other of *Innocent* the third) do profess, that the Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God, the particular Case being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that granting the Pope can dispense, upon an absolute Necessity, with that which is of Divine Right, (which yet Divines for the most Part deny) there was no Occasion here, since the Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*, which was taken as the Ground of the *Breve*, stood firm and intire. Lastly, that the *Jews* themselves, for our Agents consulted with them also, did not hold the Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, *Deut.* xxv. as necessary in this Time. All which being maturely considered by the lower House, made them detest the Marriage, as our Historians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit also to prorogue the Parliament, to the Intent that every Man returning home, might satisfy his Neighbour of these Passages; not omitting, together, to cause these foreign Determinations, to be printed and published this Year, as the Book yet extant, in Print, shews. Notwithstanding which, so far was the King from remitting any Thing of his gentle Behaviour to the Queen, that he had not forborn to come to her Bed, neither could his outward Favour towards her, or her towards him have argued any Diminution of Love; all those wonted Ceremonies, by which they sustained the Dignity of their Place, and Civilities which might imply a mutual Respect continuing firmly on either Side. Which our Historians amplify so far, that they say he sore lamented his Chance, and made no Manner of Mirth or Pastime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to speak improbably, when we consider both how dear this Liberty cost him, and how much it endangered the Succession. However, that he might both prevail himself of the Occasion, and also satisfy the Doubts he had raised, not in his own alone, but Subjects Breasts; he sent to Queen *Katharine* some Lords of his Council, wishing them to acquaint her with these Determinations, which also I find had been shewed the Pope, and together to demand of her, for quieting the King's Conscience, and ending this Business, whether she would rather refer herself to the Judgment of four Spiritual, and four Temporal Lords in this Kingdom, or stand to her Appeal. To which the sad Queen answered, That her Father, before he consented to her second Marriage, had taken the Advice of Doctors, and Clerks, whose Opinion she believ'd rather than any others; and that, the Pope having confirmed it, she wondred that any should question it. And, whereas for quieting the King's Conscience, you would have me put the Business to eight Lords; that which I say is, I pray God send his Grace a quiet Conscience. As for Answer to your Message; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawful Wife, and so will abide, till the Court of *Rome* determine to the contrary. But our King, who alledg'd his Proceedings were

according to the Law of God, which therefore he ſaid ſhould be more inſiſted on, than any other Authority, ſent other Meſſengers, exhorting her ſtill to conform herſelf; among whom one ſpake to this Effect: Madam, you cannot be ignorant how much you have provoked the King's Diſpleaſure againſt you, ſince his Grace having uſed all fit Means to clear his own, and Subjects Inſatisfactions, concerning the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage, you yet continue refractory in that violent Manner, as you not only refuſe the general Determination of Univerſities, and learned Men; but contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royal Dignity, have cited his Highneſs to appear in the Court of *Rome*, neither have thoſe many Admonitions you have received concerning the Danger, and Conſequences hereof, been able to divert you from your Purpoſes, or reduce you to Reaſon and your Duty. Of which therefore his Highneſs is ſo ſenſible, that he hath forborn of late to ſee your Grace, or receive your Tokens, giving you Liberty further, to repair either to his Manor of *Oking*, or *Eſtamſteed*, or the Monaſtery of *Biſham*; for, ſince you were known by his Brother Prince *Arthur*, you cannot be his lawful Wife. To which the virtuous and ſorrowful Queen replied little more than this: That to what Place ſoever ſhe removed, nothing could remove her from being the King's Wife. And here the King bid her a final Farewel: for, from this Time, being *July* the 14th, I find not the King ever ſaw her more.

Our King being now inform'd that *Italian*, and other foreign Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they ſold well, and then return'd the Money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhauſting the Wealth of this Realm, and the Diminution of his Cuſtoms, cauſed a Proclamation to be ſet forth, that according to a Branch of a Statute, *Ric.* 3. no Money they took here for ſelling their Ware ſhould be exchanged to other Countries, but employed in the Commodities of this Realm, which our Hiſtorians ſay, as long as it was obſerved, proved to the great Benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Money for the *Præmunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their Eaſe, would have drawn the Prieſts of *London* to Contribution, which they took ſo ill, that, in outragious Manner, breaking into the Chapter-houſe of St. *Paul*'s, they did beat the Biſhop's Servants; till the Biſhop, for avoiding more Miſchief, gave them his Bleſſing, and Leave to depart for the preſent; tho' ſhortly after they were puniſh'd for their Miſbehaviour.

This while, the Emperor, intentive wholly to the Affairs of *Germany*, did more calmly ſuffer our King's intended Divorce; and the rather, for that it is probable the Determinations of the Univerſities above-mentioned had given him, if not Satisfaction, yet Colour enough to neglect a while the proſecuting this Buſineſs. Eſpecially, ſince at this Time he might have ſo much Uſe of our King's Aſſiſtance, againſt the *Turk*; of which alſo Hope was given him. On the other Side *Francis* did by all Means advance, and ſet it forward; both in Regard himſelf, as their Hiſtorians have it, was much addicted to Love-making at this Time; and as that he doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a Variance with the Emperor. Againſt whom the Offences and Quarrels he had taken being not extinguiſhed, he both fortified himſelf by all Means, and labour'd publickly to traduce even his moſt impartial and generous Actions. Therefore he was ſo far

far from admitting the Reſtitution of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that he took it, if not as an Affront to him, yet at leaſt as a Politick Introduction of one to that Dignity, who he knew could not be diſpoſſeſt thereof again, without offending all *Italy*. So likewiſe the parting with the *Contado* of *Aſti*, antiently belonging to the Houſe of *Orleans*, to the Duke of *Savoy*, was thought to be no more than an Intereſſing him in that Quarrel. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in *Italy*, at the Coſt of the Confederates, but under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*, was underſtood, not for conſerving the Peace of *Italy*, but defending of *Genoa* againſt him. All which was ſo ill taken, that *Francis* did not only by the Entremiſe of *Guillaume de Bellay*, Treat of entring a private League with the Princes of *Germany*, for Defence of the Rights of the Empire, violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*, but prepar'd to ſend them Succours when Occaſion were. Nor did his Rancour againſt the Emperor ſtay here; but, if we may believe ſome even of his own Nation, extended itſelf ſo far, as ſecretly, at this Time, to incourage the *Turk* to invade the Patrimony of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; to the no little Scandal, both of his own Honour, and the Chriſtian Religion. The Emperor, not ignorant of all theſe Machinations, ſent *Seigneur de Balanzon* to *Francis*, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furniſh Land and Sea Forces for a War againſt the *Turk*; alledging Treaties, Promiſes, and many Arguments to this Purpoſe. To which *Francis* anſwered. That the Emperor had gotten, lately enough, from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to ſuffice. For the reſt, that he was neither Merchant nor Banker to furniſh Money, but a Chriſtian Prince, that would have his Part of the Honour and Danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that he would ſpare no Forces out of his Kingdom, nor permit them to go to any Place where himſelf did not lead them. Beſides, as this Summer was far ſpent, he could not ſend his Cavalry to *Auſtria* without much Incommodity, the Diſtance between both Countries being ſo great. Therefore, that the Emperor ſhould defend *Germany*, while himſelf with an Army of fifty thouſand Men, would undertake to defend *Italy*, which the *Turk* alſo menac'd. And for the next Year, he would be ready, with the help of his good Brother, the King of *England*, to go to any Place where it ſhould be needful. As for his Shipping, he could leaſt of all ſpare it; having occaſion to defend the maritime Parts of *France* againſt Pirates. Which being related again to the Emperor, then at *Ratiſbonne*, he thought fit to publiſh it, thereby to make *Francis* more odious, though effectively he took his Offer to defend *Italy*, to be little more than Irriſion. Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, *Monſieur de Bellay* Ambaſſador from the *French* King to the Princes, having firſt conferr'd with *Monſienr de Valley* Ambaſſador from *Francis* to the Emperor, abſolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Maſter: giving by this Means a perpetual Cauſe of Jealouſy, and Offence to the Emperor. Yet as *Francis* thought himſelf not ſtrong enough alone, ſo he implored our King's Aſſiſtance; which our King alſo promiſed, by *Monſieur Gillex de Pommeraye*, *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, ſending with him, at his return, fifty thouſand Crowns to be employed for the Defence and Conſervation of the Rights and Privileges of the Empire. An Enterview alſo was projected betwixt them for the Year following,

lowing, wherein both Kings ſhould treat of the general Affairs, and particularly what they were to do, in caſe the *Turk* ſhould again invade *Chriſtendom*.

While Affairs Abroad paſſed thus, our Nation enjoyed much Security and Quietneſs; ſo that if Contention about Religion had not hapned, they might have thought themſelves happy; which tho' it had its beginning from the divers Explications of the Holy Scripture, yet many good Men laboured to reconcile them; affirming, that whatſoever was neceſſary to the attaining of everlaſting Happineſs, was ſo plainly, and ſo perſpicuouſly ſet down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing beſides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet neceſſary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers Points might be added, for the Ampliation, Conveniency, and Ornament of Religion, when they were deliver'd upon theſe Terms, and not under thoſe Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more neceſſary Parts were injoin'd. Whereupon alſo they concluded, that if divers Paſſages in the Holy Scriptures might ſeem obſcure, it was God's Will to have it ſo, who thought not fit to reveal them, otherways; as reſerving a full Knowledge to a ſecond and better Life. Yet, becauſe divers, not content with this or any moderate Reformation, did, through the Violence of their Spirits, run into thoſe Extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church into a perverſe Senſe; much occaſion of Controverſy was given; while they who indeavour'd a Peace ſo little prevail'd, as, for the moſt Part, like thoſe who part Affraies, they bore Blows on either Side. In which doubtful Times King *Henry* put in Execution all former Laws againſt heretical Perſons, and Books; whereby one *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelor of both Laws, declaring himſelf with great Vehemency in divers Articles againſt the *Roman* Church, was condemn'd to be burnt, and ſhortly after, for the ſame Cauſe, *Bayfield* a Prieſt, and *Baynham* a Lawyer. The whole Narration whereof being extant in Maſter *Fox*, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe.

The next Year *January* 15. the Parliament ſat again till *May* 14, 1532. where the Commons perſiſting in their Grievances againſt the Clergy, which they compriſed in a Book, and delivered by their Speaker; the King anſwer'd, he would take Advice, and hear the Parties accuſed ſpeak, and then proceed to a Reformation; which followed in Part, as appears in ſome Statutes of this Parliament. For whereas it was uſual in former Times that Clerks who committed petty Treaſon, Murder, or Felony, were thro' a certain Privilege of the Church, deliver'd to their Ordinaries, who alſo thereupon, for Lucre or other undue Motives, did ſuffer them to make their Purgation by ſuch as nothing knew of their Miſdeeds, to the great Scandal of Juſtice: It was now enacted, that none ſhould have the Benefit of this recourſe to the Ordinary, but thoſe who were within holy Orders, and yet to find ſufficient Sureties for their good Abearing. This Act yet not to extend to thoſe, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and ſo deliver'd to the Ordinary. It was provided alſo that Ordinaries, having ſuch Perſons in their Cuſtody, might degrade them, and ſend them to the King's Bench to be detain'd.

It was enacted alſo, how Perjuries, and untrue Verdicts ſhould be puniſhed. And this was to the ſingular Benefit of the Subject; there being no Miſchiefs ſo

eaſy to be done, ſo irreparable in their Conſequence, or unlimited in their Extent, as thoſe of this Kind.

And whereas the Commiſſion of Sewers, being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, *&c.* and Dams, Weres, *&c.* in freſh Rivers, was not particularly enough ſet down heretofore; It was now declared and interpreted. And this was much for the Benefit of the Sea-Coaſts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

Whereas alſo Statutes of the Staple were heretofore uſed only betwixt Merchant and Merchant, for ſuch Merchandiſe of the Staple, as paſſed betwixt them; the Uſe thereof was now permitted to others of the King's Subjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarged Contracts, but ſtrengthned much the Sinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the King's Subjects were ordinarily called by Citations to appear, in the Arches, Audience, and other high Courts of the Archbiſhops of this Realm, to anſwer to many ſurmiſed Cauſes; and that they who refuſed, were excommunicated or ſuſpended from divine Service: It was now enacted, that none ſhould be ſo cited but in certain Caſes declared in the ſaid Statute.

Feoffments of Lands alſo to the Uſe of a Church, as being little different from *Mort-main*, were made void.

Whereas divers, having the Benefit of their Clergy, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break the Priſon, it was now declared Felony.

Divers other good Statutes paſſed alſo this Seſſion; which yet, for being meerly Legal, or limited to certain Places, are not here recited.

This Year alſo an Act paſſed, concerning *Annates*, or the firſt Fruits of Biſhopricks, paid uſually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, *&c.* The Preamble and Conſideration whereof was, as I find in the Records, 1. That great Sums of Money already paſſed out of the Kingdom that Way, (being no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, ſince the ſecond Year of *Henry* VII.) Secondly, that more was like to be ſhortly tranſported, by Reaſon many of the Biſhops are Aged. Thirdly, That the firſt Uſe and Grant of them was for maintaining Arms againſt Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no more Money be paid to *Rome* to that Intent, except as is hereafter ſpecified, *viz.* Leſt the Court of *Rome* ſhould think themſelves irremunerated for their Pain, in making and ſealing Bulls in Lead, *&c.* it was ordain'd, that there may be allow'd for the ſaid Bulls five Pounds in the Hundred, according to the rate of the Biſhopricks clear Value above all Charges. And if any Man, being choſen to a Biſhoprick, and preſented by the King to the Pope, ſhall hereupon find any Let or Hindrance, by reſtraint of his Bulls, upon convenient Suit for the ſame; then he may be named and preſented by the King's Highneſs to the Archbiſhop of the Province; who ſhall conſecrate him; or, the ſaid Archbiſhop delaying under Pretence of want of Pall, Bull, *&c.* the Perſon ſo named, ſhall be conſecrate, and inveſted by any two Biſhops of the Land, whom the King ſhall appoint thereto; and ſhall be held and reputed thereafter as a compleat Biſhop. But of this Act we ſhall ſpeak again when we come to the twenty-fifth Year of the King. For though it paſt the Parliament now, and the King gave his Aſſent thereto; yet Power was reſerv'd for him to annul or confirm the ſame any Time within two Years next following.

Moreover,

Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament declare, that they do not intend to uſe any Extremity or Violence, before gentle and courteous Ways have been attempted. But if it ſhall pleaſe the King to propoſe an amicable Compoſition to the Pope, and his Holineſs ſhall be content either to aboliſh or moderate thoſe *Annates*; then the Compoſition, ſo made, to ſtand firm. But if, upon the ſaid amicable Propoſitions, the Realm cannot be diſburdened, and that, for the Continuance of the ſame, the Pope ſhall unjuſtly vex, and diſquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, *&c.* Be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors Kings of *England*, and all his ſpiritual and lay Subjects of the ſame, without any Scruple of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the Honour of Almighty God, the Increaſe and Continuance of Virtue, and good Example within this Realm, the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of them notwithſtanding, miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſtered throughout this ſaid Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other divine Service of holy Church, or any other Thing or Things, neceſſary for the Health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any Time or Times have been virtuouſly uſed or accuſtomed to do within the ſame. And that no manner of ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs or Compulſories ſhall by any of the Prelates, or other ſpiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Miniſters or Subſtitutes, be at any Time or Times hereafter publiſhed, executed, or divulged in any manner of Ways.

This Act being paſs'd, our King made uſe thereof to terrify the Pope, which alſo took Effect; as I find by our Ambaſſadors Letters dated from *Rome*, *April* 29, 1532. though together, as they were inſtructed from hence, his Holineſs was told by them, that our King had reſerved the whole Buſineſs to his own Power and Direction; which however it appeas'd the Pope awhile, yet as Matters paſs'd afterwards, the Statute had his final Confirmation, *Anno* 25. *Henry* VIII.

I Shall begin this Years Hiſtory with the Affairs of Queen *Katharine*; who, by her Proctor at *Rome*, aſſiſted with the Advice and Power of the Imperialiſts, negotiated puiſſantly with the Pope; ſo that, notwithſtanding our King's Indignation for her proſecuting him in this Manner, ſhe urged ſtill the Appeal, beſeeching the Pope to cite the King by himſelf or Proctor to appear. But the Pope thought fit rather gently to exhort our King to take again his Wife *Katharine*.

But the Pope had no good Anſwer thereunto; for as the People for the moſt part exclaimed againſt the Match, as our Hiſtorians relate, ſo the King would have found, perchance, ſome Difficulty to appeaſe their Scruples, when otherwiſe he could have ſatisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet thoſe who defended her Cauſe publickly, both in Books and Sermons, of whom the chief were *Thomas Abel* her Chaplain, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and privately in Diſcourſe, eſpecially Women, though not ſufficiently either to clear all Objections, or to remove the King from his Affection to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*. Among which I muſt

muſt not forget one *Temſe*, of the lower Houſe of Parliament; who motion'd that they all ſhould petition the King to take his Queen again; which being advertiſed to our King, he ſent for *Thomas Audley*, Speaker of the Houſe, and told him; that he marvelled any among them ſhould meddle in Buſineſſes which could not properly be determined there. As for this Particular, that it concerned his Soul ſo much, that he many Times wiſht the Marriage had been good, but ſince the Doctors of the Univerſities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no leſs than abſtain from her Company. Which therefore he wiſhed them to take as the true Reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton Appetite: ſince, being in the one and fortieth Year of his Age, it might be juſtly preſumed ſuch Motions were not ſo quick with him. All which, that they might the better underſtand, he had informed himſelf in all Parts of Chriſtendom, concerning ſtrange Marriages; and that, ſaving in *Spain* and *Portugal*, he could never find that any Man had ſo much as married two Siſters, if the firſt were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife, was ſo abhorred among all Nations, that he never heard any Chriſtian ſo did but himſelf: and therefore wiſh'd them to believe that his Conſcience was troubled. Shortly after which, the King ſent for the Speaker again, and told him, that he had found that the Clergy of his Realm were but his half Subjects, or ſcarce ſo much. Every Biſhop or Abbot, at his entring of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope, derogatory to that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradiction, he deſired the Parliament to take away: Whereupon theſe two Oaths by the King's Command being read and conſidered, the Parliament ſo handled the Buſineſs, as occaſioned the final renouncing of the Pope's Authority about two Years after.

While theſe Things thus paſs, King *Henry* commands his Agents at *Rome*, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, to preſent unto the Pope the Opinion of divers famous Lawyers, in Favour of his Cauſe; procuring alſo learned men from all Parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, to offer Diſputation for the ſame. To ſecond this again, King *Henry* in *January*, 1532, ſends *William Bennet*, Doctor of Law to *Rome*, with Inſtructions to this Purpoſe. But becauſe it was found, that, by the continual Interceſſion of the Queen and Emperor, the Pope intended ſhortly to cite the King to appear at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy; he diſpatches thither about *February*, *Edward Karne*, Doctor of Law, to be his Excuſator, and to remonſtrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law ſo to appear. But the Pope making Difficulty to admit this Excuſator, it was diſputed in the Conſiſtory, whether he ought to be heard or no? But much Time being ſpent herein, the Queen's Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principal Cauſe. In the mean while our King, by Sir *Francis Bryan*, importunes *Francis* to intercede for him with the Pope; who thereupon by Letter, dated *March* 16. informs his Holineſs, that the Requeſt of the King of *England* is juſt, and he ought to relieve him. Or elſe they two, being but as one Perſon, and who have ſo well deſerved of him, ſhall be forced to ſeek ſuch other Remedies, as ſhall not pleaſe him, *&c.* To enforce this moſt earneſt Letter, *Francis* ſends *Gabriel de Grammont*, Biſhop of *Tarbe*, lately made Cardinal, to the Pope, who yet, being continually urged by the Imperialiſts to proceed againſt

the King, and hearing, beſides, firſt the Prohibition of *Annates* above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certain Prieſt was committed for maintaining the Papal Authority, and that another Prieſt, being put in Priſon by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for favouring *Luther*, after he had appealed to the King, as to his ſupreme Lord, was ſet at Liberty, proceeds to Citation; and calling a Conſiſtory, *July* 8. commits the Hearing of the Cauſe to *Paulus de Capiſcucci* Dean of the *Ruota*, and appoints the Month of *October*, 1532. for the King's Appearance. In the mean Time, he writes to our King, certifying him what was done, intreating him further to ſend a Proctor; making alſo this Overture to our Agents, that he will be content that all the Proceſs ſhall be in *England*, except only the final Deciſion, which, becauſe there is Queſtion of the Papal Authority, and Law Divine, he will reſerve to himſelf. The Term prefixed for our King's Appearance being expired; *Capiſucci* cites our King again, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which *Edward Karne* anſwered publickly, *November* 14, 1532. That the Proceeding was undue, both as the Queſtion concerning his Excuſation was not decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the *Breve* ſent to the King concerning this Buſineſs. Beſides, that the Emperor was ſo very powerful in *Rome*, that he could not expect Juſtice, wherefore, unleſs they deſiſted, he declared, that he muſt appeal from thence to the able Men in ſome indifferent Univerſities. And that, if this were refuſed, he proteſted then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope as little regarding this, goes to *Bononia* ſhortly after, to meet the Emperor, according to an Agreement made a good while ſince betwixt them; promiſing our Agents yet, that notwithſtanding the Queen's Proctors Solicitation, nothing of moment ſhould be done in this Cauſe, till the Emperor were departed.

The *Turk* now threatning *Germany*, the Elector of *Mentz*, and *Lodovicus*, Prince *Palatine*, interpoſed Offices for reconciling the Emperor and the Proteſtants: The Treaty whereof began in *April*, and ſo continued until *July*. When News of the coming of the *Turk* being brought, both Parties condeſcended to this Capitulation concluded at *Noremberg*.

That no Man ſhould be troubled for Cauſe of Religion, till the Council be held, (which the Emperor will labour to procure to be ſummon'd within ſix Months, and held within a Year following) or ſome other Way of Determination of controverted Points be found.

Whereupon alſo the Proteſtants, being ſeven Princes, and twenty-three Cities, offer'd him Aid againſt the *Turk*, who, this Year, 1532, upon Colour of putting *Johannes Sepuſius* in Poſſeſſion of that Crown, invaded *Hungary*, which alſo he proſecuted in that peremptory Manner, as without admitting any Reaſons from the Emperor, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of *Spain*, for he ſaid there was no Emperor but himſelf, he brought an Army of three hundred Thouſand Men into *Hungary*. And becauſe his Equipage was ſingular, I preſume the Reader will take well the Deſcription of it, for his own Perſon, he was cloathed only in a rich Robe of Crimſon broidered with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as alſo the Saddle and Bit of the Horſe, on which he rid, was ſet with Stones of ineſtimable Value. Then followed his Viſier-Baſſas, and

Abraym

Abraym his Favourite, and houſhold Retinue; being about twelve thouſand Men. Before him went four thouſand Horſe with the Standard Imperial, and four thouſand Janizaries of his Guard, four hundred Slaves on Horſeback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his moſt precious Treaſure, and ſome of the choiceſt Beauties of the Seraglio, and eſpecially the admired *Eſpanziel* a *Macedonian*, and four thouſand Horſe to guard them, beſides two hundred brave Horſes richly furniſhed, which were led by the Hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horſeback, whereof one more gorgeous than the reſt, and his Lacquies one Thouſand, richly apparelled likewiſe in a Livery, all of theſe, laſt mentioned, wearing great Plumes. After which followed his Dogs and Hawks in no ſmall Proportion.

With this Train *Solyman* marches to *Belgrade*, then turning to the left Hand of the *Danube* he beſieges *Guintz:* whence being repulſed, he ſends out his Captains to forage the Country; who after committing all Sorts of Cruelty, were at the laſt defeated and ſlain: And now *Solyman* finding great Forces raiſed againſt him, and prepared to give him Battle, retir'd, with as little Succeſs as he had three Years ſince, at *Vienna*; this Army of the Chriſtians conſiſting, as I find, of ninety thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe, was raiſed by the Emperor, who yet did not think fit to conduct them, in Perſon, as coming from *Lintz*, in *Auſtria* to *Vienna*, no ſooner than that *Solyman* was departed from *Hungary*; whence he ſent to *Rome* a Diſpatch of the fourth of *October*, deſiring the Pope to meet him at *Genoa*. About which Time he received News from *Andrea Doria*, whom the laſt Summer he had commanded to ſcour the *Mediterranean* Sea, and to land where he thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with a great Fleet, and ten thouſand Soldiers, ſetting forth from *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, *Auguſt* 18. paſſing by *Cephalony* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*, and landed at *Coron*, antiently called *Corone*, not *Chæronea*, in *Bœotia*, *Plutarch*'s Country, as *Sandoval* miſtakes it, and battering it both by Sea and Land, took it by Compoſition, *September* 21. where leaving for Garriſon fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, he return'd with great Spoils and Honour to *Genoa*.

This while our King finding he could obtain no Satisfaction from the Pope, haſtens the League with *Francis*, formerly projected, to a Concluſion; and the rather, that he heard this Meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperor would ſhortly follow. In Emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and *Francis* was concluded, in that Form which Cardinal *Wolſey* heretofore had ſet down upon the like meeting projected, *Anno* 1527.

The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and *Ormond* Lord Privy-Seal, together with *Edward Fox*, the King's Almoner, on the one Part, and *Gilles de la Pomeraye* on the other Part, were theſe.

I. That all former Treaties ſhall remain in Force, ſo that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not performed, the former Treaties yet, eſpecially that of perpetual Peace, ſhall ſtand firm.

II. That if the Emperor *Charles* any way ſhall invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they ſhall be bound to ſend mutual Aid, *viz.* The King of *France* to the King of *England*, within three Months Warning, to the Place appointed five hundred Men at Arms, armed *à la Francoiſe*,) or any other leſs Number, which the King of *England* ſhall pay according to the rate they uſe to have of the *French* King.

The King of *England* to the King of *France* ſuch a Number of Archers on Foot as he ſhall require, ſo it exceed not five Thouſand; to receive Pay of the *French* King according to the Rate of *England*. And if either the Horſemen or Archers paſs the Sea, theſe into *France*, or thoſe into *England*, then, beſides this Pay, there is ſuch Proviſion to be made for Victual, by the Prince under whom they ſerve, that the Soldiers may well live and maintain themſelves by their Pay. And if the ſaid Emperor ſhall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Months Notice to the other, ſhall receive for Aid a Navy, in which ſhall be fifteen thouſand Soldiers, well armed and equipped, which Navy both Kings ſhall be bound to maintain for ſix Months together, or longer if need be, at their own Coſts, to defend and ſecure againſt the ſaid Emperor the Sea and Shores on both Sides, from the Iſle of *Uſhant* to the Place called the *Downs*, between *Sandwich* and *Dover*.

III. If the Emperor or his Governors ſhall detain the Goods, or Ships, or Perſons of the *Engliſh* Merchants in his Dominions, the King of *France* ſhall Summon him to make Reſtitution, which if he denies, he ſhall lay hold on and arreſt the Emperor's Subjects, and Goods in his Kingdom, *&c.* nor ſhall releaſe them till Satisfaction be given. And in like Manner is the King of *England* bound to the King of *France*.

But, if for any probable Cauſe, and particularly for any contained in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of *England* and *France*, or for Juſtice denied, after he hath requir'd it, the Emperor ſhall Arreſt any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their Goods, then the other is not bound to ſee him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, Firſt, that the Emperor made it appear, that it is for a juſt Cauſe. Secondly, that he arreſt no more than may countervail his pretended Loſs. Thirdly, provided alſo that the Number of Ships arreſted by the Emperor, be not above five or ſix, and that for ſome particular Intereſt or Deed betwixt them and him. This third Article ſhall not be extended to the Merchants of higher *Germany*, and the Subjects of *Charles Jure Imperii*.

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendſhip, or Affinity with any Prince or Eſtate, to the Prejudice of the other. If he do, it ſhould be counted void, and of no Effect: This Treaty, being minuted *June* 23, 1532. was to be ſigned five Months after.

And now the Time of the Interview approaching, our King paſſed the Seas to *Calais*, *October* 11, 1532. with a royal Train, and Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, lately created Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*. And going thence to *Bologne*, the young Princes, the Children of *Francis*, meeting him, were recommended to him by the King their Father. Who, after many Complements, conducted him to the Abbey; where they both lodg'd in the ſame Houſe. Many Courteſies were exchang'd, and many Deſigns projected betwixt thoſe Princes concerning Religion, and other Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, for the Space of four Days that they ſtay'd together; which being paſt, *Francis* return'd with our King to *Calais*, in this Order, that while *Francis* was on *French* Ground he gave Place, but when he came to the *Engliſh* Pale, he receiv'd it. Being now come near *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmond*, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. All the Soldiers of the Town alſo, and Servants to the Nobility, richly apparel'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the Streets. The Lodging which *Francis* was brought

to, was moſt richly furniſh'd with Cloth of Gold and Tiſſue, Imbroider'd in ſome Places with Pearl and precious Stone. And their ſeveral Services brought in a hundred and ſeventy Diſhes all of maſſive Gold. The Marchioneſs alſo made them a curious and rich Maſque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which *Anne de Montmorencie*, a Noble-man of a moſt antient and generous Family, Grand-Maſter, and Marſhal of *France*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, and Admiral of *France*, were accepted into the Order of the Garter. *Francis* himſelf, who was alſo of this Order, ſitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into the Order of St. *Michael* by *Francis* at *Boulogne*. And, here the two Kings adviſed what in their particular ſhould be done againſt the *Turk*; for, though News was already brought of his Retreat, yet becauſe that he had left behind him a great Part of his Forces, and that it was thought he intended to return, it was agreed betwixt theſe Princes, the next Year to bring an Army into the Field, of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, and not to part without mutual Conſent. That they ſhould ſend to the Princes in *Italy* or *Germany* to require Paſſage and Victual at a reaſonable Price, *&c.* This being ſettled, our King complained of the ill Uſage the Pope gave him in the Affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was cited to appear at the Court of *Rome* by himſelf or Proctor; whereas it was uſual in theſe Caſes to ſend Judges to the Place; it being not reaſonable that either a Proctor ſhould be truſted with the Secrets of his Conſcience, or that himſelf ſhould abandon his Realm to go in Perſon to ſo remote a Place. Whereupon they began mutual Complaints againſt the Pope for the Annats and Exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promis'd to Remedy, by ſummoning him to a Council, and in the mean while to ſend their Ambaſſadors to require Reparation, proteſting, that otherwiſe, by calling provincial Councils in their ſeveral Kingdoms, they would give that Order which was fitting: And for this Purpoſe that the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, ſhould be employed; who alſo were authoriſed to tell the Pope, that whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the *French* King at *Avignon* or *Nizza*, that it might be, that the King of *England* his good Brother, could be perſuaded eaſily to go along with him, for ending all Controverſies, if his Holineſs were diſpos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Biſhop of *Auxerre* the *French* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, ſhould certify the Pope, that the ſaid Cardinals would be preſent at the Interview betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, to the End they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King *Henry* Judges in his own Kingdom, to decide the Point of the Divorce. After which, coming to ſpeak, as I find by our Records, concerning his intended Match with the new Marchioneſs, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed; promiſing, if the Cauſe was queſtion'd, to aſſiſt him to the uttermoſt, whatſoever ſhould come of it. In which Diſcourſes purpoſing *ſier la Partie* for the chief Affairs of *Europe*, they paſſed four Days at *Calais*. After which the King conducting him to the *French* Ground, bid him farewell, *October* 30, 1532. and ſo return'd to *Calais*. Yet as the Weather was then tempeſtuous, he paſſed not the Seas before the 14th of *November*, on which Day ſome write, he privately married the Marchioneſs, tho' others place it on the 25th of *January* following

following, *Rowland Lee* afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and Preſident of *Wales*, (under whom it began firſt to be govern'd by the Laws of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the Preſence of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, *&c.* which yet was not publiſhed till the *Eaſter* following. Not long after which, or as ſome have it in the Beginning of the next Spring, the King ſent *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to deſire him, if Occaſion were, not to fail his Promiſe. Furthermore he requir'd his Advice, how it were beſt to publiſh it, ſince it could not be long conceal'd. He alſo acquainted him how the *Scots* under the Earl of *Murray* had done ſome hoſtile Acts in his Kingdom; wiſhing him therefore not to take it ill if he reveng'd himſelf on the *Scots*; intreating him further, that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then ſecretly projected) muſt needs follow, which yet he wiſhed were protracted) that he would remember his Cauſe, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often deſir'd.

The Emperor who was well inform'd of this Interview, haſtened his with the Pope. And becauſe the Pope could not be perſuaded to come to *Genoa* by Sea, the Meeting was agreed at *Bononia*, *December* 20, 1532. where alſo the two Cardinals above-mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the general Affairs, but not with that Intireneſs and Satisfaction which formerly paſt; for the Pope retained ſtill ſome Grudge concerning the Buſineſs of *Ferrara* above-mentioned. Therefore, when the Emperor, according to his Promiſe given to the *German* Princes, preſt him to call a Council, he deferr'd it; and, when he wiſh'd him to renounce all Friendſhip with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himſelf, ſaying they were Chriſtian Princes. Again, when he required that *Catharina de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Son to *Francis*, a Treaty paſt, ſhould be diſpoſed of to *Franciſco Sforza*; he replied ſhe was already promiſed. Only it ſeems he accorded all that could be requir'd concerning our King. Inſomuch, that unleſs he would contribute puiſſantly for and againſt the *Turk*, for which purpoſe the Pope promis'd his Letters, the Emperor was then aſſur'd that all that could be done in Favour of Queen *Katharine* ſhould be immediately diſpatched. Which alſo the Emperor, now more than ever offended at our King's League with *Francis*, took ſo well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his Forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinals being made at this Interview, the Ambaſſadors of *France* demanded a Cardinal's Hat for *Hierom*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; which the Emperor oppos'd, ſaying he would have taken it leſs ill, that the *French* King ſhould have ſued for four Hats for his own Subjects, than one for any appertaining to our King, eſpecially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce.

Many Deſigns here likewiſe were projected, and among them one by the Biſhop of *Como*, who for deciding all Controverſies, ſaid it was neceſſary that the Pope, the Emperor and *French* King ſhould meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unleſs our King made the Fourth. But this alſo in Regard of the little Security thoſe Princes could mutually give or receive, being judg'd impro-

improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which, the Pope and Emperor took Leave of each other. During this Interview, I find in our Records a *Portugueſe*, in the Name of *David* King of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly called *Preſter John*) preſented himſelf Ambaſſador to his Holineſs; for authorizing of which Charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (tranſlated out of the *Chaldee* to the *Italian* and *Portugal* Tongues) wherein the ſaid King himſelf declared himſelf to be deſcended from Queen *Candace* mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further Effect of his Employment being to require ſome excellent Artificers, and 2000 Arquebuſiers, whom he would uſe in a War againſt the *Turk* in *Egypt*, when his Holineſs would compoſe the Differences in the Weſtern Parts, and joyn all Chriſtian Princes for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*; pretending thereupon in the Name of that King to render Obedience to his Holineſs as the true St. *Peter*. But this (as *Auguſtino de Auguſtini*, an *Italian* there preſent and ſometimes Servant to Cardinal *Woolſey*, hath it in his Letter to *Cromwel*) made the reſt ſuſpected; and the rather that other Circumſtances made it probable, that this Ambaſſador was ſuborn'd partly by the *Portugueſe* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards thoſe Parts (much grudg'd at by his Neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to return to our Hiſtory.

Our King having Notice of the foreſaid Interview, and finding that the Emperor, who ſeem'd a while to deſiſt from the eager Proſecution of his Aunt's Cauſe, was now more vehement than ever; ſends Inſtructions to his Agents at *Rome*, to proteſt in his Name, that he was not bound either in his own Perſon, or by this Proctor to appear there, urging, for this Purpoſe, the Determination of ſome Univerſities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithſtanding which, he permitted Dr. *Bennet* to make (as of himſelf) divers Motions to the Pope, the principal whereof in our Records I find theſe. Firſt, That ſeeing by the Opinions of Lawyers, and the Council of *Nice*, the Matter ought to be decided *in partibus*; and that by the Laws of *England* the Determination (it concerning the Succeſſion) cannot elſewhere be made; it would pleaſe his Holineſs that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Biſhops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, ſhould decide the ſame. But this being diſlik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* ſecondly propos'd, Whether he would refer the Determination to Sir *Thomas More*, or the Biſhop of *London*, to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperor name another, and the *French* King the third, and let the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* be the Fourth. But this alſo being rejected, *Bennet* came, it ſeems, to the laſt Degree of the Inſtructions, which was, That if the Cauſe might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refuſed the Sentence, ſhe ſhould have the Benefit of her Appeal before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the Third from the Pope, who alſo ſhould diſcuſs the Matter in ſome in different Place. But the Pope allowed not this, ſaying, ſince he ſaw the King would needs conſerve his Authority, he would likewiſe conſerve his, and proceed in the ordinary Way. Before yet I conclude this Year, I ſhall relate ſome particular home-Buſineſſes. Among which, I find that our King having gotten *York*-houſe (now *Whitehall*) upon the Cardinal's Conviction in a *Præmunire*,

did

did newly enlarge and beautify it, buying alſo the Hoſpital and Fields of St. *James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpoſe he compounded with the Siſters of the Houſe for a Penſion during their Lives. Not long after which, he ſuppreſs'd the Priory called *Chriſt-Church* in *London*, diſtributing the Canons being *Franciſcans*, into other Houſes of that Kind, and beſtowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on Sir *Thomas Audeley*, newly made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. For Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, after divers Sutes to be diſcharged of his Place, (which he had held two Years and a half) did at length by the King's good Leave reſign it. The Example whereof being rare, will give me occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of him. Sir *Thomas More*, a Perſon of ſharp Wit, and endued beſides with excellent Parts of Learning (as his Works may teſtify) was yet, out of I know not what Facetiouſneſs, given ſo much to Jeſting, that it detracted no little from the Gravity and Importance of his Place, which though generally noted and diſliked, I do not think was enough to make him give it over in that Merriment we ſhall find anon, to retire to a private Life. Neither can I believe him ſo much addicted to his private Opinions, as to deteſt all other Governments but his own *Utopia*, ſo that it is probable ſome vehement Deſire to follow his Book, or ſecret Offence taken againſt ſome Perſon, or Matter (among which perchance the King's new intended Marriage, or the like might be accounted) occaſion'd this ſtrange Counſel, though yet I find no Reaſon pretended for it, but Infirmity and Want of Health. Our King hereupon taking the Seal, and giving it, together with the Order of Knighthood, to *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Lower Houſe; Sir *Thomas More* without acquainting any Body with what he had done, repairs to his Family at *Chelſey*, where after a Maſs celebrated, the next Day, in the Church, he comes to his Lady's Pew, with his Hat in his Hand (an Office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and ſays, Madam, my Lord is gone. But ſhe thinking this at firſt to be but one of his Jeſts, was little mov'd, till he told her ſadly, he had given up the Great Seal; whereupon ſhe ſpeaking ſome paſſionate Words, he call'd his Daughters then preſent to ſee if they could not ſpy ſome Fault about their Mothers dreſſing, but they after Search, ſaying they could find none, he replied, do you not perceive that your Mother's Noſe ſtandeth ſomewhat awry, of which Jeer the provoked Lady was ſo ſenſible, that ſhe went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, he acquainted his Servants with what he had done, diſmiſſing them alſo to the Attendance of ſome other great Perſonages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Fool he beſtowed him on the Lord Mayor during his Office, and afterwards on his Succeſſors in that Charge. And now coming to himſelf, he began to conſider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred Pounds yearly in Lands, beſides ſome Money, he adviſed with his Daughters how to live together. But the grieved Gentlewomen, who knew not what to reply, or indeed how to take theſe Jeſts, remaining aſtoniſh'd, he ſays, we will begin with the ſlender Diet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, we will take ſuch Commons as they have at *Oxford*; which, yet, if our Purſe will not ſtretch to maintain, for our laſt Refuge we will go a Begging, and at every Mans Door, ſing together a *Salve Regina* to get Alms. But theſe Jeſts were thought

thought to have in them more Levity, than to be taken every where for current; he might have quitted his Dignity, without uſing ſuch Sarcaſms, and betaken himſelf to a more retired and quiet Life, without making them or himſelf contemptible. And certainly whatſoever he intended hereby, his Family ſo little underſtood his Meaning, that they needed ſome more ſerious Inſtructions. So that I cannot perſuade my ſelf for all this Talk, that ſo excellent a Perſon would omit at fit Times, to give his Family that ſober Account of his relinquiſhing this Place, which I find he did to the Archbiſhop *Warham*, *Eraſmus*, and others.

THIS Year of 1533. *February* 4. the Parliament ſate again.

The chief Laws enacted were; That all Victuals ſhould be ſold by the larger kind of Weight call'd *Avoirdupois*. That the Price of a Pound of Beef or Pork ſhould be a Half-penny at moſt, and of Mutton or Veal three Farthings, and leſs, where it was uſually ſold for leſs. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of thoſe Times with theſe. This Law yet was finally repeal'd in regard unſeaſonable Years did not permit a certain Rule in theſe Things, and ſome of the Lords of the Council appointed to ſet the Prices; whereof in its due Place.

That they who kill'd any Perſon attempting to Rob by or near the Highway, or that broke Houſes, ſhould be acquitted without forfeiting either Goods or Lands.

That no Appeals ſhould be made out of this Realm for theſe Reaſons (*viz*). That whereas the Kingdom of *England* was a juſt Empire furniſh'd with ſuch able Perſons both Spiritual and Temporal, as could decide all Controverſies ariſing in it; And whereas *Edward* I. *Edward* III. *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. and other Kings of this Realm, have made ſundry Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, for the Conſervation of the Prerogative, Liberties, and Pre-eminences of the ſaid Imperial Crown, and of the Juriſdictions Spiritual and Temporal of the ſame, to keep it from the Annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as alſo from the Authority of other foreign Potentates attempting the Diminution or Violation thereof; and becauſe notwithſtanding the ſaid Acts, divers Appeals have been ſued to the See of *Rome* in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great Vexation and Charge of the King's Highneſs, and his Subjects, and the Delay of Juſtice; And, foraſmuch, as the Diſtance of the Way to *Rome* is ſuch, as the neceſſary Proofs and true Knowledge of the Cauſe, cannot be brought thither, and repreſented ſo well, as in this Kingdom; And that therefore many Perſons be without Remedy: It is therefore enacted, That all Cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions, either commen'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter ſhall commence in any of the King's Dominions, ſhall be heard, diſcuſſed, and definitively determin'd, within the King's Juriſdiction, and Authority, in the Courts Spiritual and Temporal of the ſame, any foreign Inhibition or reſtaints to the contrary notwithſtanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this Occaſion ſhould follow from that See, the Prelates and Clergy of this Realm ſhould adminiſter Sacraments, and ſay divine Service, and do all other their Duties, as formerly hath been uſed, upon penalty of one Years Impriſonment, and Fine at the King's Pleaſure; And they who procur'd the

the ſaid Sentences, ſhould fall into a *Præmunire*. As for the Orders to be obſerved henceforth, It was enacted, That in Sutes commenc'd before the Archdeacon or his Officials, Appeal might be made to the Biſhop of the ſaid See. And from thence within 15 Days to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or Archbiſhop of *York*, reſpectively in their Provinces, and ſo likewiſe to the Archbiſhops in the King's other Dominions. Or if Suit be commenc'd before the Archdeacon of any Archbiſhop or his Commiſſaries, then Appeal may be made within 15 Days to the Court of Arches, and ſo to the Archbiſhops without any further Appeal. In all which Caſes, the Prerogative of the Archbiſhop and Church of *Canterbury* was reſerved. That if any Suit aroſe betwixt the King and his Subjects, Appeal might be made within 15 Days to the Prelates of the upper Houſe in the Convocation then ſitting, or next call'd by the King's Writ, there to be finally determined. And that they who ſhall take out any Appeal contrary to the Effect of this Act, or refuſe to obey it, They, their Adherents, and Counſellors, ſhall incur the Penalty of the Statute of xvi. *Rich. Secundi*. And thus the Spiritually finding the Power inveſted formerly in the Pope, to be derived now in great Part on them, did more eaſily ſuffer the Diminution of the Papal Authority.

All former Statutes alſo made againſt the Exceſs of Apparel were repealed, and new Orders given, which yet ſtood not long: There being no Meaſure it ſeems for Things that depended ſo much upon Fancy and Opinion. It is now time that we return to our Hiſtory.

Among the many Things concluded at the late Interview at *Bononia*, we may remember one was, that the Pope ſhould write to our King to ſend Aid againſt the *Turk*, who having fail'd (accidentally) in his Intentions, He ſaid this Summer would puiſſantly invade *Chriſtendom*. But our King anſwer'd by his Ambaſſadors; That the Emperor's Ambition was the Cauſe thereof, and the Raſhneſs of the Pope, who at the Emperor's Requeſt had lately excommunicated *John Sepuſe Vayvode* of *Tranſilvania* and elect King of *Hungary*, and ſo forced him to ſeek foreign Aid; which ought to put his Holineſs in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his own Particular were afraid of the *Turk*, that he ſhould come to *Avignon*, and that he and *Francis* would undertake his Protection, ſince the Emperor was reſolv'd to conſent to the *German* Princes, about ſome Innovation in Religion; only to diminiſh his Holineſs Power. How the Pope yet reliſh'd this Motion, appears not; But certainly I find that as long as he was ſo aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* think it ſafe to Treat, or our King to repoſe intire Confidence in him; though now the *Ceſarean* Forces being withdrawn, a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* took effect, Inſomuch that *Francis* now began ſecretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medicis* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbin*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, had promis'd his Aſſiſtance to him for recovering his Claims in *Italy*, which he paſſionately deſir'd, ſo he was diſpoſed now, though not altogether to forſake our King, yet at leaſt to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his Side, it may be thought no ſmall Motive, that he had upon his own Authority, not only levied ſome tenths upon the Clergy in *France*, but prepared Forces to aſſiſt the Proteſtant

Princes; which ſo ſcandalized his Holineſs, as he thought it ſafer to permit a War of Dominion (though in *Italy*) than of Religion in *Germany* aſſiſted by the *French*. And certainly, as the Times then ſtood, the Pope had Reaſon to fear a Defection in more than one Prince. The Pope alſo wanted not his Deſigns upon *Modena* and *Rheggio*, wherein he hoped *Francis* would ſecond him againſt the Emperor, whom he hated ſtill for approving the late Sentence in Favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which places now he intended to give his Niece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbin*, when it could be gotten. For Performance of all which, the *French* Writers ſay a Treaty was concluded. Our King being well informed of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis*, notwithſtanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers reiterated Profeſſions of Friendſhip, had upon the Pope's Breve and Requeſt executed ſome Perſons in *France*, who it ſeem'd oppoſed the Papal Authority, and recalled from Baniſhment one *Bede*, a bitter Enemy to the King's Divorce, thought it now his beſt Expedient, to ſtand to the Deciſion of his own Clergy: Whereunto it conduced much, that *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Cranmer*, an able Perſon, much favoured by the Nobility, as our Hiſtorians ſay, and lately imployed in the King's Buſineſs in *Italy*, and at this preſent in *Germany*, was, though abſent, choſen to this Place. Neither indeed could the King's clandeſtine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Child: So that he reſolved ſhortly, both to publiſh his Marriage, and to require his Clergy to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean Time, ſo favoured his Intentions, that they made the aforeſaid Act againſt Appeals to *Rome*, to the no little Diſpleaſure of Queen *Katherine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in Point of our Law) to inſiſt on hers. Howſoever, I find, ſhe had many openly favoured her Cauſe, without that our King thought fit to puniſh them.

Queen *Katherine* was now at *Ampthil* in *Bedfordſhire*; and becauſe it concern'd the King to acquaint her with the Cauſes of his ſecond Marriage, he ſent again ſome grave Perſons to prepare her thereunto, wiſhing her together to ſubmit. But ſhe perſiſting ſtill, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, cited her to appear at *Dunſtable*, being ſix Miles off. Where for deciding this Buſineſs, he appointed a Court to be held; and with him came the Biſhop of *London*, *Wincheſter*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincoln*, and many great Clerks. Their firſt proceeding, as *Sanders* hath it, was a Citation to our King to put away his Wife *Katharine*, proteſting otherwiſe, that they would cenſure him. But the Records which I have ſeen mention only that *Cranmer* demanded and obtained Leave of the King to determine the Matter, ſince it caus'd much Doubt among the common People, and Fears of great Inconveniencies in Matter of Succeſſion. The Court being now held, and the Queen ſummoned 15 Days together, without yet that ſhe appear'd, the Archbiſhop having firſt pronounced her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which alſo he cauſed to be publickly read in the Chapel of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunſtable*, before two Notaries, and then ſent to the King, deſiring further to know his Mind concerning his ſecond Marriage, as ſoon as he had adviſed with his Council.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the laſt Parliament) commands ſtrictly *Katharine* ſhould no more be called Queen, but Princeſs Dowager, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*; and diſpatches Meſſengers both to *Rome*, and to the Emperor, then in *Spain*, to declare and juſtify the Proceedings, not omitting together to ſatisfy *Francis* thereof, as ſhall be told in his Place. The Oration made to the Emperor, (whether by Doctor *Hawkins* then Reſident in his Court, or Sir *Thomas Wyat* as *Fox* hath it) did in Effect remonſtrate, that ſince his Highneſs did ſtill eſteem him to be his Friend, Confederate and Ally, he thought good to acquaint him with his Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Juſtice of the Cauſe, and Order of the Proceſs, in which nothing being omitted, which might ſatisfy himſelf or others, he hath found, at laſt, that the Marriage with Queen *Katharine* was indiſpenſible, as being againſt the Law of God, Nature, and Man; yet that herein he uſed not his own Judgment alone, or his Subjects, though enough to quiet his Conſcience, but required it of foreign Parts and Univerſities, and among them thoſe of *Bononia*, though depending of the Pope's; and *Padua*, though menaced by the *Venetians*; and hath found them, and many other, ſo conſentaneous to his Divines, that (ſome few partial Places and Perſons only excepted) they all determined in Favour of his Highneſs's Cauſe; the further Confirmation whereof, by publick Diſputation and Proof, he ſhould willingly offer his Majeſty, were it not too great an Injury to that which is paſſed in this Realm, to diſpute it in any other Country; eſpecially when it is contrary to the Laws of the Land: ſo that he truſted his Prudency would take it as a Thing done, and juſtly done, and not to marvel if the King his Maſter, for the Weal of his Soul, as well as Benefit and Peace of his Realm, had taken a Courſe which otherwiſe he would ſo little have thought of, as he wiſheth no ſuch Occaſion had ever been given him; wherein, he hopes it will appear, how much Reſpect is given both to the Pope and yourſelf, ſince otherwiſe his Highneſs ſhould not have ſent ſo many Ambaſſages to you both, or ſpent ſo many Years in clearing theſe Points, without receiving yet any Fruit but Delay and Inſatisfaction. Inſomuch, that he perceived, after the Cauſe had depended almoſt ſeven Years Space, he was in a Labyrinth, out of which he ſaw no Likelihood to get, had he not ſtept right forth at once to the Mazes End. Yet if this were all, he could better ſuffer it: For ſince at laſt the neceſſity of clearing his Conſcience, and ſatisfying his People, had made him give a Period to his Suits, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, cited him to appear at *Rome*, and publiſhed divers ſlanderous Breves againſt him, requiring the Cauſe to be determined before him; though a general Council hath long ſince determin'd that all Matters ſhould be ended where they begun. So that if the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as Metropolitan of the Realm, had at length given Sentence on the King's Part, he thought the Queſtion ſhould not be ſo much, whether it were done according to the common Faſhion, as whether in itſelf it were right, whereof therefore he would treat with the Pope apart, deſiring his Majeſty howſoever to take well this Declaration, ſince his Highneſs reputing him ſtill his Friend, thought this account due to him, as hoping further, he would not be leſs friendly hereafter, than he had been heretofore. To which the

the Emperor anſwered little more that I can find, than that he well knew how Matters paſſed, and that he would adviſe with his Council, what further was to be done; giving by this ſhort and ſharp Reply, juſt Suſpicion of preparing War againſt *England*, as he had more than once threatned. For which Purpoſe, as 1529, he had practiſed with the Earl of *Deſmond* in *Ireland*, ſo now he treated ſecretly with *James* King of *Scotland*, to whom alſo he ſent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes Occaſion, upon Expiration of the late five Years Truce, to give Ear unto the Complaint of the Earl of *Anguis*, (then at *Berwick*) and to permit Sir *Arth. Darcy* to enter the Country and forrage it. Which he did in *April* 1533. burning divers Towns, and carrying away much Booty. Pretending for Cauſe thereof, the Reſtitution of the *Douglaſſes*. But while *James*, a Valiant Prince, (as his many Expeditions in Perſon againſt the Out-laws did declare) prepared to be revenged, the *French* King taking Notice of this Difference compoſed it, though not without ſome Difficulty. Notwithſtanding which, the Treaty with the Emperor continued. For whereas the young King being not long ſince deſirous to match in *France*, found ſome Interruption, he hearkened now to an Offer from the Emperor. And his faithful Servants thought it Time, as having run no ſmall Hazzard in his Night-walks. And now three *Maries*, all of the Emperor's Family, were mention'd to him; his Siſter *Mary*, Dowager of *Hungary*; *Mary* of *Portugal*, his Niece by his Siſter *Leonora*; and *Mary*, our Princeſs. Neither will the Reader think it ſo ſtrange, that the Emperor preſumed here ſo far with our King's Daughter, when he ſhall conſider (as I find in our Records and *Bellay*'s Hiſtory) that he offered her afterwards to the *Dauphin*, as intending, together with troubling this Kingdom, to make this Princeſs a Reward of their Ambition who aſſiſted him. The Anſwer which *James* returned was, that he ſhould moſt deſire the Match with *England*, if conveniently it could be effected, ſaying yet, that after her he would gladlieſt have a Daughter of his Siſter of *Denmark*. But *Charles* ſaying, She was already promis'd, the Buſineſs of Marriage ended ſo, for the preſent, the Treaty of Friendſhip nevertheleſs being in ſome kind entertained. Whereof our King being advertiſed, labour'd to break it, propoſing to his Nephew a Match with *Iſabel*, Siſter to *Henry* King of *Navarre*. For which Purpoſe he alſo ſent *Henry Knevet* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, who gladly entertained the Motion.

This while the Duke of *Albany* was ſent by *Francis* unto the Pope, to treat in Appearance of a War againſt the Duke, but really to conclude the deſigned with *Katharine de Medicis*, to whom the ſaid Duke was near allied. Which Match, though the Emperor had heretofore oppos'd; yet now conſidering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide *Francis* from our King, he reſolved privately to give aſſent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniences would follow that Way, than if both Kings joined againſt him. Before yet he would declare himſelf, he told the Pope he ſhould require theſe Conditions from *Francis*. 1. To innovate nothing in *Italy*. 2. To confirm again the Treaty of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. 3. To obtain ſome Aſſurance from him, that he ſhould conſent to the calling of a General Council. 4. That he would labour effectually with the King of *England* not

to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other Answer, but that he would mediate therein, bring not able, as he alledg'd, to dispose otherwise of so puissant a Prince.

And now because the Reader may expect an Account why this general Council, promis'd within a Years Space to the *Germans*, formerly by the Emperor, sollicited by our King and *Francis*, submitted unto by the Protestant Princes, took yet no Effect at the Time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chief Passages thereof: Since I dare say no Age ever produc'd a juster Occasion for the calling of it. Which therefore also I shall relate with more Particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in some free Place and Manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or could now more authorise any solemn Error, than a factious and partial Assembly, under what general or specious Title soever. Nevertheless, as it concern'd the Emperor in Point of Honour and Advantage, chiefly to procure this Work, our King and *Francis* were content awhile to look on. And three Motives I find were presented by the Emperor to the Pope. 1. The setling of the Business of Religion. 2. Resistance against the *Turk*. 3. Accommodation of Differences betwixt Christian Princes. The Pope having received these, replied only, That he would commit the Business to some principal Persons of his Council, who making this following Remonstrance, the Pope thought fit to send it to the Emperor; which finally was that concerning Religion, they thought it a dangerous Point to admit Protestants or Hereticks to dispute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councils have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon also they might take Occasion to call in Question the Articles of Christian Faith. On the other Side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might think themselves worse us'd than the *Arians* and other Hereticks heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return Home more obstinate than ever. Secondly, if they have contradicted the Determinations of former Councils, what Hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a Scandal would it prove to be disobeyed? Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compel them to a strict Observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperor and other Christian Princes, had so much to do both one against another, and against the *Turk?* Thirdly, That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhered to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councils, who by divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtful Places: So that if once they call'd in Question the Authority of the Church, there could be no Ground for deciding Controversies. Fourthly, That it is probable, their Demand of a Council was not so much with the Intention to Obey it, as to avoid the Punishment due from the Magistrate; since their Request was, to have Liberty of Religion till a Council had determined the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done. Fifthly, That the Protestants might find some Excuse to depart before any Determination, as they did from the Diet at *Augsburgh*. Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some should condescend to an Alteration in Part, it might cause a Schism, and consequently a setting up of Council against Council,

or

or of Pope againſt Pope, as hath formerly happened. And again, that whether the Pope were declared above a Council, or a Council above the Pope, Inconveniencies would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Council were permitted to them, or to the Emperor, it might take up more Time and Years, than the Emperor could ſpare to attend it. 2. As for the ſecond Motive of calling this Council, being the Invaſion of the *Turk*, it was anſwer'd, That the hoſtile Preparatives being ready, and the Aſſembly of a Council in all Likelihood ſo ſlow, it was more fit to think of taking Arms, than of entring into School Diſputations, eſpecially ſince under this Colour, the Proteſtants might evade, alledging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the Buſineſs of Religion were ſetled. Moreover, that this would but occaſion the *Turks* coming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his Damage and Hurt, and conſequently, would but haſten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Council gave no Content to the Proteſtants, it might cauſe them to ſeek Protection from the *Turk*, as the *Vayvod* of *Tranſilvania* had lately done, and under Pretence of evangelical Liberty ſeize on the Goods of the Church. Theſe Motives from the Emperor, together with this politick Anſwer of the Pope, being brought to *Francis* by the *Seigneur de Praet*, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, *Francis* after Deliberation ſaid, that notwithſtanding there were Inconveniences in calling a Council, there were far greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other lawful and ordinary way for Deciſion of Controverſies in Religion. Inſomuch, that all future Ages would condemn not only his Holineſs, but all the Chriſtian Princes of the Time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they ſhould aſſemble a Council without yet neglecting the other Point propos'd. And for this End, that all Chriſtian Princes by their Letters, and Ambaſſadors, ſhould adviſe together before the Council were call'd, and each of them ſet down what they in their particular thought fit to be done. Whereupon, alſo, they ſhould ſend to *Rome* jointly to demand a free and ſecure place of Meeting, where the Points projected might be reſolved. In Diſcuſſion whereof, therefore, ſuch intire and honeſt Liberty ſhould be permitted to all and every one, as they might frankly diſcover themſelves. Only, that they ſhould not interpoſe any thing concerning their private Differences and Quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it ſhould be agreed that no Deciſion of former Councils ſhould be urged to the Hindrance of an ingenuous and free Communication concerning theſe Points; when yet it ſhould be alledged that the Queſtioning of former Acts would but open the Way to fruſtrate this. Since it would give Occaſion unto many to withdraw themſelves, who otherwiſe would be preſent at the Council. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors or Deputies with unlimited Commiſſion to Treat concerning the Points in Controverſy. Which alſo ſhould be laid down in writing, to the Intent by common Vote and Conſent they might afterwards be determined. With this Caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities ſhould be laid aſide or quenched. And that till this were done, and the ſeveral Superiors of the ſaid Ambaſſadors or Deputies acquainted with the Proceedings, ſo that abſolute Power thereupon

upon might be given them to conclude) it was unſeaſonable to call a Council. But if they choſe this Way, it would follow, that either the inferior Number would ſubmit to the greater, and conſequently conform themſelves to one common Way in Religion, or at leaſt they would remain without Excuſe, or cauſe of Exception, when on ſo good and indifferent Terms the Determination of a free Council had been offer'd them. All which he ſignified by his Ambaſſadors.

It was now towards the End of *February* 1533. when the Emperor received this Anſwer, who as he was diſaffected to *Francis*, did eaſily miſ-interpret his Meaning, taking all his Advice in a counter Senſe. Firſt, becauſe he thought it unreaſonable that the Ambaſſadors of Chriſtian Princes and Proteſtants ſhould project the Points and Articles to be treated of in the ſaid Council, ſince it could be thought no leſs than an Artifice and Invention to reſtrain and diminiſh the Authority of the ſaid Council, which together with all that could be treated therein, ought intirely to depend on the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and not upon the Opinions of Men. Secondly, Becauſe *Francis*, had made no particular Anſwer concerning Contribution for reſiſting of the *Turk*, as if he thought the Danger of his Neighbours in this Kind did not concern him.

Which Remonſtrance being brought, in Form of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperor, to *Francis*; he anſwer'd; that he could not but marvel how the Emperor ſhould ſo much miſtake him, ſince together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affair of Religion, he had declar'd likewiſe that the Ambaſſadors and Deputies ſhould not neglect the other Point, whoſe Reſolutions alſo concerning Reſiſtance of the *Turk*, he thought not only more effectual and proper than thoſe of a Council, but of a quicker Diſpatch. And for the other Point concerning the Reſtraint or Diminution of the Council, it was ſiniſterly and malignly interpreted. For when they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors from all Parts with ſo pure and ſincere Affection, and Zeal for the good of the Church, and defence of *Chriſtendom*, he could do no leſs than believe that the Holy Ghoſt will aſſiſt and direct their Aſſembly. And howſoever that any thing concluded in this Kind ſhould be eſteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Council. Nevertheleſs for the giving more intire Satisfaction to the Emperor, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperor did not approve the ſaid Aſſembly of Ambaſſadors, he for his Part would mention it no further; only when the Emperor would but pleaſe to take Notice that himſelf made the firſt Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by *Du Praet* might appear. For the reſt, he wiſh'd it might be true univerſal Council, and not a national or provincial, as it muſt be term'd, when all Chriſtian Nations did not aſſiſt therein. And as for War againſt the *Turk*, though he had already paid 1200000 Crowns, and muſt pay 800000 more, yet if the *Turk* in Perſon ſhould aſſail *Chriſtendom*, he would not only hazard his own Blood and his Subjects to oppoſe him, but hope the Emperor would do the like. But neither was the Emperor ſatisfied herewith. For as he thought *Francis* would make Uſe of this Aſſembly for contriving ſome Deſign or Enterprize againſt him; ſo he ſecretly declin'd it. *Francis* likewiſe as he was wholly won to the Pope, and intentive

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to the Buſineſs of *Italy*, laboured not much to advance a Buſineſs, ſo ſuſpected and dangerous to the *Roman* See. So that the Diffidence and Jealauſy betwixt theſe Princes broke off the Council at this Time, when it ſeem'd ſo neceſſary for the Peace and Welfare of *Chriſtendom*. Howbeit the Emperor, who departed from *Genoa*, *April* 8. and was now in *Spain*, leſt he ſhould be thought not to comply with his Promiſe, obtained from the Pope, that theſe following Conditions ſhould be offer'd to *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, in the Room of his Father, lately deceaſed. That it ſhould be free and open to all as in Times paſt: That Aſſurance ſhould be given on both Sides to ſtand to whatſoever ſhould be decreed there. That they who could not be preſent, ſhould ſend their Deputies. That in the mean while, nothing ſhould be innovated. That the Place ſhould be *Piacenza*, *Bononia*, or *Mantua*, at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themſelves, nor ſent, they ſhould yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Council, and if they diſobeyed, that the Emperor and other Princes ſhould ſee Juſtice done. That if theſe Conditions were accepted, the Council ſhould be ſummon'd within ſix Months following the Date hereof, being towards the End of *March*, or Beginning of *April*, 1533. and held within a Year after. For more authoriſing of which Propoſitions, the Emperor commanded his Ambaſſadors to ſecond the Legate. The Duke of *Saxony* hereupon, after Deliberation with the other Proteſtant Princes and States at *Smalcald*, returned this Anſwer; that the Council could not be free as long as the Pope who was a Party ſhould ſit as Judge. That the cauſe of Religion, as being grounded on the Scriptures, ſhould be determined by them, and not by School Opinions. That the Place ought to be, as the Emperor had promis'd, in *Germany*, if it ſhould be free and open unto all. Our Hiſtorians ſay, alſo, that the Pope ſent, in *May*, to our King to be preſent at the Council, or at leaſt to ſend thither. But when the Meſſenger, being required to it, ſhew'd a Commiſſion, which had neither Place nor Time expreſt, he was diſmiſt.

While theſe Things paſt, our King by a Diſpatch to *Francis* requires him to ſend hither ſome truſty Perſon, to whom he might with all Confidence communicate ſuch Things as could not fitly be committed to Paper, intreating alſo that the ſaid Perſon might be inſtructed in all the Paſſages of Affairs, whereſoever, ſince the Interview. For though the King by Meſſage, ſent formerly by the Lord *Rochfort*, had acquainted *Francis* that he was privately married, yet as he had many Particularities to ſpeak of, and might beſides have Uſe of the Aſſiſtance which *Francis* had offered, ſo he deſired one on that Part to whom he might freely open himſelf. Hereupon *Francis* ſends *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* with theſe Inſtructions. That he ſhould perſuade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any elſe to juſtify and defend his proper Cauſe, aſſuring him that he ſhould be as ſafe, both in his Paſſage to, and ſtay there, as in his own Kingdom. Nevertheleſs if he thought not fit to come, that at leaſt he ſhould ſend one in whom he might repoſe intire Confidence. He was charged alſo to inform our King how *Francis* had made thoſe Ordinances concerning Horſe and Foot, and Sea-buſineſſes, which were

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agreed betwixt them. Laſtly, he was commanded to deſire our King's Advice concerning the Affairs of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who inſtantly crav'd their joint Aſſiſtance.

When *Monſieur de Langey* was come, and had expoſed theſe Particularities, Our King anſwered: That ſince the Biſhop of *Rome*, for ſo he now term'd the Pope, after many Diſſimulations, and Delays, would not decide the Buſineſs of the Divorce; he had for Diſcharge of his Conſcience, referred it to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as being not able to ſupport any longer the continual Vexations wherewith his Mind was afflicted. And the ſaid Archbiſhop and divers Biſhops and principal Perſons of the Clergy having ſentenced a Nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Diſpenſation for it void, as given in a Caſe which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not be diſpenced with; he had thereupon privately married the Marchioneſs, without yet that he had Intention to diſcloſe it before *May* next. About which Time he hoped alſo, that the Interview betwixt his Maſter and the ſaid Biſhop would be, and that the ſaid Biſhop therefore would do him Juſtice. If not, that he would publiſh his Marriage, and withdraw himſelf totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Biſhop's Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Uſurpation whereof, he had compos'd a large and ample Treatiſe; the Title whereof was, *De Poteſtate Chriſtianorum Regum in ſuis Eccleſiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem Impietatem*, as *Beutherus* hath hath it; though (for my Part) having ſeen no ſuch Book, I conceive it was that *De vere differentia Regiæ Poteſtatis & Eccleſiaſticæ, & quæ ſit ipſa virtus & veritas utruſq;* made about this Time, which nevertheleſs he ſaid he would not publiſh, until he ſaw what Right the Biſhop would do him; deſiring the ſaid King, in the mean Time, not to abandon him, ſince the Biſhop had vaunted, he would ſet all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, which the Emperor alſo, in his Diſcourſe with the Pope had averred, diſcovering how by the Means of *Scotland* he would Revenge his Aunt's Quarrel. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the ſaid *Seigneur de Langey*, who croſſing the Seas from *Bolougne* to *Dover*, was aſſaulted by ſome *Scotch* Men of War, who hovering in our Seas to eſpy their Advantage, ſet upon the Galloon that *Langey* went in, ſo that had he not made Uſe both of Sails and Oars, he had been overtaken and ſunk; their Number being ſuperiour, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his Conſort, which having Sails only, and not Oars, could not eſcape them. *Monſieur de Langey* being now diſmiſſed, acquainted *Francis* with our King's Reſolution. Whereupon alſo, he haſtned his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propoſed, was finally reſolved at *Marſeilles*, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors at *Rome* in vain oppoſing it.

And now the News of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, and open Marriage of Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*, being come to the Pope's Ears, and together with it an Information concerning the Book our King had compoſed againſt the Pope's Authority (which alſo more than any thing elſe offended him,) the whole College of Cardinals, eſpecially ſuch as were for the Emperor, became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would proceed rigorouſly againſt our King; which alſo the Pope accorded, though not in that peremptory and publick Manner as was afterwards done; for I find that this Sentence

Sentence was not definitive in the principal Cauſe (as the Imperials deſired, and *Saunder* miſtakes it,) but only declarative in the Point of Attemptats, as they call it, in that King *Henry*, (the Cauſe yet depending) had divorced himſelf without the Leave and Authority of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein were ſubject to a Nullity, and himſelf to Excommunication, unleſs he reſtored Things to their former State, for which Time was allowed him, till the End of *September* following. Theſe Proceedings being reſerved, and the Cenſures thus ſuſpended, argued that the Pope was willing, before he went any further, to ſee the Succeſs of his Interview with *Francis*, which was accelerated by this Means. For as the Pope knew well, that the Emperor was already ſufficiently incenſed againſt the King, ſo it was eaſy for him to collect, that if he could gain *Francis*, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And he had Reaſon to chuſe this Way of Treaty; for I find all his Interviews ſucceeded well with him. Nevertheleſs, the Emperor, as he knew not how far this new Treaty might extend, labours by his Ambaſſadors to retard it. But they failing, he took another Courſe; for being advertis'd, that the Pope intended to make Uſe of ſome of his Gallies for this Journey, he ſends a Command that they ſhould be employed againſt the *Turk*. But neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not go, reſolv'd to commit himſelf to the *French* Gallies, and ſo to paſs to *Marſeilles*. This being thus advanc'd, our King (in Conformity to the Propoſition of *Francis*) ſends the Duke of *Norfolk*, lately made Marſhal of *England*, the Lord *Rochfort*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, followed with ſome hundred and ſixty Horſe, to repair to *Francis*, and afterwards attend the Interview.

This while, our King being confident, that either by the Pope's good Permiſſion, or his proper Authority, he ſhould be able to juſtify a Cauſe which ſo many Univerſities had ſentenc'd on his Side, proceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which alſo was perform'd with much Solemnity. And the rather, that the Murmur of thoſe who objected againſt the Irregularity and Deviation of our King's Proceeding herein, might be hidden, and recovered in the Pomp. Shortly after which, our Hiſtorians ſay, *Mary* the Dowager of *France* died, and was buried at St. *Edmundſbury*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* being now come to *Francis*, who was upon his Journey to *Marſeilles*, acquaints him with Part of his Inſtructions, which were to diſſuade him from the Interview and Marriage propoſed, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it, till the Pope hath given our King Satisfaction, offering alſo Aid for a War in *Piedmont*, if he would ſuffer no more Monies to go out of his Realm to *Rome*, and inſtead of the Pope to erect a Patriarch, which it ſeems was one of the private Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview; but hearing, at the ſame Time, of the Declaration paſt at *Rome* againſt our King, he thought it too late to expect any Favour from the Pope; and therefore demanded leave to return. Notwithſtanding which *Francis* deſired his ſtay, promiſing all the beſt Offices and Aſſiſtance to our King he could require, as ſoon as he ſhould come to *Marſeilles*; proteſting furthermore, that what Offence ſoever was done to our King, he would take as to himſelf. But the Duke being informed again, by

our diligent Agents, what had paſt at *Rome*, would omit no longer to advertiſe the King. Therefore he poſted away the Lord *Rochfort*, to acquaint his Highneſs with what was done, and to know his gracious Pleaſure: Whereupon the King, upon Advice with his Council, thought fit to revoke together with the ſaid Duke, the Duke of *Richmond* then living in the *French* Court, commanding alſo his Ambaſſadors with the Pope to return. Nevertheleſs, as *Francis* inſiſted with our King to ſend ſome other, if for no other End, yet at leaſt to witneſs the Earneſtneſs and Sollicitation wherewith he would purſue the King's Affair with the Pope; ſo our King thought fit to ſend *Stephen Gardiner*, not long before made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, together with Sir *John Wallop*, to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable that *Francis* had many Deſigns, whereof alſo he reſolved to prevail himſelf according to the Occaſion. For if he treated with the Pope, he no leſs entertained his former Correſpondence with the Princes of *Germany*, who ſent to him (then being at *Tholouſe*) a Secretary of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, to tell him how, upon the Conſignation of 100000 Crowns, which the ſaid King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in Aid, and for the Reſtitution of the Duke of *Wittemberg*, whoſe Poſſeſſions were withheld by *Ferdinand*, they now all agreed that it ſhould be put into the Hands of the ſaid Duke, deſiring nevertheleſs, that it might be done with all Secreſy. To which *Francis* anſwered: That the Interview being paſt, he would ſend ſome one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

This while the Duke of *Albany* being departed with the Gallies of *France*, to conduct the Pope to *Marſeilles*, News was brought to *Francis* of the Death of one *Merveilles*, employed by *Francis* to *Franciſco Srfoza* (then in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Emperor's Favour, tho' not as yet of the Daughter of *Denmark*, formerly deſtined unto him;) the Occaſion whereof alſo I have thought worthy my Relation. This *Merveilles* being a *Milaneſe*, had ſerved long in the *French* Court, and was now, by the good Leave of *Franciſco Srfoza* received as a ſecret Agent or Ambaſſador for *Francis*; the Terms on which *Sfroza* ſtood with the Emperor, not admitting a more overt Acceſs. The Servants of this *Merveilles* having a Quarrel with one *Caſtiglione*, concerning ſome Words he had ſpoken againſt their Maſter, did at laſt kill him in the Streets; which was revenged by the Magiſtrate on *Merveilles* himſelf, whoſe Goods he ſeiſed on, and afterwards by Order of the Duke privately cut off his Head. Which being advertiſed to *Francis*, he fell into an extream Paſſion, ſaying, he was his Ambaſſador, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated. The Reſentment whereof alſo, as he thought common to all Princes, ſo he acquainted the Pope, Emperor, and other Potentates of *Europe* therewith in high Terms, not forgetting alſo, to give the King a particular Account thereof, together with his Intentions; proteſting to them all, he would have Reparation. But when the Emperor had received his Letter, he returned no other Anſwer, but that *Merveilles* had deſerv'd Death, and was juſtly puniſhed, he being no Ambaſſador, but a Subject of the Duke of *Milan*'s. Whereupon the *French* Ambaſſador hoping to ſatisfy the Emperor, ſhewed him private Diſpatches, by which it appear'd, that the Duke acknowledged him under that Title. Notwithſtanding which, the

the Emperor made ſmall Account of them, as ſuppoſing the Quality of an Ambaſſador not wronged, as long as the Perſon in Queſtion (beſides that he was no Subject of the *French* King) did not openly ſuſtain the Dignity of his Place; whereupon alſo this Act was ſo far from being chaſtiſed by him, that it did but haſten the Marriage of *Srfoza* with *Chriſtine*, the King of *Denmark*'s ſecond Daughter, whom the Emperor immediately ſent for, and gave much about the Time that the Duke of *Orleans* married *Catherine de Medices*. Notwithſtanding which, *Srfoza* ſent his Chancellor to *Francis*, alledging by Way of Excuſe, that *Merveilles* was no more but a private Perſon, though authorized ſometimes to treat; neither was he ever acknowledg'd publickly by any other Title than his Vaſſal and Subject; ſo that not to have done Right to another Subject killed by his Procurement, had been to the Derogation of Juſtice and his own Authority. Beſides, he ſaid *Merveilles* was ſuch an outragious and miſchievous Perſon, that he had been told divers Times on the Duke's Part, that he did not like of his Abode there. As for the ſecret Manner of his being put to Death, he ſaid, it was to avoid Ignominy, in Caſe *Francis* for delivering ſome of his Meſſages (when there was Occaſion) ſhould repute him his Ambaſſador. But the Excuſe, (as it implied ſome Contradiction,) did but exaſperate *Francis*, who told the Chancellor, that if intire Satisfaction were not given, he would in ſome fitting Time and Place procure it.

About this Time, the Queen being brought to Bed of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, (who happily ſucceeded to this Crown,) the Chriſtening following ſhortly after, with much Solemnity, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was God-father, and the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and Marchioneſs of *Dorſet* God-mothers. Howbeit the divorced *Katharine*, and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cauſe, writ, and ſpoke againſt the late Marriage; a Nun of *Kent* alſo, pretending to Prophecy thereon, of whom and her feigned Miracles (about this Time diſcovered) we ſhall make mention hereafter.

It was now in *October* 1533. when the Pope, conducted by the Duke of *Albany*, came by Sea to *Marſeilles*, where *Montmorency* received him. His publick Entrance into the Town (being the next Day after his Arrival) was in a rich Chair, carried on the Shoulders of two Men, himſelf wearing his pontifical Ornaments, the *Tiara* or tripple Crown only excepted, before him a white Horſe was led, on which the Sacrament was carried. After him followed all the Cardinals and his Niece *Catherina de Medices* (the Dutcheſs of *Urbin*) with a great Train of Cavaliers and Ladies. *Francis* at the ſame Time, that he might ſeem to give the Pope entire Poſſeſſion of the Town, going out thereof, but the next Day returning thither, and after many Complements to the Pope, coming to Buſineſs, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himſelf marrying the young Couple. Her Portion in Money was but little, being only 100000 Crowns, but in Expectation and Titles great; ſince a pretence to *Urbin* in the Right of her Father *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Leo* X. gave the Inveſtiture to the diſ-inheriſon of *Franciſco Maria Conte di Feltri*, who at this preſent was in poſſeſſion thereof, as alſo the Donation of *Rheggio*, *Modena*, *Rubieira*, *Piſa*, *Ligorno*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* by the Pope, or ſomething equivalent to

them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of *Francis*, especially, when so potent a Prince should undertake her Cause, not without Hope of uniting these Places to the Rights he claimed in *Italy*. After which, the Pope was often solicited by *Francis* in the behalf of our King, that at least, the Time of declaring the Censures against him, might be prorogued. But the Pope answering only, that though the Term prefixt for Fulmation were now past, yet he would omit further Process till he came to *Rome*: Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Instructions, and *Edmund Bonner* (as I find by an Original of his to our King) getting Audience of the Pope, *November* 7. in respectful Terms, and under Protestation that his Majesty intended no Contempt of the See Apostolick or Holy Church, intimated to him King *Henry*'s Appeal to the next general Council lawfully assembled, exhibiting also the authentick Instruments whereof (made before the Bishop of *Winchester*;) at which the Pope being much incens'd, said, he would refer it to the Consistory. Which being held *November* 10. he answered *Bonner*, that, concerning the King's Appeal, he rejected it, as being unlawful, and against a Constitution of Pope *Pius*. Secondly, for the Council, he would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King *Henry*'s. Thirdly, for the original Instruments, which *Bonner* required back, he denied them, and so dismist him; desiring *Francis*, only, that he would persuade our King to conform himself to his antient Devotion and Obedience to the *Roman* Church. Shortly after which, being the 12th of *November* 1533. the Pope return'd. I find moreover that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* at this Time suspecting the Pope would proceed against him, by the Advice of our King made his Appeal also to the Council. Which he desir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The Success whereof yet doth not appear in our Records. Here also, at the Requisition of *Francis*, he made four *French* Cardinals, which added to six more, who held that Dignity, made the Emperor see that the Pope intended to strengthen the *French* Party in *Rome*. Besides, as the Pope did fear least *Francis* should usurp upon the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in his Kingdom, he gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monasteries alone, but in all elective Benefices in his Kingdom; which was politickly done; for he prevented thereby, that Power, which *Francis* might have assumed, especially when he had stood to the Conventions he made with our King at their last Interview. By which Means also, he disposeth *Francis* to oppose the Emperor about calling a Council, shewing together how inconvenient it would be to the *Roman* Church, as Affairs then stood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to send to *Germany*, both in Favour of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and to comfort the Protestant Princes in their Perseverance, promised to do all that he could for them in a defensive way: He omitted not, also, to send *Jehan du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris* to our King, both to acquaint him with all the Passages at *Marseilles*, and to induce him to send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to treat with the Pope concerning the suspending of this Fulmination, which he said highly concern'd him. But our King who was in some Part acknowledged already supreme Head of the Church, in his Dominions, replying he would

would adviſe with his Council hereof, one who much favour'd the Papal Authority, ſpake in this Manner.

Sir, Your Highneſs is come to a Point which needs a ſtrong and firm Reſolution, it being not only the moſt important in itſelf, that can be preſented, but of that Conſequence as will comprehend your Kingdom and Poſterity. It is, whether, in this Buſineſs of your Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, as well as in all other eccleſiaſtical Affairs in your Dominions, you would make uſe of your own, or of the papal Authority? For my Part, as an *Engliſh* Man, and your Highneſs's Subject, I muſt wiſh all Power in your Highneſs: But when I conſider the antient Practice of this Kingdom, I cannot but think an Innovation dangerous: For if in every temporal Eſtate it be neceſſary, not only to keep Order, but to come to ſome ſupream Authority, whence all inferior Magiſtracy ſhould be deriv'd; it ſeems much more neceſſary in Religion; both as the Body thereof ſeems more ſuſceptible of a Head, than any elſe, and as that Head again muſt direct ſo many others. We ſhould above all Things therefore labour to keep an Unity in the Parts thereof, as being that ſacred Bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much, Sir, ſhould we recede from the Dignity thereof, if we, at once, retrenched this his chief and moſt eminent Part? And who ever liked that Body long, whoſe Head was taken away? Certainly, Sir, an Authority received for many Ages, ought not raſhly to be rejected; for is not the Pope the common Father in the Chriſtian World, and Arbiter of their Differences? Doth he not ſupport the Majeſty of Religion, and vindicate it from Neglect? Doth not the holding of his Authority from God, keep Men in awe, not of temporal alone, but eternal Puniſhments, and therein extend his Power beyond Death itſelf? And will it be ſecure to lay aſide theſe potent Means of reducing People to their Duty, and truſt only to the Sword of Juſtice, and ſecular Arm? Beſides, who ſhall mitigate the Rigour of Laws in thoſe Caſes, which may admit Exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who ſhall preſume to give Orders, or adminiſter Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Diſpenſations, Indulgences, and other Myſteries of the Church? Who ſhall be depoſitary of the Oaths, and Leagues of Princes, or Fulminate againſt the perjur'd Infractors of them? For my Part, (as Affairs now ſtand) I find not, how either a general Peace among Princes, or any equal Moderation in human Affairs can be well conſerv'd without him. For as his Court is a Kind of Chancery, to all other Courts of Juſtice in the Chriſtian World; ſo if you take it away, you ſubvert that Equity and Conſcience which ſhould be the Rule and Interpreter of all Laws and Conſtitutions whatſoever. I will conclude, that I wiſh your Highneſs, as my King and Sovereign, all true Greatneſs and Happineſs, but think it not fit, in this Caſe, that your Subjects ſhould either examine by what right eccleſiaſtical Government is innovated, or inquire how far they are bound thereby; Since, beſides that it might cauſe Diviſion, and hazard the Overthrow both of the one and the other Authority; it would give that Offence and Scandal Abroad, as foreign Princes would both reprove and diſallow all our Proceedings in this Kind, and together upon any occaſion, be diſpoſed eaſily to join againſt us.

To which was replied by one in this Manner.

SIR, If he who propos'd this Queſtion, had reſolv'd it as well, I ſhould not have needed to return an Anſwer. But ſince from Principles we admit as true, he draweth Conſequences which follow not, I ſhall according to common Reaſon, crave leave to examine his Arguments, without inſiſting upon any thing urg'd out of either Teſtament, or controverted by the Theologians of this Time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a Neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome ſupream Power in ſpiritual as well as temporal Affairs; only the Queſtion will be, whether they be better united in one Perſon, or divided into two? I am for one, eſpecially while the Precincts of both be of the ſame Extent, and the Magiſtrate no way Obnoxious: For can we ſuppoſe a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? will the bare Precepts of Theology contain People in their Duties, unleſs the ſecular Arm concur? Or the inflicting Puniſhment with a high Hand ſuffice to teach a good Life, or bring Men to everlaſting Happineſs? Beſides, can a Kingdom be ſafe, if the ſecular Magiſtrate command one thing, and the Spiritual another? Muſt not the Subject on theſe Terms be ſuſpended betwixt his Obediences, or diſtracted into ſome Schiſm or Rebellion? which Inconveniences as they cannot be denied, ſo neither do Examples want thereof, both antiently betwixt Emperors and Popes, and of latter Times as well in this Kingdom as divers others, where not only Scandal and Diſſention, but even Ruins and Deſolation followed on this Occaſion. It being manifeſt thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoined, the next Queſtion will be, who is moſt proper to exerciſe them in this Kingdom? But it is clear that Popes are not. For beſides that they want Title, Succeſſion, Election, Poſſeſſion, or whatſoever elſe may eſtabliſh Government for the temporal Part, they cannot ſo much as aptly adminiſter the Spiritual, while the Diſtance betwixt us and them is ſo great, that they neither can take timely Notice of the Proceedings and Deviations of the Clergy, or give that Order and Redreſs which is fitting; ſo that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to *Rome*, they ſtrive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increaſed. The Cauſes brought thither being ſometimes undecided for a long Space, ſometimes wholly fruſtrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, than be at the coſt of bringing their Witneſſes with them to ſo remote a Place, as neither their Health or Means can reach unto. Of which, as alſo many other Inconveniencies of this Kind, the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long ſince complained, without that the whole Court of *Rome* could deviſe a due Remedy, as long as the Determination of eccleſiaſtical Affairs was ſo commonly avoked thither. Whereby it follows, that the Pope as being neither ſecular Magiſtrate in this Kingdom, nor within a juſt Diſtance to exerciſe the Spiritual, cannot lawfully pretend to an abſolute Power in either Juriſdiction. It remains, that Princes of this Kingdom ſucceſſively aſſume it, both as their Perſon and Office hath in it a Mixture of the temporal and ſpiritual Power; and as the Precincts they claim in eccleſiaſtical Affairs, are no longer than their Swords can reach to, and ſecure, nor their Intereſts other, than to conſerve at home, a perpetual Peace

of

of Religion; which alſo will be with ſo much Advantage to their Subjects, as while the ſame Authority animates and gives Life unto all, none of the Members can eaſily prevaricate or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxim, he may be convinc'd by Examples of Popes themſelves, who practiſe this mixed Power not only in their Territories about *Rome*, the *Patrimonio della Chelſa*, but in their more remote Dominions with that ſingular Benefit to their Vaſſals, that they more than any other in *Italy*, are exempt from being drawn into contrary Parts. So that if it be clear as well by Reaſon as by Precedents, that both Powers may ſubſiſt together, and be exerciſed by one and the ſame Perſon, I think none will deny, but that it will be ſo much the more equal, to place them in a temporal than a ſpiritual Monarch, as it imports more to give good Laws, and exhibit Juſtice, than to diſpute Controverſies (where the Grounds of Religion are already ſettled) and to reſiſt foreign Invaſions, than to declaim againſt Vice, and the Non-payment of Church Duties: out of which therefore may be concluded, that there is no more Neceſſity of a Pope over us; or, if you will, over all Churches in the World, when they could be converted to Chriſtianiſm) than to aſſign one univerſal Monarch over it. There being in the Frame of Government, as well as all other Bodies, a certain Symmetry and Proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. Theſe Things thus appearing, it may be conſidered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity, for ſwaying all the eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Kingdom, in his being ſo obnoxious to other Princes. But this alſo is evident, ſince the *French* and *Spaniard* ſo conſtraining him on either Side, that he muſt ſubmit to the ſtronger, or ſuffer ſuch Impriſonment and Outrages as he hath lately done, it will be dangerous to conſtitute him our ſupream Judge, in theſe Affairs of Religion, which regard Matter of State.

For ſuppoſe he would be Impartial between ſuch Princes as may preſs him equally; ſhall we preſume he will be ſo to us, who ſtand not in the ſame Relation of Nearneſs and Intereſt unto him? Nevertheleſs, I ſhall eaſily grant that he may wiſh us well, or beſtow his Bleſſing on us: But where his Perſon or Eſtate will be concern'd, I do believe it would be ſo unſafe for him to do us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to aſk it. But may he not in ſome Caſes yet be retain'd as Judge in eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and Arbiter of the Differences of Chriſtendom? For my Part, I ſhall accord it; as long as he complies with his Place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Cenſures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he proſcribe, and terminate thoſe, who otherwiſe might give him a due Reſpect, doth he not relinquiſh his Name? Eſpecially while without Regard to the Quietneſs of Men's Conſciences, the Peace of Chriſtendom, or the Unity of Religion, which might eaſily follow, when the unneceſſary Points were laid aſide, he, for the Conſervation of his Authority in this Kingdom only, procures foreign Princes to invade it. Whereupon therefore, he ſo little exerciſeth his paſtoral Charge, inſtituted at firſt for the Safeguard and Eaſe of the ſecular Magiſtracy, as he now diſturbeth all, whereas he ought ſo much rather to uſe a diſcreet Moderation, as he ſees that Princes can both reign without him, and contain their Subjects, whether ſpiritual or temporal, in their accuſtomed Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect,

collect, that untill these ecclesiastical Affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determined without them, there will be small Hope of an Accomodation.

And for these Reasons also, we can as little admit him, Arbiter of the temporal Causes betwixt us, and any other Christian Prince, tho' otherwise the Function be so necessary, as it seems there is no so good Means for avoiding the many Wars, and deciding the Controversies betwixt them. But it is alledged still, that in deserting the Pope's Authority, some Diminution of Religion may follow; alas, if Religion stood not on firmer Principles than these, it were worse grounded than any other Knowledge; For were not the Laws of Piety and Goodness so written, at first, in the Heart, as Mankind had no other Direction for attaining his everlasting Happiness, for about two thousand Years, and until the Decalogue was given? And is that again any thing else but an Explication of these Laws? Besides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith delivered us in some part of our Belief or Creed, and I say in some, for the Beginning thereof, as well as certain Articles towards the End, are general Notions both written in our Hearts, and received in all Religions. And have we not through the reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the Ten Commandments, and therein submitted ourselves to all that is required in either Testaments, and will they yet exact new Beliefs, and obtrude new Articles? When the Laws of God, only written in Men's Hearts, and the Decalogue, for so many Ages were thought to suffice for Salvation? Let them say what they will; I find no Reason to believe, that the divine Wisdom imposeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than those that were delivered to our Forefathers; or that some such Obliquation of Religion hath happen'd as the Course of his Providence should be varied too. And therefore, though I shall be content, that the Illustration or Explication of some Points, may be worth the Churches Labour, I can never agree that the Principles and Foundation of this Structure, should be stirr'd, or exhibited on other Terms. Neither indeed should the *Roman* Church, in true Wisdom procure it, the Majesty of Religion being no ways so well conserv'd, as by asserting such a Perfection, Antiquity, Universality, and Visibility in the more necessary Parts thereof, as may argue the Care which God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to represent the Doctrines of Faith, and of God's Mercy, in middle Times after such Manner, as may be for our Instruction. And thus their Auditors, being informed, not only what Parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in sequent Times, may glorify him for both. Nevertheless, if Popes shall be so far from these charitable and temperate Ways, as they will still intermix and trouble all Things; if they shall confound and join together the certain, and the uncertain, and compel Men equally to the Belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this Case to prevent Distractions? Ought they not to extinguish Usurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Error and Neglects? While in giving a due Lustre and Protection with the temporal Sword, they make her become more Reverend and Awful. Which Duty also is so much more requisite in them, as it is not in the

the Power of any elſe to perform it. Neither ſhould we fear, leſt our Princes ſhould grow too abſolute thereby; when it is the moſt aſſured way for conſerving, nor the outward only, but inward Peace in this Kingdom. Not that this Authority may be at length devolved to ſuch as would abuſe it; there being a poſſibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. And that Inconvenience doth not make void the Argument. And thus, Sir, may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all defects reſtored by your Highneſs in your Dominions, without either ſuffering Sophiſtry or Pedantiſm to be taught inſtead of true Doctrine, or that the Hierarchy of your Kingdom ſhould be diveſted of their antient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highneſs pretends not to create new Articles of Faith, they may continue ſtill to expound the old, in their ſeveral Kinds, and give Light to the hard Places in the Scripture, read divine Service, adminiſter Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort Men to Piety, Charity good Life, Repentance, and whatever elſe may conduce to everlaſting Happineſs; whereof alſo when the Pope would take ſuch Notice, as to confirm and approve our Proceedings, we might (if your Highneſs ſo pleaſed) return that Reſpect to him, as upon his publick Declaration, that he doth not only ratify our Confeſſion of Faith, but relinquiſh all his Pretences, which may derogate from your regal Authority, and behave himſelf, for the reſt) as a common Father, ſuch Points might be referred to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be ſo far forth acknowledg'd, as he might ſtill retain a Primacy, according to his ancient patriarchal Right, without intermedling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-houſe hath already Decreed for your Highneſs. And now to come to the preſent Queſtion concerning the Divorce; I muſt ſay, I cannot find what the Pope ſhould take ill. For is any thing done by our Archbiſhop, but what, not only the Pope, himſelf, but the moſt famous Univerſities of Chriſtendom have declared unlawful? So that, if after ſix Years Suſpenſion of the Cauſe, we have determined the Buſineſs, as himſelf confeſſed he would have done, but for fear of the Emperor; what Offence can he take? will he complain, he is not able to do us Juſtice, and yet be ſcandalized if it be done by others? or ſhall the executing of what he thought reaſonable, be judged a Fault, when the not executing thereof muſt (in all Equity) have made us the greater Criminals? Let us therefore, ſend to deſire his Conſent. It hath been already intimated unto us, that it was not ſo good to aſk a Licence, as a Pardon, we will hope then from a Confirmation of the Archbiſhop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conſerv'd, without that we ſhould need to fear any foreign Invaſion, as long as the general Vote of our Kingdom ſhall eſtabliſh what (in a ſort) it hath agreed unto.

And to this Opinion our King inclin'd, and ſo much the rather, that about this Time the Pope's Sentence againſt him, was openly ſet up at *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*; So that to prevent further Inconveniencies, the King (as our Records ſhews) adviſed with his Council, *December* 2. Firſt, to inform his Subjects of his Appeal to the Council General, and the Juſtice thereof. Secondly, of the unlawfulneſs of the Dowager's Appeal to *Rome*, and t' late Statute againſt it, which ſaid Statute was (for that Purpoſe) to be ſet upon every Church-door in *England*,

land, as alſo his Majeſties ſaid Provocation, or Appeal, whereof Trans-ſumpts were to be ſent into *Flanders*. Thirdly, to command it to be taught, that the General Council is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in *England* by God's Law, than any other foreign Biſhop. Laſtly, to ſend into *Germany*, to confederate with the King of *Poland*, *John* King of *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Bavaria*, the Landgrave of *Heſs*, *&c.* as likewiſe the *Hanſe-Teutonick* Towns, being *Lubeck*, *Dantſick*, *Noremberg*, &c. Theſe Things being reſolved on; for a final Anſwer, he deſired the Biſhop of *Paris* to certify *Francis*, that if the Pope would ſuperſede from executing his Sentence, until he had indifferent Judges ſent, who might hear the Buſineſs, he would alſo ſuperſede from the Execution of what he was deliberated to do in withdrawing his Obedience from the *Roman* See. But the Biſhop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce Things into good Terms, made an Offer to negotiate the Buſineſs at *Rome*; which our King gladly accepted, aſſuring him withal, that as ſoon as he had obtained what was demanded, he would ſend ſufficient Power and Authority to confim as much as was accorded on his Part, as having intire Confidence in his Diſcretion and Sufficiency, ever ſince his two Years Imployment as Ambaſſador in this Kingdom. Whereupon the Biſhop, though in *Chriſtmas* Holidays, and an extream Winter, poſted to *Rome*; where he came before any Thing was done, more than what formerly paſt; and here obtaining a publick Audience in the Conſiſtory, he eloquently declared our King's Meſſage, repreſenting both what he had obtained of our King, and ſhewing withal how advantagious it would be to the whole Church. Which ſo prevailed, that they prefixt a Day for receiving from our King a Confirmation thereof. Inſomuch, that a Courier was diſpatch'd to our King *Henry*, deſiring his Anſwer within the Time limited. But the Term being expired, and no Anſwer brought, the Pope reſolved to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence; which being advertis'd to *Bellay*, he repaired to the Pope and Cardinals, (then ſitting in full Conſiſtory) deſiring them to ſtay a while, it being probable that the Courier, either through croſs Winds, or other Accidents in long Journeys, might be detained; concluding his Speech, that if the King of *England* had ſix Years together been patient, they might attend ſix Days; which Space only, he deſired them to give him, for the receiving of our King's Anſwer; this Propoſition being put to the Queſtion, the Plurality of Voices carried it againſt our King, and the rather, that in this mean Time, News came to *Rome*, that the King had printed and publiſhed the Book written againſt the Pope's Authority, (which it was untrue, for it came not forth till afterwards, tho' it was not yet kept ſo cloſe, but a Copy was now come to the Pope's Hands,) and that there was a Comedy preſented at Court, to the no little Defamation of certain Cardinals. By Reaſon whereof the Sentence was ſo precipitated, that, what according to their uſual Forms could not be done in leſs than three Conſiſtories, was now diſpatched in one. And ſo by a final Determination, (the Copy whereof is in *Fox*) the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was pronounced good, and King *Henry* commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in Caſe of Refuſal Cenſures were fulminated againſt him. But two Days of the ſix were not paſt, when the Courier arriv'd with ample

ample Commiſſion and Authority from our King, to conclude and confirm all that the Biſhop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) That King *Henry* was content to accept the Judgment of that Court, upon Condition that the ſuſpected and Imperial Cardinals ſhould not intervene, and that indifferent Perſons ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* to be informed of the Merits of the Cauſe; giving Authority further for his Proctors to appear in that Court. At which the more wiſe and temperate Cardinals were ſo aſtoniſh'd, that they became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would adviſe how all Things might be repair'd; whereupon the Buſineſs was again diſcuſs'd. But all Remedies being judged either late or impoſſible, the Sentence ſtood, and the Emperor was made the Executor of it. The Biſhop now returning towards *France*, met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne* and *William Revet*, who were employed by our King for ſolliciting this important Buſineſs. But as they underſtood by the Biſhop, that the firſt Marriage was pronounced good, and the Iſſue by it legitimate, ſo they judg'd it loſt Labour to proceed, and adverti's'd all to our King, who became ſo ſenſible of the Indignity wherewith he was us'd in this important Affair, that he ſeparated himſelf from the Obedience of the *Roman* Church, but not from the Religion thereof (ſome few Articles only excepted) as ſhall appear hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this preſent Condition found nothing ſo fitting to be done, as to cheriſh the good Affection of his Subjects, who in a Parliamentary Way he found did many Ways advance and ſecond his Deſigns. I ſhall for a Concluſion add only the Cenſure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this Buſineſs.

It is certain that that King ſo behaved himſelf in the other Parts of his Life, that, if he had had more juſt and prudent Popes to deal with, it would have appear'd he would readily have ſubmitted to their Authority.

The Emperor (now in *Spain*,) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marſeilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at leaſt the Pope would diſſuade *Francis* from favouring our King, or aſſiſting the Proteſtant Princes. Therefore he did not much endeavour to hinder it; for as he knew the Pope was paſſionately affected to the Advancement of his Kindred, ſo he judged it loſt Labour to oppoſe him therein; ſince by ingraffing his Family now in *France*, as well as by his former Alliance with *Spain*, he might hold himſelf ſecure on either Hand. Neither did he think that Terrors could prevail, at a Time, when the Pope muſt know, there would be uſe of all the Imperial Forces againſt the *Turk*, who beſides that he threatned a general Invaſion, had now particularly beſieged *Corron*, taken a Year ſince by *Andrea Doria*, which a *Spaniſh* Garriſon held till they were forced to leave it again to the *Turk* about *April* 1534.

I will come now to the Buſineſs of our Parliament, holden this Year from *Jan.* 15 till the 30th of *March* next, wherein theſe Statutes were enacted:

That the Prices of Victuals ſhould not be enhanſed without juſt Ground and Reaſon. If they were, then upon Complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellor (and others, who had Authority given them herein) ſhould tax the ſaid Victuals how they ſhould be ſold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Alſo that no Corn or Cattel be carried beyond Sea without the

King's Licence, unleſs either to *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, *Hammes*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, *&c.*

That no Man indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment ſtanding mute, to prevent the Proceſs of the Law againſt himſelf, ſhall have Benefit of his Clergy; But Law ſhall proceed againſt him for the Crime, whereof he is indicted, as if he had pleaded to the ſame, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

Elizabeth Barton, (call'd the *Holy-Maid* of *Kent*) and Accomplices were attainted of High-Treaſon, for conſpiring to ſlander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katherine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Becauſe by the Greedineſs of ſome, who have gotten into their Hands much Cattel, and many Farms, which they have turned from Tillage to Paſture (eſpecially for Sheep) old Rents are raiſed, Prices of Things enhanſed, and ſo much Poverty and Theft enſued; it was enacted, that no Man ſhould have in his own or farmed Lands above 2000 Sheep, (yet that every Temporal Perſon may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) *Secondly*, That no Man ſhall take and hold above two Farms at once, and thoſe to be in the ſame Pariſh, upon certain Penalties there ſet down.

The Statute of *Henry* IV. concerning Hereticks was repealed. And it was enacted, That Sheriffs in their Turns, and Stewards in their Leets may make Inquiry and Preſentment of Hereticks; who being by two lawful Witneſſes accuſed, may be cited and arreſted by an Ordinary, and being convicted in open Court, ſhall abjure their Hereſies, and refuſing ſo to do, or relapſing, ſhall be burnt.

Alſo the Statute of *Richard* the Third permitting free Importation of all Kinds of Books, was repealed. And (for the Benefit of our Book binders,) it was enacted, That no Bookſeller ſhould buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any, though unbound, of any Stranger, but by Engroſs. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raiſed above Reaſon, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, the Chief Juſtice of either Bench, or any two of them ſhall moderate the ſame, upon a certain Penalty.

Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged that the Convocation is always aſſembled by the King's Authority, and have promis'd his Majeſty, that they will not henceforth make or alledge any new Conſtitutions without his Highneſs's Aſſent and Licence; and whereas divers Conſtitutions and Canons Provincial and Synodal heretofore enacted, are thought to be prejudicial to the King's Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realm, and enormous to the People; and the ſaid Clergy therefore hath humbly beſought his Majeſty that the ſaid Conſtitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination of thirty-two Men, to be named by his Majeſty, *viz.* Sixteen of both Houſes of Parliament, and Sixteen of the Clergy, who may annul or confirm the ſame, as they find Cauſe; It is enacted, That all Convocations ſhall be henceforth called by the King's Writ, and that in them nothing ſhall be promulged or executed without his Highneſs's Licence, under Pain of Impriſonment of the Authors, and mulct at the King's Will. And that his Highneſs ſhall at his Pleaſure, (ſeeing the Time of this Part is too ſhort) appoint thirty-two Men, as aforeſaid, to ſurvey the ſaid Canons and Conſtitution for the Confirmation or Abolition of the ſame.

And

And as concerning Appeals, they ſhall be made (according to the Statutes made the laſt Year) from inferior Courts to the Archbiſhops, and for Lack of Juſtice there, to the King's Majeſty in his Court of Chancery.

As concerning *Annates* uſed to be paid to *Rome* by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, ſince there hath been heretofore an Act paſſed, and the Biſhop of *Rome*, otherwiſe called Pope, being informed thereof, hath as yet devis'd no Way with the King's Highneſs for Redreſs of the ſame; his Highneſs hath now confirmed and ratified the ſame Act, and every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth enact the ſame, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Biſhop ſhall be commended, preſented, or nominated by the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor ſhall ſend thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, *&c.* but that at every Vacation of a Biſhoprick, the King ſhall ſend to the Chapter of the Cathedral a Licence (as of old hath been accuſtomed) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferred above twelve Days next enſuing ſhall belong to the King, but being made within the Time limited, ſhall be held firm and good, and the Perſon ſo elected, after Certification of his Election to the King's Highneſs, and Oath of Fealty taken to him, ſhall be ſtiled Biſhop elect; and ſo by his Majeſty be commended to the Archbiſhop of the Province, to be inveſted and conſecrated. And if the Perſons to whom this Election or Conſecration belongeth, neglect or refuſe to perform the ſame, or admit or execute any Cenſures, Interdictions, *&c.* to the contrary, they ſhall incur the Penalty of the Law of *Præmunire*.

Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoveriſhed by the uſurped Exactions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, under the Titles of *Peter* Pence, Procuration, Expedition of Bulls, Delegacies, Diſpenſations, *&c.* It is enacted that ſuch Impoſitions be no more paid; And that neither the King's Highneſs, nor any Subject of his ſhall ſue for any Diſpenſation, Faculty, Delegacy, *&c.* to the See of *Rome*, but that any ſuch Diſpenſation, *&c.* for Cauſes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as well to the King's Highneſs, as to his Subjects: But in thoſe Things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall not meddle without the King's Licence. Provided that all Diſpenſations, *&c.* whoſe Expedition at *Rome* came to four Pounds and upwards, ſhall be confirmed by the King's Seal, and enrolled in Chancery, thoſe below four Pounds paſſing under the Archbiſhop's Seal only.

That the Fees for theſe Diſpenſations ſhall be limitted by the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Lord Chancellor, and a Part of the ſame (be they great or ſmall) ſhall always come to the King's Hands. As for all Monaſteries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Archbiſhop, ſhould have Authority to viſit them.

Laſtly, upon the Suit of Parliament to the King for the eſtabliſhing of the Succeſſion to the Crown (the Uncertainty whereof hath cauſed heretofore great Diviſion and Bloodſhed in this Realm.) It was enacted, That the King's Marriage with the Lady *Katherine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur*, (as was lawfully proved before *Thomas*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,) as contrary to God's Law, ſhall be held void: and the Matrimony with Queen

Anne

Anne ſhall be taken for firm and good; and the Iſſue thence procreate be accounted lawful; the Inheritance of the Crown to belong to the ſame in Manner following, *viz. Firſt*, to the eldeſt Son begotten by the King on Queen *Anne*, and to the Heirs of the ſaid Son lawfully begotten; and for Default of ſuch Heir, then to the ſecond Son, *&c.* And if Queen *Anne* deceaſe without Iſſue Male, then the Crown to deſcend to the Son and Heir of the King's Body lawfully begotten, and the Heirs of the ſaid Son lawfully begotten, and for a Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the ſecond Son in like manner, *&c.* And for Default of Sons, that then the Crown ſhall belong to the Iſſue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and firſt to the firſt Begotten the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten. And for Default of ſuch Iſſue, then to the ſecond Daughter in like Sort, *&c.* And for Default of all ſuch Iſſue to the Right Heirs of the King's Highneſs. It was ordained that this Act ſhall be proclaimed before *May* next throughout the Kingdom. And all Perſons of Age ſhall ſwear to accept and maintain the ſame. They who refuſe the Oath ſtanding guilty of Miſpriſion of High-Treaſon; and they who ſpeak or write againſt the Marriage or Succeſſion here eſtabliſhed, to be adjudged Traitors.

Beſides all this, the preſent Statute expreſſed certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; amongſt which, that between the Brother and the Brother's Wife, was one) which being againſt God's Laws, could not be diſpenſed with by Man, and therefore no ſuch Marriages ſhall hereafter be made; and thoſe that are made already ſhall be by the Ordinary diſſolv'd, and thoſe that are already ſo diſſolved, ſhall be eſteemed juſtly and lawfully diſſolved, and the Iſſue thence proceeding illegitimate.

The Parliament riſing, Commiſſioners were ſent abroad to require the Oath of Succeſſion, which nevertheleſs *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Moor*, late Chancellor, denyed, yet ſo as they both profeſſed a Readineſs to ſwear to the Succeſſion, but not to the whole Act, (it containing divers other Things. Firſt, the Indiſpenſability of the firſt Marriage, as being againſt the Law of God. Secondly, of the legal Proceeding in the Divorce by *Cranmer*. Thirdly, ſome Touches againſt the Pope's Authority, *&c.*) But which of theſe in particular offended them, they would not diſcover; therefore though Archbiſhop *Cranmer* told *Cromwel* it were not amiſs to accept the Oath as they offered it, both for Satisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperor, who much relied on theſe Mens Authority, they yet refuſing, were ſent to the Tower, where they continued till they were brought forth to their Trial and Death as will appear hereafter.

The Pope having proceeded in thoſe Rigorous Terms with our King (as is formerly mentioned) and for more authorizing his Sentence, made the Emperor Executor thereof, hoped now to have his Revenge, but he was deceived. For though the Emperor did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen *Katharine*'s Sake, and the Hope he had to diſpoſe of the Princeſs *Mary*, as Inheritrix of the Crown, yet as he had deeper Deſigns, in aſpiring to the Conqueſt of *Italy*, and indeed to an Univerſal Monarchy, he was no leſs glad of the Occaſion to take off our King from the Pope; howſoever, each Side prepared for War. The Emperor's Intention was, to give the Princeſs *Mary* to ſome one, who upon

on her Title might pretend to the Crown, whom therefore he promiſed to ſecond. Our King and *Francis* not ignorant of the Emperor's Deſigns, agreed on the other Side, partly to join with the Duke of *Gueldres* for invading the adjoyning Territories to *France*, and partly to renew the antient Claim to *Navarre*, and aſſail the Emperor in thoſe Quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperor take Effect, becauſe there was no Means to recover the Perſon of the Princeſs *Mary*. Nor this of our King's, becauſe *Francis* employing his Thoughts wholly on the Affairs of *Italy*, did not think fit to comply openly with one againſt whom the Pope had fulminated. Howbeit, our King for Defence of his Authority and ſecond Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a Confirmation thereof, and of the Succeſſion in that Line (as is mentioned before;) ſending alſo to Queen *Katharine* at *Bugden* near *Huntingdon*, in Conſequence thereof, *Edward Lee*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Biſhop of *Dureſm*, to ſignify unto her, that he took it ill that ſhe ſtill claimed the Title of Queen, *&c.* the Paſſages of which Negotiation I have thought fit to tranſcribe out of the original Record, as containing many material Points concerning the whole Frame of the Buſineſs.

Their Letter to the King was this.

PLEASE it your Highneſs to underſtand, that this Day we repaired to the Princeſs Dowager, and there I the Archbiſhop of *York*, for an Introduction to declare to her the Effect of our Commiſſion, ſaid to her; Firſt, that your Highneſs hath often ſent to her, divers of your Council, and amongſt them me, one to declare unto her the Invalidity of the Marriage, between your Highneſs and her. Secondly, that carnal Knowledge, which is the great Key of the Matter, is ſufficiently proved in the Law, as alſo ſome that were of the Council do avow. Thirdly, that upon Proof ſo ſufficiently made of carnal Knowledge, Divorce was made between your Highneſs and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by lawful Sentence, ſhe was admoniſhed to leave the Name of a Queen, and not to account or call herſelf hereafter your Highneſs's Wife. Fifthly, how that after your Highneſs was diſcharged of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*. Sixthly, that for ſo much as (thanked be God) fair Iſſue is already ſprung of Marriage, and more likely to follow, by God's Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gathered together in Parliament, hath for the Eſtabliſhment of this Iſſue, by your deareſt Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succeſſion coming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances againſt all them that would in Word or Deed withſtand them, and that for theſe Purpoſes we were ſent to her Grace, to the Intent ſhe might underſtand the true Purpoſe of theſe Acts, with the Pains; leſt by Ignorance ſhe ſhould fall in any of them, and ſo I declared the Act. Which Thing being thus declared to her, ſhe being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and always interrupting our Words to the aforeſaid Points, made theſe Anſwers following. To the firſt, that ſhe took the Matrimony between your Highneſs and her for good, and ſo always would account herſelf to be your Highneſs's lawful Wife, in which Opinion ſhe ſaid ſhe would continually (till Death) perſiſt. To the ſecond, ſhe utterly denied that ever carnal Knowledge was had between

between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that ſhe would never confeſs the contrary, and with lowd Voice when Mention was made of that Point, ſhe ſaid, they ly'd falſly that ſo ſay'd. To the third, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe is not bound to ſtand to that Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom ſhe called a Shadow, and that although he had given Sentence againſt her, yet the Pope had given Sentence with her, whom ſhe took for Chriſt's Vicar, and therefore would always obey him, as his faithful Daughter. To the fourth, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would never leave the Name of a Queen, and ſhe would always take herſelf for your Highneſs's Wife. To the fifth, ſhe ſaid, that this Marriage, made after her Appeal, which ſhe made by your Highneſs's Leave and Conſent, is of no Value. To the ſixth, ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe is not bound to the Acts of the Parliament; for ſo much as ſhe is your Highneſs's Wife, and not Subject to your Highneſs, and alſo becauſe theſe Acts were made by your Highneſs's Subjects in your Favour, your Highneſs being Party in this Matter; with many other unſeeming Words. Unto which her Anſwer, I the Biſhop of *Dureſme* replying, foraſmuch as ſhe had ſaid in her Communication that both I, and the Reſt of her Counſel, had always ſhewed unto her that her Matter is juſt and good; I ſaid that all the Queſtion whereupon we were conſulted at ſuch Time as the Legates were here, depended only upon the Validity of the *Bull* and *Breve*, albeit I ſaid, that ſince that Time divers other Queſtions had riſen, and been debated by many Univerſities, the Chief of *Chriſtendom*, of which one was *Bononia*, the Pope's own Town; and by them concluded, that after the Deceaſe of the Brother, who had had carnal Knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not marry the ſaid Wife by any Diſpenſation of the Pope, becauſe it was forbidden by the Law of God. And foraſmuch as the Pope (albeit the ſaid Concluſions, have been by learned Men ſent from your Highneſs, declared unto him) never made Anſwer to maintain lawfully his Power to the contrary, but rather in Confirmation of the Opinions of the ſaid Univerſities, ſaid at *Marſeilles*, that if your Grace would ſend a *Proxie* thither, he would give the Sentence for your Highneſs againſt her, becauſe that he knew that your Cauſe was good and juſt, which his Saying was according alſo to an Epiſtle decretal, ſent hither by the Legate *Campejus*, whereof the Effect was, that if Marriage and carnal Knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the Legates ſhould pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto Proofs were brought in before the Legates, and alſo ſince, before the Convocations of this Realm, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and by them allowed and approved as ſufficient and lawful: Whereby it doth plainly appear that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, becauſe it pronounced the Diſpenſation, (which he had no Power to grant, ſeeing it was againſt the Law of God) to be good; therefore I had now changed my former Opinion, and exhorted her to do the ſame, and forbear to uſurp any more the Name of a Queen; eſpecially for that the Sentence ſhe ſticketh ſo greatly unto, was given after your Grace's Appeal to the Council General, and intimate to the Pope, ſo that it could not be vailable. And that if ſhe ſhould ſo do, ſhe might thereby attain much Quietneſs for herſelf and her Friends, and that ſhe being conformable ſo to do, I doubted not but your Highneſs would ſuffer her to have about

her ſuch Perſons as ſhould be to her Pleaſure, and intreat her as your Grace's moſt deareſt Siſter, with all Liberty and Pleaſure, with divers other Things which by her much enterlacing, I was forced to anſwer unto. The Specialties whereof, and of her Obſtinacy, that ſhe will in no wiſe, nor for any Peril of her Life or Goods relinquiſh the Name of a Queen, we do remit for Tediouſneſs unto the Wiſdoms and Diſcretions of my Lord of *Cheſter*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Mr. *Redell*, who like as they have very ſubſtantially, wiſely, and effectually, ordered themſelves in the Execution of the Premiſſes, ſo we doubt not, but that they will ſincerely report the Circumſtances of the ſame unto your Highneſs, whom we beſeech Almighty God long to preſerve in much Honour, to his Pleaſure, and your Hearts Deſire. *At* Huntington *the* 21ſt *Day of* May.

By your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects, Servants, and Chaplains,

Edward Ebor.
Cuthbert Dureſme.

Notwithſtanding which Anſwers of the Princeſs Dowager, ſuch wast he Gentleneſs of our King, as betwixt the Memory of his former Love and Pity on her preſent Condition, contenting himſelf to have diſſolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her all ſuch as would not ſerve her as Princeſs only; he paſs'd them over with much Calmneſs. Howbeit he reſolved to puniſh rigorouſly her Adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth Barton* (called the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had almoſt ſtirred up more than one Tragedy; for being ſuborned long ſince by Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange Geſticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned Miracles, accompanied with ſome wiſardly Unſoothſayings, ſhe drew much Credit and Concourſe to her, inſomuch that no mean Perſons, and among others *Warham*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave ſome Belief to her; ſo that notwithſtanding the Danger that was to give Ear to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry* VIII. ſhould not *live one Month* after this Marriage with Miſtreſs *Bullen*, ſhe was cried up with many Voices, *Silveſter Darius* and *Antonio Pollioni*, the Pope's Agents here, giving Credit and Countenance thereunto. But the Plot being at laſt diſcovered, ſhe was attainted of Treaſon in the Parliament, and executed with her chief Complices ſhortly after. At which Time alſo ſhe confeſſed their Names who had inſtigated her to theſe Practiſes, and whom ſhe had acquainted with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* and *Fiſher*; whom yet the King pardoned upon their ſeveral Submiſſions, not ſuffering the Bill to paſs, which were put into the Parliament againſt them.

After many Bickerings betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, a Truce firſt, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King *James*. On the King of *Scots* Part, *March* 23, came to *London*, *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Robert Reid* Abbot of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne* a Lawyer. To treat with theſe on our King's Behalf, were appointed *T. Audley*, Chancellor, *Cromwell*, Secretary, and *Edward Fox*, Almoner.

While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *William Howward*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was ſent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of St. *George*, whereunto he was alſo accepted at *Windſor* the next Year, *July* 28. he had Inſtructions alſo

alſo to acquaint him, with an Interview intended betwix our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be preſent, and for this Purpoſe to paſs through his Kingdom, that they both together might go to *Calais*; which Favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was diſappointed, ſo our King who deſired much to confer with his Nephew, invited him to *York*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the Buſineſs to his Council, who judging *Newcaſtle* to be the fitter Place, made an Excuſe for the preſent, promiſing yet the Year following to meet, if he ſo thought good. Nevertheleſs, as our King well knew upon what Ground this Meeting was deferr'd, the Lord *William Howard*, and *William Barlow*, elect Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, were ſent to make certain Overtures and Propoſitions to that King, whereof in its due Place.

This Year *Charles* the Emperor being in *Spain*, intentive chiefly to the Proceedings of the *Turk*, and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, deſirous to govern without home Oppoſition, ſuch a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and ſuch favourable Uſage given the Proteſtant Princes, that the Pope complained openly of *Ferdinand*'s Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excuſed all with Reaſon of State. Which alſo the Pope accepted the rather, in that the *Anabaptiſts* (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the *Lutherans*) did then prevail in many Places, and particularly held *Munſter* and *Weſtphalia*. So that becauſe the Duke of *Wittenberg*, promiſed to contribute ſome Forces to the beſieging of that Place, he ſaid he had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no Man knew how far the Innovations of theſe Times might reach, it was thought to be of much importance, that they had drawn one Side to oppoſe the other. In *France* alſo about this Time, the Doctrine of the Evangelicks began to take Root, though ſo covertly, that few durſt openly avow it; yet as they found Favour and Protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutcheſs *d'Eſtampes*, ſo the King himſelf, whether for deciding the Cauſe, or Love of theſe two Ladies (whereof one was his Siſter, and the other his Favourite) refuſed not to confer privately with divers of the reformed, and to give ſome ſuch tacit Aſſent to their Doctrines, as thereupon growing audacious, they adventured to ſet up Papers in the Court, and publiſh Libels againſt the Church of *Rome*, in ſuch a Manner, as *Francis* being incenſed thereat, cauſed the Authors to be ſought out and burnt. Not yet but that he could have been content to have had ſome Points reformed, and the Papal Authority diminiſhed a little, but that he feared it might cauſe a Diviſion in his Realm, as he ſaw it had done in the Empire. Therefore following a violent Courſe, and improper to convince thoſe who are well perſuaded of their Religion, he condemned the Profeſſors thereof to the Fire. While yet on the other Side (as the *French* Hiſtorians confeſs) he entered into a League with the *Turk*, to the no little Scandal of his own, and all the Chriſtian Religion. But as this was not without ſome great Deſign, ſo he inſtituted certain legionary Soldiers, or Regiments of Foot throughout *France*, to the Number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compoſed of 2000 Harquebuſiers, and 4000 Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were commanded by twelve Captains, (having 500 a Piece) under ſix Colonels; while to draw the People voluntarily to ſupport the Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the

Service they owed the Crown, by Reaſon of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Peaſant from all Impoſitions ſaving twenty Sols a-piece. Many good Ordinances alſo were made for the entertaining and ordering this Militia. Neither did the King miſdoubt that the putting of Arms into ſo many of his Subjects Hands would redound to his Prejudice, or the People fear that their Liberty ſhould be oppreſs'd thereby. So that it gave not only Security at home, but Reputation abroad; all which was done, while the Emperor prepared for a Voyage to *Tunis*.

This Year (*Sept.* 26) Pope *Clement* the VII. took his End. For as he had been troubled long, with a Weakneſs in his Stomach, which his Phyſician *Curtio* adviſ'd him to remedy by Change of Dyet, ſo being not able in an infirm State to ſuffer ſuch an Alteration, he ſunk under his Diſeaſe, and died. Into this Place ſucceeded *Alleſſandro* of the Houſe of the *Farneſi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately Choſen; neither did his Age, being 67, exempt him, while every one thus might hope in his turn to ſucceed. Which Opinion alſo he ſo cunningly entertained, as he was thought to have uſed ſome Art to make himſelf thought ſtill more ſickly than he was.

Our King, who ſtill ſuſpected that the Pope and Emperor had their Deſigns upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and ſtrengthen himſelf. For which Purpoſe alſo this Occaſion was given; *Frederick* King of *Denmark* dying about this Time, and leaving the Crown in Competition between his Son *Chriſtian* (yet a Child) and *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothy*, elder Daughter to *Chriſtiern* II. and the Emperor's Siſter, the *Lubeckers* and *Hamburghers* offer'd our King for the Sum of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country, which ſhould be at his Devotion, and thereby exclude the Intereſt which the Emperor or his Niece had to that Crown. Concerning which our King taking Advice with his Council, it was thought fit to propoſe the Buſineſs to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his Affection, (which he had lately found cold) and eaſe himſelf of the Charge, half whereof therefore he deſired *Francis* to ſupport. But what Anſwer *Francis* return'd, appears not; only I find by a *Dutch* Hiſtory, as well as by our Records, that a great Sum of Money, was lent by our King, whereupon alſo they proceeded in their War, which yet at laſt being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (*July* 9, as our Hiſtorians have it) was arraigned at *Weſtminſter* of High Treaſon, but as the principal Witneſſes produced againſt him by his Accuſers (Sir *Ralph Fenwick* and one *Muſgrave*) were ſome mean and provoked *Scotch* Men, ſo his Peers acquitted him, as believing they not only ſpoke maliciouſly, but might be eaſily ſuborned againſt him, as one who having been Warden of the Marches, by frequent Inroads had done much harm in that Country. And thus eſcaped that Lord to his no little Honour, and his Judges, as giving Example thereby how Perſons of great Quality, brought to their Trial, are not ſo neceſſarily condemn'd, but that they ſometimes may eſcape, when they obtain an equal Hearing. The 11th of *Auguſt*, this Year, our King, as he was watching over the Voice and Affection of his People, ſo for the finding out how they would take his Deſign of putting down religious Houſes, began with the Remove of ſome. And therefore ſuppreſſed at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmond*,

Richmond, and other Places, the *Obſervant* Fryars, noted to be the moſt clamorous againſt him, and for them ſubſtituted the *Auguſtines*, placing the Obſervants again in the Room of the Gray Friars, as ſome have it, though others mention not this latter Exchange; which Paſſages, though of no great Moment, in Regard of that which followed, our King was glad to find no worſe interpreted, ſince they ſerved to eſtabliſh his Authority.

I ſhall come now to the Laws enacted in the Parliament, held *November* 3, this Year, which were important, and ſuch as teſtified the great Reſpect and Awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The firſt was to this Effect: That albeit the King was ſupream Head of the Church in *England*, and ſo recognized by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation; yet for more Corroboration thereof, as alſo for extirpating all Errors, Hereſies, and Abuſes of the ſame; it was enacted, that the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, ſhould be accepted and reputed the ſupream Head on Earth, of the Church of *England*, called *Eccleſia Anglicana*, and have and enjoy united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Pre eminences, Privileges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the ſaid Dignity of ſupream Head of the ſame Church belonging or appertaining. And that our ſaid Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, ſhall have full Power and Authority from Time to Time, to viſit and repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain and amend all ſuch Errors, Hereſies, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities, whatſoever they be, which by any Manner of ſpiritual Authority or Juriſdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repreſſed, ordered, redreſſed, corrected, reſtrained, or amended moſt to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, the Increaſe of Virtue in Chriſt's Religion, and for the Conſervation of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquility of this Realm, any Uſage, Cuſtom, foreign Authority, Preſcription, or any Thing or Things to the contrary hereof notwithſtanding. Which Act, though much for the Manutention of the regal Authority, ſeem'd yet not to be ſuddenly approved by our King, nor before he had conſulted with his Council, who ſhewed him Precedents of Kings of *England*, that had uſed this Power, and with his Biſhops, who having diſcuſſed the Point in their Convocations, declared, that the Pope had no Juriſdiction warranted to him by God's Word in this Kingdom. Which alſo was ſeconded by the Univerſities, and by the Subſcriptions of the ſeveral Colleges and religious Houſes, ſo far as they bound their Succeſſors thereunto. The Particulars whereof are to be ſeen in our Records. However, the Buſineſs was both publickly controverted in foreign Countries, and defended here by many at this preſent, while they produced Arguments for rejecting the Pope's Authority, and together maintained it neceſſary, that ſuch a Power ſhould be extant in the Realm, for ſupporting and ſtrengthening of the Religion profeſſed in it, and excluding the impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of thoſe Times. The Arguments of all which, may be ſeen by the King's Book, *De vera differentia Regiæ, & Eccleſiæ Poteſtatis*, which we have formerly mentioned, as being printed and publiſhed on this Occaſion; whence alſo the learned Biſhop *Andrews*, in his *Tortura Torti*, ſeems

to

to have drawn divers Aſſertions of the Regal Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further Recourſe.

It was alſo declared Treaſon to attempt, imagine or ſpeak Evil againſt the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Alſo, that no Traitor ſhall have Benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realm, yet upon Commiſſion given by the King for his Trial, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law ſhall proceed againſt him, as effectually, as if he were preſent.

An Act alſo made the laſt Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the King's Subjects for the Surety of the Succeſſion by Queen *Anne* was now confirmed, and the Oath preſcribed, for the more validating whereof alſo, it was declared that all former Oaths concerning Succeſſion taken by the King's Subjects, ſhould be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the Augmentation, Maintenance and Defence of the King's Royal Eſtate and Dignity of Supreme Head, the Firſt-Fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, *&c.* Spiritual, ſhall be paid to his Highneſs. As alſo a yearly Revenue, being the Tenth Part of all ſuch Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem* not excepted.)

Whereas alſo it was doubted, leſt in theſe troubleſome Times ſome Commotion might follow in this Kingdom, and that particularly *Wales*, as being a ſtrong and faſt Countrey, might be a Refuge for ill affected Perſons, and the rather that there were ſo many Lordſhips Marches in thoſe Parts (the ſeveral Lords whereof having ampler Power than they now enjoy did protect Offenders flying from one Place to the other) divers Laws were enacted againſt Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in *Wales:* Paſſage over *Severn* alſo at unlawful Times was prohibited, and Clerks convict in *Wales*, not to be releaſed 'till they found Sureties for their good Behaviour. Notwithſtanding which, the Year following upon mature Deliberation, *Wales* was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of *England*, it being thought better to adopt that People into the ſame Form of Government with the *Engliſh*, than by keeping them under more ſevere and ſtrict Laws than others in the Iſland were ſubject unto, to hazard the alienating of their Affections.

An Act alſo was made, declaring by whom; and in what Manner Biſhops Suffragans ſhould be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Privileges ſhould be.

And thus after a free and general Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogued. The Act of Supremacy being thus paſſed, the King proceeded more confidently to aboliſh by Proclamation the Pope's Authority out of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſh his own, the Doctrine whereof he commanded not only to be often preached in the moſt frequent Auditories, but taught even to little Children, injoining further that the Pope's Name ſhould be razed out of all Books, his Reſolution being after this Time to treat with him no otherwiſe than as an ordinary Biſhop. In Conſequence whereof alſo, he not only proceeded with an high Hand againſt all the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, (as ſhall be related in its due Place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or Promiſe, under their Hands and Seals, from his Biſhops, declaring their Acknowledgment of the ſame, together with Renunciation of the Pope's.

Pope's pretended Authority, and any Oath or Promiſe made to him heretofore. The Form of this Oath or Promiſe given by *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Feb.* the 10th, 1535, may be ſeen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

IN the Beginning of this Year *Philip Chabot*, *Seigneur de Bryon*, Admiral of *France*, being ſent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Naſſau* had been on the Emperor's Part with the King his Maſter, and among other Overtures of Agreement, propoſed to him two Marriages; to which yet he would return no Anſwer without our King's Advice. One was betwixt the *Dauphin* and the Princeſs *Mary* our King's Daughter (which alſo *Bellay* mentions, adding that notwithſtanding the Inſtances which *Francis* made, the Emperor would not declare his further Intentions herein;) the other was betwixt the Emperor's Son and the *French* King's youngeſt Daughter. To which Points, as alſo ſome others here following, our King commanded his Agents in *France* to return this Anſwer. That he marvell'd much at the Emperor's Malice, in medling with Things which belonged not to him; and therefore deſired *Francis* to ſurceaſe this Treaty, ſince he knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperor's Reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis* that the Emperor's Intention (notwithſtanding all his Promiſes) was to divide him firſt from his League with *England*, and afterwards diſappoint him; for though he had underſtood by the ſaid *Bryon*, that the Emperor upon ſome Conditions had offered to *Francis* (for one of his Sons) a Penſion of a hundred thouſand Crowns, payable yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* itſelf after the Death of *Sforza*, he deſired him to give no Credit to ſuch Improbabilities. And, here, I muſt obſerve that *Bellay*, who ſpeaks of the Penſion, ſaith nothing of the Dutchy itſelf, ſo that it may be that *Bryon* ſtretched this Point. And whereas the ſaid *Bryon* had told him theſe Things ſhould be treated of by the two Siſters Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the *Low Countries*, who, I find by the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory did afterwards meet at *Cambray*), he thought he diſparaged this Buſineſs to commit it to Women. After theſe Points, and ſome others (which as they followed not, I ſpare to rehearſe) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the Cenſures of *Clement*, late Pope, againſt him. And to tell him, that he would ſend Commiſſioners ſhortly to treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angouleſme* (his third Son) and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, our King's Daughter, which ſhould be more advantagious than the Emperor's Offer. Whereupon, this Year, in *May*, our King, who knew there was not ſo good a Way to prevent the Danger on the Part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the *French*, and beſides would have been glad that the Pope's Cenſures were retracted, ſent the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to treat with the *French* King's Commiſſioners, being *Philip Chabot*, Admiral, and *Guillaume De Poyet*, afterwards Chancellor of *France*, to this Effect, as I find by their Inſtructions.

To require *Francis* together with his Children, as alſo his Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, to enter into Bond to revoke the Cenſures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from ſome Propoſition which *Francis* made of Recon-

Reconcilement with the Pope.) That he, his Nobility and Univerſities ſhould declare the late Marriage to be good, and bind themſelves to maintain the ſame, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain Conditions, whereof theſe are the Principal.

That all former Treaties ſhall ſtand in Force. That when the Parties came to ſufficient Years they ſhould ratify the Marriage. That *Monſieur De Angouleſme* ſhould be preſently ſent to our King to be brought up in *England*. That if he ſucceeded to the Crown, the Dutchy of *Angouleſme* ſhould be free from Homage to the *French* Kings. That he ſhould not change the Laws of the Realm, and that ſufficient Security and Caution ſhould be given for this Purpoſe. But ſome of theſe being thought to be high Demands, our King ſent ſhortly after *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochford*, with Power to modify and allay ſome Points; yet ſo as he inſiſted ſtill, *Francis* ſhould bind himſelf and his three Sons to revoke the Cenſures; and to declare that it was enough if the Duke of *Angouleſme* came hither when the Eſpouſals were to be made. At laſt by third Inſtructions our King ſaid, he was content to accept the ſingle Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Cenſures, and that he was pleaſed that the Duke of *Angouleſme* came ſix Months only before the compleat Marriage. To the firſt of which Points the *French* Commiſſioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd, affirming that it was ſufficient, if the young Duke came to conſummate the Marriage. This while Sir *John Wallop*, Ambaſſador in *France*, being commanded to propoſe the ſame Conditions to *Francis*, was ſo ſharply anſwered, that our Commiſſioners reſented it. Nevertheleſs as ſome Articles were agreed on the Part of the *French* Commiſſioners: So they again demanded what Help our King would give to the King their Maſter towards the Recovery of his Mother's Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as alſo about the Penſion uſually paid to our King, ſome wrangling Words were interchanged, while we demanding that which was in Arrear, they deſired to be exonerated of the whole; And thus the Treaty remained imperfect; yet ſo as I find by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Renunciation with much Earneſtneſs, and not a few Threats unto the new Pope. Tho' as *Paulus* III. was by Nature ſlow (as *Caſalis* obſerves) and that the Emperor, beſides, had his Deſigns in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that Time againſt our King, ſo no Effect followed. For which yet none ſuffered ſo much as the Pope himſelf, it being certain our King hitherto paſſionately deſired to be, if not re-intregated, yet at leaſt in good Terms with the *Roman* Church, as far as with his Dignity he might.

This while, *Haradin Barbaroſſa* King of *Argier*, that famous Pirate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth, gloried in ſome ſort to be ſuperiour to the Princes thereof) obtained the Kingdom of *Tunis*, ſo true is the antient Verſe, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema.* This Man being ſent for by *Solyman*, and conſtituted Admiral in the Spring, 1534. with an hundred Sail of Ships; 8800 Soldiers, and 800000 Ducats, began his Expedition for Chriſtendom the ſame Day that *Solyman* undertook his for *Perſia*. His principal Deſign was upon *Genoa*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory hath it: In his Way to which, he burnt or took many Ships in *Sicily* or *Italy*, ſacking divers

divers Towns, and making many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be ſuch a Prize for *Solyman* as the beautiful *Julia Gonzaga*, he commanded two thouſand *Turks* to land by Night, and ſeize on her Perſon, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but ſhe half naked eſcaped them. Some Difficulties yet appearing about the Deſign of *Genoa*, *Barbaroſſa* makes for *Tunis*, which at laſt between Stratagem and Force, he took on the 22*d* of *Auguſt*, 1534. and made himſelf King thereof, *Muley Hazem* the true Prince flying for his more Security unto the Mountains. Which being advertiſed to the Emperor, he thought fit to prevail himſelf of the Occaſion. As hoping that *Solyman* being in *Perſia*, and the Troubles, and Confuſions, which are incident to unſettled and uſurped Governments, would make his Deſign eaſy. And as he was one who knew the Uſe of Spies in any great Enterprize, he deſcended ſo low, as to give particular Inſtructions to one *Luys Preſendes*, a *Genoeſe*, well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large ſet down by *Sandoval*. The Effect of which were, that he ſhould have certain Moneys given him, wherewith he ſhould buy a Ship and Commodities to traffick with *Tunis*, and by thoſe Means inſinuate himſelf into the Acquaintance of the principal Perſons both in the Town, and about *Barbaroſſa*, and thereupon either to make a Party with the diſcontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might join, or elſe to penetrate the Deſigns of *Barbaroſſa*; for which purpoſe alſo he had Liberty and Letters of Credence to make himſelf Ambaſſador and negotiate with *Barbaroſſa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperor's Service to proceed that Way; giving him Authority further, to promiſe Aſſiſtance to *Barbaroſſa* for the Conqueſt of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperor. But whether thro' want of Dexterity to uſe ſuch different Inſtructions, or that otherwiſe another who was privy to his Employment did diſcover him (which ſome affirm) he was ſeized on by *Barbaroſſa* and put to death. Which being related unto the Emperor, did but haſten his Expedition, wherein he reſolved to go in Perſon.

This while, *Francis*, who was intentive to the Actions of the Emperor, both as himſelf had his Deſigns in *Italy*, at that Time, and that he had entered into a ſecret League with the *Turk*, thought fit to acquaint *Barbaroſſa* therewith, by the Means of one Monſieur *de Forreſt*, a *Frenchman*, who from thence was commanded to go to *Conſtantinople*, and procure Succours from him; the Succeſs whereof we ſhall tell hereafter: And now the Emperor being aſſiſted by the Pope, and *John* King of *Portugal*, and attended by Don *Luys*, Son to the ſaid *John*, *Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobility of *Spain*, ſet ſail from *Barcelona*, *May* 31, and coming to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence the 13th of *June*, 1535, with twenty-five thouſand Foot, and about two thouſand Horſe, beſides the Nobility and Adventurers, and ten thouſand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sail, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of ſixty Paces one way, and ſixty-five the other, ſituate on a Strait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tunis* ſtands. Which Place, though defended bravely, was at laſt taken, together with a great Part of the Fleet of *Barbaroſſa*. After which, the Emperor leaving the Lake on the left hand, marched to *Tunis* (where *Barbaroſſa* was) being a City of about ten

thouſand Houſes, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the *Moors* intended to burn with their Priſon, eſcaping out of it, and taking Arms at the ſame time that the Forces which *Barbaroſſa* ſent to defend the Paſſage were routed by the Imperialiſts; *Barbaroſſa* with about ſeven thouſand Men, and much Riches, fled out of the Town, quitting his Reign ſo, after that he enjoyed it not a full Year, ſome of the Towns-men hereupon coming to the Emperor, and acquainting him herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Emperor, that two Hours Space might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alledging for this purpoſe alſo ſome probable Inducements; when the crafty *Moor* intended nothing thereby, but the gaining ſo much time for the Towns-men to hide their moſt precious Riches, from the Rapine of the Soldiers; to which purpoſe alſo he gave them private Warning. The Emperor at laſt entering, and together giving Liberty to many Slaves, reſtored it to *Muley Hazem* upon theſe Conditions, That he ſhould ſuffer him to retain *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and ſome other Places belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*; that certain Churches for Chriſtians ſhould be allowed; that he ſhall no more make Chriſtian Slaves, or protect Pirates, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they took. And now *Charles* finding no more to be done in thoſe Parts, the Year being far ſpent, and his Men ſick of Calentures, and being not ignorant beſides of the Deſigns of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1535, from whence he went ſhortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell ſick, the ſuppoſed Cauſe whereof (as I find by our Records) was a Grief he took, that a Servant of Monſieur *de Forreſt*, returning with a Diſpatch concerning his Negotiation with the *Turk*, was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbin*, and all the Treaty by this means, diſcovered to the Emperor; yet, at length taking Heart and recovering, he ſent our King word thereof, who thereupon commanded a ſolemn Proceſſion to be made in *London*.

While the Emperor was at *Tunis*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the Command of *Philip Chabot*, Admiral of *France*, ſent to his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, for Paſſage through his Country, giving out that he deſired it only to revenge the Death of his Ambaſſador *Merveilles* upon *Franciſco Sforza*. But the Duke conſcious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the *Cantado* of *Aſti* (belonging to the Houſe of *Orleans*) of the Emperor, and beſides had accepted the Emperor's Order, when he refuſed the *French*, wanted not occaſion to ſuſpect the Entrance of ſo potent an Army into his Country. Therefore he denied Paſſage. Whereupon *Francis* incenſed, ſends to require of the Duke the Inheritance falling to him by *Louiſa* of *Savoy* his Mother. Demanding alſo Reſtitution of a great Part of *Piedmont*, and the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, as belonging antiently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. The Duke (as being allied to *Charles* by his Wife *Beatrix*, Siſter to *Iſabella* the Empreſs) ſends to him for Aid, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offered to give him all the Lands he held on this Side the Mountains, in exchange for ſo much in *Italy*. This being reported to *Francis*, inraged him ſo much the more againſt

the Duke, ſo that he commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*, whereof in its Place.

Charles ſeeing theſe Preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the preſent to reſiſt them (his Army being returned ſick and much weakened from *Tunis*) for gaining of Time, thought fit to renew the Propoſitions of Alliance and Accord formerly mentioned to *Francis*. Not omitting the while to levy Forces in *Germany*. Neither did he think to find any ſo ſtrong Oppoſition in *Francis*, as long as he hoped that he had given our King enough to do in the Parts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But as that of *Scotland* by our King's Induſtry took no Effect, ſo that of *Ireland* was prevented, as by this Narration drawn chiefly out of our Records may appear.

The Earl of *Kildare* being, as is aboveſaid, now reſtored again to his Liberty and pardoned, returned into *Ireland*, conducted by Sir *William Skeffington*, Maſter of the King's Ordnance, who was alſo made Deputy there about 1530, and *Oſſory* diſplaced. But ſome Stirs ariſing, which *Skeffington* was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to replace *Kildare*, as a Man much eſteem'd by his Countrymen. Thus was he made Deputy in *Ireland* again about 1532, where he pacified the Country, and *May* 19, 1533, under the Title of Deputy to *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, held a Parliament at *Dublin*. But the old Grudges between his Family and *Oſſory*'s beginning to break out anew, and himſelf being accuſed to have invited *O Neale* and others to ſpoil the Country of *Oſſory*, not without Suſpicion of further Deſign, he was ſent for by our King, with Command to ſubſtitute at his Departure ſome able Man, who might govern during his Abſence. This Charge was committed to *Thomas* his eldeſt Son. Who ſhortly after (hearing that his Father was convict, and to be put to Death in *England*) roſe up in Arms, and combining with *O Neale*, *O Carol*, *&c.* of the *Iriſh* Nobility, committing divers Outrages, and particularly *July* 26, 1534. murder'd Doctor *John Allen* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, heretofore *Woolſey*'s Chaplain and Commiſſary, and forced the Citizens of *Dublin* to take Truce with him till *Michaelmas*, and in the mean Time to admit ſome Bands of his Men into the City, to lay Siege to the Caſtle, which was defended againſt him, while himſelf with the reſt of the Army depopulated the County of *Oſſory*.

The News whereof being brought into *England*, the old Earl then in Priſon, died as is thought of Grief, and the King appointed Sir *William Skeffington* by the Name of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under the Lieutenant thereof the Duke of *Richmond*, with a well-provided Army to ſuppreſs the Rebel. For though ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility ſtood firm to our King, and particularly the Earl of *Oſſory*, and his Son *James* Lord *Butler*, whom *Fitzgerald* had in vain ſollicited; yet they were not able to make Head againſt him. And here it is remarkable how politickly that Family ſtrove to preſerve itſelf. For though three of five Brothers of the late Earl of *Kildare* were againſt our King, two others offer'd their Service to him. Who yet, as it was Danger either to receive or refuſe them, were but coldly welcom'd. *Michaelmas* now approaching, (when the Truce with *Kildare* expir'd) *Francis Herbert* having been ſent from *Dublin* at the Beginning of theſe Stirs, to give Notice thereof to King

Henry, returned with a comfortable Promiſe of Succours, and a Command to defend themſelves; whereupon the Citizens ſuddenly laying hold on the Rebels, who beſieged the Caſtle, ſhut their Gates, and ſtood upon their Guard. Which *Fitz-gerald* underſtanding, comes with an Army of 15000, and aſſailed the City, which yet was ſtoutly maintained by the Townſmen, and particularly by *Francis Herbert*, who behaved himſelf ſo well, that as I find by ſeveral original Diſpatches of *Finglas*, Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, dated in *November* 1534, the City by his politick and manful Defence was preſerved; inſomuch that if he had tarried three Days longer, it was ſaid, both it and the Caſtle had been loſt. I find alſo by their original Diſpatches, dated in the ſame Month, that he ſhot and kill'd twenty-four of the Rebels with his own Hand, whereof twenty in one Day. For which Service alſo, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the King's Council in *Ireland*. Notwithſtanding which, as he was ſingle, and the City much preſſed by *Kildare*, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water, and Fewel, ſo at laſt they were inforced to treat upon certain Conditions, which were, That the Citizens ſhould ſet at Liberty ſuch of his Men, as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within ſixteen Weeks; and he on the other Side ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility, during the ſaid Space, and redeliver their Children. Being thus departed from *Dublin*; two Days after, Sir *William Skeffington* arriving on the Coaſt of *Ireland* with his Army, a falſe Report came, that the City was yielded, whereupon a Council of War being aſſembled, the Reſolution was, that *John Saliſbury* and *William Brereton*, two of the Captains newly come over, ſhould be ſent to *Dublin* with ſome Forces, being about five hundred Men, to relieve it, if it were poſſible, and that the Lord Deputy ſhould ſet ſail for *Waterford*, where, about the ſame Time, Sir *John Saintlo*, and Sir *Rice Manſel*, landed with five hundred Soldiers; who, joining with the Earl of *Oſſory*, ſpoiled the Country of *Kildare*; while *Brereton* and *Saliſbury* coming during the aforeſaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any Difficulty, where alſo they reſolved to proceed hoſtilly againſt *Kildare*, as having during his Reſpite, deſtroyed ſome Part of the Country adjoining, contrary to his Promiſe. While Affairs paſſed thus, the Generals on either Side made uſe of the Time. For as *Kildare* ſent to the Emperor for obtaining Supplies, in which Buſineſs a Servant of the Earl of *Deſmond*, in whom the Emperor had a ſpecial Confidence, was emply'd, ſo the Lord Deputy, being now come to *Dublin*, treated with the Nobility, to diſcover their Affection, as not knowing otherwiſe, how to form a Party amongſt them, on which he might rely. For which Purpoſe alſo he thought it not amiſs to conclude a Truce with *Kildare*, untill the fifth of *January*. *Kildare* in the mean Time incouraging his Soldiers with Hope of Succours from *Spain*. The Aſſurance whereof being brought him by the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Servant, he forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our King's Defection from the *Roman* Catholick Faith, and together deſiring that he might hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* from that See upon payment of a yearly Tribute. In theſe Uncertainties, Sir *John Allen*, Knight, formerly Secretary to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, now Maſter of the Rolls there, a dexterous Perſon, gave the King this Advice; that he ſhould quickly publiſh, whether he would par-

don *Kildare*, and ſo ſave Charges, or otherwiſe proſecute War againſt him; ſince he ſaid, that until this were declared, the Gentry of *Ireland* durſt not oppoſe *Kildare*, as fearing that when he were reſtored, he would revenge himſelf on all thoſe who oppos'd him. In the mean while, the Earl of *Deſmond* dying, leaves his Eſtate litigious betwixt his Brother and Grand-child. The Truce now expiring, our Army, which took ſome few Places at their laſt landing, and made ſome light Skirmiſhes, lay idle for the moſt part. Inſomuch that having gotten *Kildare* Caſtle, they ſuffer'd it to be loſt again. At laſt, being commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputy in *March* following took *Maynoth* or *Mynwoh* Caſtle, ſtrongly fortified and defended by a hundred of the choiceſt Servants and Soldiers of *Kildare*. Which Place our Records ſay was gotten by Battery and Aſſault, ſo that *Holinſhead* ſeems to be miſtaken when he writes, it was betrayed by one *Pareſe*, Foſter-Brother to *Fitz gerald*, the Garriſon being by him made drunk the Night preceding, and that for his Treachery, inſtead of Reward, the Deputy commanded him to be hanged. And further our Records tell us, that one of the ſaid Garriſon depoſed, that not only the Emperor had promiſed to ſend thither 10000 Men, but that the King of *Scots* had aſſured them of Aid; Arms in the mean Time being brought in a great Quantity from *Flanders*, and other Places. Some Defeats alſo were given to the Troops of the Rebels which appeared. Nevertheleſs as they daily increaſed, and *Skeffington* was old, weak and ſlow in all his Enterprizes, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, Brother to the Marquis *Dorſet*, though allied to *Kildare*, was (under the Duke of *Richmond*, who died ſhortly after) authoriſed to execute the Place of Deputy-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to the no little Grief and Diſcontentment of *Skeffington*. Whereof *Kildare* being advertis'd, and for the Reſt finding himſelf reduced to ſome Neceſſity, by the Delay of the Emperor, and Uncertainty he found in ſome of his Accomplices, thought fit to yield himſelf to the King's Mercy; yet ſo as the Lord *Gray*, together with the other Commanders, promis'd to intercede effectually with the King in this Behalf. Which I find they performed, and particularly the Lord *Gray*, whoſe Siſter the old Earl had married. And thus *Kildare* was brought by the Lord *Gray* to *London*, and his five Uncles not long after; where, upon Examination the Buſineſs being found to merit Puniſhment, they were at laſt executed; notwithſtanding the earneſt Mediation of the Lord *Gray* and others.

And now theſe Troubles of *Ireland* being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace with *O-Neale*, for a Year or two, and together to ſummon a Parliament, both for giving Order to thoſe Grievances whereof the *Iriſh* complained, and for ſettling the Buſineſs of Supremacy and Succeſſion, in that Form it was eſtabliſhed in *England*. Whereupon it was aſſembled *May* 1, 1536, and in it the Acts of Succeſſion, of Supremacy, of Firſt Fruits, againſt Appeals to *Rome*, &c. as alſo an Act for the Attainder of the late Earl of *Kildare*, and his Accomplices, were paſſed. And becauſe the King had ſpent in this War forty thouſand Pounds, he demanded, together with a preſent Satisfaction for his Charges, a yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal accorded in great Part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth Part of their yearly Rents, firſt for ten Years

Years following, and at laſt for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogued 'till the Year following.

The Supremacy being, as is aboveſaid, inveſted in the King, by the Approbation of his Parliament. The Univerſities and Biſhops of this Kingdom did not a little ſecond him; (and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*, whoſe Latin Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpoſe, with the Preface of Doctor *Bonner*, (Archdeacon of *Leiceſter*, and about theſe Times Ambaſſador with the King of *Denmark*) being yet extant in Print, and by *John Fox* digeſted to a Sum) I ſhall not mention otherwiſe; my Intention being not (in a Hiſtory) to diſcuſs Theological Matters, as holding it ſufficient to have pointed at the Places where they are controverted, as far as the Notice of them is come to me. Notwithſtanding, as our King deſir'd to give and receive all Satisfaction herein, ſo knowing that the Eſteem of *Reginald Poole* was great in foreign Countries, and eſpecially in *Italy*, where he now lived at *Padua*; he ſent unto him, deſiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few Words; whereupon *Poole* writes, and diſpatches to him, his Book *Pro Unitate Eccleſiæ*, inveighing therein againſt the King's Supremacy, as alſo againſt his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen *Katherine*; exciting the Emperor to revenge the Injury offered her, concluding with an Advice to *Henry* to reconcile himſelf to the Catholick Church, and the Pope as Head thereof. Our King having peruſed this, and knowing it could not long lie hid in *Italy*, (though *Poole* had promis'd not to publiſh it,) ſends for him by Poſt to come into *England*, to explain ſome Paſſages thereof. But *Poole* knowing that it was declared Treaſon there, to deny the King the Title of ſupreme Head, which he had principally intended in his Book, refuſed, deſiring the King nevertheleſs, as being now freed from her, who had been the Occaſion of all this, to take hold of the preſent Time, and to reintegrate himſelf with the Pope, and accept the Counſel now ſummoned, whereby he might have the Honour of being the Cauſe of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwiſe he would be in great Danger. He wrote alſo to *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, to incline the King hereunto. But this Biſhop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the Bitterneſs of his Book, and counſelling him to burn the Original, denies that King *Henry* had ſeparated himſelf from the *Roman* Church, but only had freed himſelf from the unjuſt Uſurpations of the Biſhops of that See. (And to this purpoſe, another large Letter jointly written after, from the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *London* may be ſeen in *Fox*.) But *Poole* being at this time invited to *Rome* by the Pope, and utterly refuſing to burn a Catholick Book (as he ſaid) like an Heretick, our King haſtened the publiſhing at home of a Declaration called, the Biſhop's Book, ſigned by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, and nineteen other Biſhops, wherein is alledged out of antient Hiſtories and Councils, how many hundred Years had paſt before the Pope took on him this Superiority over other Biſhops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; which is, that they ſhall obſerve and keep inviolably the firſt eight Councils, that decree a limited Power to all Biſhops, and particularly the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, which both excludes foreign Juriſdiction every where, and allows Biſhops within their

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ſeveral Dioceſſes an abſolute Power to determine Controverſies ariſing within their Precincts; And together ſhews how the Papal Authority was firſt derived from the Emperors of thoſe Times, and not from Chriſt, whoſe Kingdom they ſaid was Spiritual and not Carnal; ſetting forth this Doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and ſome Fathers. But to return to 1535, neither the Example of others which ſubſcribed, nor the Terror of the Statute could hinder divers religious-Perſons to continue in their former Opinions. Inſomuch that they openly ſpake againſt the King's Supremacy. Which being made known, cauſed him to adviſe with his Council concerning their Puniſhment, ſome indeed thought that Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or the like, was Chaſtiſement enough for thoſe, who confeſſing the King's ſupreme Authority in all Temporal Matters, did out of Scrupuloſity, rather than Malice, impugn the Reſt. But when it was objected again, both that the Number was too great for either of thoſe Puniſhments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be Death, it was not ſafe to go leſs, eſpecially when ſome exemplary Juſtice might contain the Reſt in Obedience. Our King, who needed now no Motive to Security, reſolved to proceed legally againſt them. Therefore ſome Priors, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, that were criminal in this Kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this Year condemned as Traitors, were executed, being the firſt that ſuffered in this Kind. This Piece of Juſtice was not yet grown ſo familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compelled to ſuch violent Courſes; therefore he not only mourned inwardly, but cauſed his Head to be poll'd, and his Beard formerly ſhaven, to be cut round, though others facetiouſly interpret it to be nothing elſe, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new Countenance; but if he proceeded thus rigorouſly againſt the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no leſs puniſh the many pretended Reformers or Contradictors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion. Therefore, as the laſt Year he had condemned *John Frith*, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, ſo he now cauſed divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who had deviſed ſome different Opinions by themſelves, concerning certain Articles of Chriſtian Religion, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after which again, ſome others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both Sides it grew a bloody Time. Only, as our King found the Terrors already given did not ſuffice to keep the Reſt in Awe, he reſolved to make ſome great Examples.

Therefore, he laid Hand on *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who having been impriſoned now a Year's Space, for refuſing to ſwear to the Act of Succeſſion, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urged with the Supremacy; which he diſallowing, (as having given his voluntary Oath or Promiſe thereunto the laſt Year, together with other Biſhops) incurred the Danger of the Law. Which alſo was taken the worſe, that in the Convocation, 1530. he had yielded up the Title of *Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ quantum per Chriſti Legem licet*. Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his Opinion, had declared him Cardinal of St. *Vitale*, during his ſaid Reſtraint (though he profeſſed that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up.) So our King underſtanding thereof, was much more incenſed, both as the Pope had conferred

red his moſt eminent Honours on a Man kept by him in Priſon, and guilty of the higheſt Puniſhment his Laws could inflict, and as he knew of what Conſequence it would be, if his Subjects were thus encouraged to contemn his Authority: Therefore he reſolved now to defer his Juſtice no longer. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop was publickly convicted and condemned for divers Points, the Particulars whereof, yet I have not ſeen, but only that of the ſeventh of *May* laſt in the Tower of *London* before divers Perſons, he had falſly, maliciouſly and traiterouſly ſaid, that the King is not ſupream Head of the Church of *England*, was by the King's Command openly beheaded the 22d of *June*, 1535. Thus did the Pope's Favour but precipitate the Biſhop's Ruin; againſt whom notwithſtanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in ſingular Eſteem, for his Learning and good Parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that he was Author of King *Henry*'s Book againſt *Luther*, as *Sanders* and *Bellarmine* will have it, or Sir *Thomas Moor*, as others ſay, though I doubt not but they might both reviſe it by the King's Favour, and where it was needful alſo interpoſe their Judgment. This while, the Pope, who ſuſpected not perchance that the Biſhop's End was ſo near, had for more Teſtimony of his Favour to him, as Diſaffection to our King, ſent him the Cardinal's Hat, but unſeaſonably, his Head being off. Nevertheleſs, as he had firſt deſired *Francis* to mediate for him, he omitted not afterwards publickly to juſtify his Actions, calling him by the Name of *Sanctiſſimus Epiſcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, in a Breve ſubſcribed by *Bloſius*, as I find in our Records, extracted by *Sanders*, and extant in the *Bellarium*, of which hereafter, both that he was innocent, and our King an Heretick, *&c.* But this again was defended in an Apology written here in elegant *Latin*, whether by *Stephen Gardiner*, who as I find in our Records wrote a Juſtification of the King herein, or ſome other; which I ſhould have inſerted but for the Length, and as ſome would judge it for the Vehemency. Though as the King retained ſtill all the chief Articles of the *Roman* Church, it cannot be wondred, if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh againſt one that had given his Sovereign that odious Title.

Our King being thus many Ways exaſperated againſt the Pope, neglected no Means of extirpating his chief Agents and Favourers, and with them, all his Authority in this Country; therefore he proceeded againſt Sir *Thomas More*, committed at the ſame Time, and for the ſame Cauſe with *Fiſher*. For though, as *Saunders* ſaith, he would by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s exemplary Death, have brought *More* to a Conformity, yet finding that it was impoſſible, he commanded his Counſel in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy, now enacted more particularly. But Sir *Thomas More*, (as his Indictment hath it) was maliciouſly ſilent, ſaying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with ſuch Matters. He was accuſed alſo for holding ſecret Intelligence by Letter with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, during their Impriſonment; which appeared both by the Confeſſion of the ſaid Biſhop, and in that they held the ſame Language. It being obſerved that both of them ſaid, in their Examinations, the Act about Supremacy was like a two-edg'd Sword, for if one anſwer one way, it will confound his Soul, and if the

the other way, it will confound his Body. Yet *Richard Rich* the King's Sollicitor (made afterwards Lord *Rich*) comes to him again, and having firſt proteſted that he had no Commiſſion to talk with him of that Matter, as believing perchance his former Anſwer, or Silence had ſufficiently convinced him, did, as is in the Record, demand then, if it were enacted by Parliament, that *Richard Rich* ſhould be King, and that it ſhould be Treaſon for any to deny it, what Offence it were to contravene this Act? Sir *Thomas Moor* anſwered, that he ſhould offend if he ſaid no, becauſe he was bound by the Act; but that this was a light Caſe. Whereupon Sir *Thomas More* ſaid he would propoſe a higher Caſe; ſuppoſe by Parliament it were enacted that God ſhould not be God, and that it were Treaſon to contravene, whether it were an Offence to ſay according to the ſaid Act; *Richard Rich* replied yea; but ſaid withal, I will propoſe a middle Caſe, becauſe yours is too high. The King you know is conſtitute ſupream Head of the Church on Earth, why ſhould not you Maſter *More*, accept him ſo, as you would me if I were made King by the Suppoſition aforeſaid. Sir *Thomas Moor* anſwer'd, the Caſe was not the ſame, becauſe, ſaid he, a Parliament can make a King and depoſe him, and that every Parliament-man may give his Conſent thereto, but that a Subject cannot be bound ſo in the Caſe of Supremacy. All which being produced together, and added to his Refuſal of the Oath of Succeſſion, for which in the Parliament of *November*, 1534. he was attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, as I find by the Parliament Rolls, was though ſufficient to condemn him. So that notwithſtanding many ſubtil Defences made by him, while he contended to have given no Offence but in Silence, unleſs it were in comparing the Statute of a two-edged Sword, which yet he ſaid, he alledged no otherwiſe, than to ſhew how dangerous it was to anſwer, and notwithſtanding alſo his denying utterly the Paſſage between the Sollicitor and himſelf in that Senſe which is above related, the Jury in his Trial, *July* 1. before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *&c.* declared him guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a Statute, *Regni* 26. was made High Treaſon. This great Perſon hereupon going ſhortly after, to the Place of Execution, met among many Friends one only Enemy, who openly reviled him, for a Sentence heretofore given in Chancery, to which, yet, he made no Anſwer, but that if it were to do, he would do ſo again. And now, being reſolved to die, he returned to his wonted Facetiouſneſs. Therefore, being to go up the Scaffold, he ſaid to one; Friend help me up, and when I go down again, let me ſhift for myſelf as I can. Being now mounted, the Executioner, as the Cuſtom is, aſked him Forgiveneſs, which he granted, but told him withal, he ſhould never have Credit by cutting off his Head, his Neck was ſo ſhort. Then laying down his Head on the Block, he bid the Executioner ſtay 'till he had laid aſide his Beard, for, ſaid he, it never committed Treaſon. After which, coming to ſome private Devotions, he received his Death. Thus ended Sir *Thomas More*, with ſo little Conſternation, as even Terrors of Death could not take off the Pleaſure he had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly though he fell into the Danger of the Law, they thought his Intentions were rather to elude it with

ambiguous Anſwers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himſelf any Way. Beſides, by an Original of his, (about this Time, written to *Cromwel*) it appears, that heretofore upon peruſing the King's Book againſt *Luther*, he diſſuaded him to exalt ſo much the Papal Authority, leſt it diminiſhed his own. Profeſſing nevertheſs both out of the Reaſons urged in that Book, as well as his private Study of that Queſtion afterwards, he could not deny the Pope a Primacy, however yet he could not hold it ſuch, as that the Authority derived to him thereby, was to be preferred above a general Council.

This while (as I find in our Records) our King upon the Death of *Clement* VII. hoping better of *Paulus* III. gave Sir *Gregory De Caſalis* new Inſtructions to adviſe him to regard the King of *England*, and to conſult with ſome learned Men, in his Cauſe, (not imitating *Clement*, who knowing the Truth conceal'd it) and theſe learned Men to be choſen out of *France*. To this, alſo, the Pope ſeem'd to give ſome Ear, until News came to *Rome*, firſt, of the Execution of divers Monks in *England* for denying the Supremacy, and then of the Death of *More* and *Rocheſter*. Whereupon the Pope reſolving to proceed againſt our King, begins to minute terrible Bulls, whereof I find there were five ſeveral Forms. But this which I find in the *Bullarium*, and extracted by *Sanders*, dated *Auguſt* 30, was that which was approved and made Uſe of, being to this Effect.

Firſt, objecting to him, as well the Divorce of *Katherine*, as the marrying *Anne*, and making Laws againſt the Pope's Authority, and puniſhing thoſe who contradicted (as lately the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.) He warns the King, to reform theſe Faults; or upon Refuſal cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at *Rome* within ninety Days, to anſwer, which if they neglected, he excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, ſubjects the whole Kingdom to the Interdict; declares the Iſſue by *Anne* illegitimate, forbids Allegiance to his Subjects, Commerce with other States; diſſolves all Leagues of Princes with him; commands the Clergy to depart out of *England*, the Nobility to take Arms againſt him, *&c.* Having reſolved this Cenſure, yet I find, it was not openly denounced, 'till he ſaw all Hope paſt of reclaiming King *Henry*, or at leaſt, that the Emperor was at Leiſure to execute it, of which hereafter. Our King hearing of this, entertains Frendſhip with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and the rather that Intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declared he would give away his Kingdom to ſome *Roman* Catholick Prince of that Country, as being, it ſeems, unwilling to greaten *France* or *Spain* therewith, leſt afterwards himſelf ſhould not be ſo able to ſway the Ballance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to be effected, or that our King feared any ſuch Attempt, as long as he ſtood upon good Terms with his Subjects, but that by ſtrengthening himſelf in *Germany*, he might the better chaſtiſe that Perſon, who upon the Pope's Incouragement durſt undertake the Enterpriſe. I do find alſo, that the *French* King did concur in this Treaty with the Proteſtants, both as upon the Death of Pope *Clement*, the chief Support of the great Deſign in *Italy* did fall, and as he began to give ſome Ear to the Evangelicks in *Germany*, as appears by his ſending for *Melanctbon*, and other Paſſages in *Sleidan*, which I ſhall hereafter ſet down. Howſoever, our King as he found that with no little Aſ-

perity he maintained his Authority at Home, ſo he thought his Care ſhould be the greater to juſtify it abroad. Inſomuch that he ſent unto all Places, (where he held Correſpondence) to give, together with an Account of his Actions, the Reaſon why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Dr. *William Barlow*, the King's Chaplain, and elect Brother of St. *Aſaph*, being joined in Commiſſion with *Thomas Holcroft* to *James*, labour'd to give him all Manner of Impreſſions, which might bring him to a Conformity; Which *Buchanan* alſo mentions, ſaying that *James* was intreated to read over their Arguments, and conſider them. Notwithſtanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his Clergy, ſo (as the ſame Author hath it) they together with ſome learned Men, whom our King offered to ſend, for further Declaration of this Point, were for the preſent rejected. Which again, being told to our King, he thought fit ſuddenly to employ the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the ſaid Biſhop, to *James*, to make him divers advantageous Propoſitions, and withal to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being preſſed by them, and the rather that it was in Conſequence of a former Propoſition, *James*, who had no Diſpoſition thereunto, ſent (as our Ambaſſadors write) to procure by a private Meſſenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhabiting this Journey, ſo that until the Receipt thereof he was forced to make other Excuſes; by which, yet, I find he denied not a Meeting with our King, but deſir'd him only, it might be in *France*, and the *French* King preſent, as hoping, thereby (it ſeems) to be leſs conſtrained, then if he came ſingle into our King's Dominions; all which, as it did but increaſe our King's Jealouſy of his Nephew's Intentions (for he expected War from many Hands, as the Pope had threatened) ſo he endeavoured but ſo much more to draw him on his Side, as knowing of what Conſequence it was to keep his Kingdom ſafe on that Part; and therefore laboured ſtill, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papal Juriſdiction in his Dominions, but made ſome other Overtures; both of creating him for the preſent, Duke of *York*, (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Succeſſor in this Kingdom, in Caſe he conform'd himſelf for the Reſt. But his Clergy (however) Queen *Margaret* had given Hopes thereof) being utterly averſe, diſſuaded him; yet ſome Operation I find it ſeemed to have. For by an original Diſpatch in *May* following 1536, *James* certified our King that he had ſent to *Rome* to get Impetrations for Reformation of ſome Enormities, and eſpecially, concerning the ordering of great and many Poſſeſſions, and Temporal Lands given to the Kirk by our noble Predeceſſors. To which, as our King not only gave Credit, but a ſafe Conduct to the Meſſenger, as was deſired, ſo he ſeem'd to receive ſome Satisfaction, and together hoped, he would not, at leaſt ſo ſoon, be drawn to aſſiſt his Enemies, and therefore, forbore a while to ſolicit this Point, purſuing, nevertheleſs, the propoſed Interview, but more ſlackly than before, but *James* had other Deſigns, as ſhall be told the Year following.

Our King finding thus, that Buſineſſes were ſafe on this Part, proceeded more confidently in his Intentions of ſuppreſſing, together with the Pope's Authority; all thoſe who chiefly ſupported it. And becauſe he thought Monaſteries did furniſh more able Men to con-

teſt with him in this Point, than any Part elſe, he adviſed how to proceed with them.

And conſidering the Reaſons on both Sides, ſaid, he would cauſe the Monaſteries to be ſeverely viſited, and the enormous Crimes of them, having been formerly rather ſubject to pecuniary Mulcts, than corrected as they ought, to be exemplarily puniſhed, and a Reformation given to all Abuſes. Proteſting neverthelefs, that he would ſuppreſs none, without the Conſent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politickly foreſee, that ſome for Conſcience Sake (the *Roman* Religion being now much cried down) and others for avoiding the Charges of a War, then menaced, would ſooner lay the Burden on thoſe Monaſteries, than take it on themſelves; whereof in its due Place. And now *Cromwel* the Secretary, a Man ſo diſaffected to thoſe Houſes, as he was thought a Favourer of the Reformers, being made General Viſitor, imployed *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Leigh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of Law, Doctor *John London*, Dean of *Wallingford*, with others, giving them Inſtructions in 86 Articles, for viſiting Monaſteries every where; by which, they were to enquire into the Government, Behaviour, and Education of the Perſons of both Sexes. To find out all their Offences, and to this Purpoſe give them Encouragements to accuſe both their Governours and each other. To command them to exhibit their Mortmains, Evidences, and Conveyances of their Lands; to produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be obſerved, ſome tending to the eſtabliſhing of his Supremacy, ſome touching the good Government of the Houſes; as that no Brother go out of the Precinct; that there be but one Entrance; that no Woman frequent the Monks, nor any Man the Nuns, *&c.* And ſome for Education, as, that a Divinity Lecture, be every Day read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound ſome Part of the Rule of their Order, ſhewing yet that theſe Ceremonies are but Introductions to Religion, which conſiſteth not in Apparel, Shaven Heads, *&c.* but in Purity of Mind. That none ſhall profeſs or wear the Habit till twenty-four Years of Age. That no feigned Relicks nor Miracles be ſhewed. No Offerings to Images, *&c.*

Upon theſe and other Injunctions, joyned to the Inquiſition aforeſaid, the Commiſſioners found Means to make divers Monaſteries obnoxious, for upon the Petition of divers Monks who were weary of their Habit, ſome alledging for their Excuſe, that they were profeſſed before they came to the Years of Diſcretion; others, that the late Injunctions were too ſtrict to be obſerved; the King ſeizing on the Houſe, commanded that they who were profeſſed under twenty-four, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty-four, when they made their Vow, might have Leave to depart if they would. At which Time, the Men, if in Orders, ſhould have a Prieſt's Habit given them, and forty Shillings in Money; the Nuns ſhould have only a Gown, ſuch as ſecular Women wear, and Liberty to go whither they would. The Condition yet of ſome being better, who for ſurrendring their Houſes to the King, to which by Threats and fair Words they were induced, got ſmall Penſions during their Lives. Others, by paying great Sums to the King and *Cromwel*, redeemed their Monaſteries from the preſent Calamity; yet ſo, as even from theſe alſo, divers Jewels

and Church-ornaments were taken away to the King's Uſe. Which being done, *Leigh* and the reſt at their Return, gave that Accompt of their Imployment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Relicks, as well as ſinful and ſluggiſh Life of the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwel* with much Violence ſaid, their Houſes ſhould be thrown down to the Foundation, but the whole Body of the Kingdom when it was publiſhed to them (which I find induſtriouſly procur'd) became ſo ſcandaliz'd thereat, as they reſolv'd if the King ever put it into their Hands, to give Remedy thereunto: Yet were not all alike Criminal; for ſome Societies behav'd themſelves ſo well, as their Life being not only exempt from notorious Faults, but their ſpare Times beſtowed in writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like Exerciſes, their Viſitors became Interceſſors for them. But of thoſe as I find not many mention'd, ſo they were involv'd at laſt in the common Fate, it being thought dangerous to uſe Diſtinction, both leſt the Fault of Manners, which might be corrected, ſhould be taken by the People as the ſole Cauſe of their Diſſolution; and as it was pretended, that the Revenues ſhould be imployed to ſome better Uſes. Not long after which again, the King cauſed all Colleges, Chantries, and Hoſpitals to be viſited, not omitting to take a particular Survey of all the Revenues and Dignities eccleſiaſtical within his Kingdom, which was returned to him in a Book, to be kept in the Exchequer.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or fruſtrate their Deſigns who were moſt able to offend him, thought it his Part now, to aſſure thoſe who he thought might be of moſt Uſe. Therefore he ſends *Fox*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, aſſembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an Unity in Doctrine, wherein he offered his beſt Aſſiſtance by Conference with their Divines, as being the only Ground of eſtabliſhing either Peace at home, or Correſpondence abroad; that unleſs this were done, it would be a great Prejudice to them in the Council now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Invention and Artifice of the Pope's to entertain Time, and in the mean while to ſow Diviſion among them, as he doth now incite Chriſtian Princes againſt *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore, they were not to expect a free Council, how much ſoever promiſed, yet if they deſired Council, they ſhould attend till all Chriſtian Princes were at Peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent Place, it being impoſſible otherwiſe, but that it ſhould be partial and factious. That this being done, as he had expelled the Pope's Authority out of his Dominions, ſo he would joyn with them to reſtore God's true Worſhip. And ſo the Biſhop concluded, deſiring only ſome might be appointed to whom he might ſpeak of theſe Buſineſſes privately. To which after due Thanks, they anſwer'd, that really there was no Difference among them, there being none who would not ſtand to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; That they took well his Highneſs's Admonition about the Council General, now promiſed at *Mantua*. But that, as they had anſwered *Vergerius* the Pope's Legate, they did not think either that the Place was fit, or that the Pope had the ſole Right of calling or ordering of it, which belonged as well to the Emperor and other Princes. For the reſt, they ſaid, they would appoint ſome who might communicate privately with the Biſhop, as was required, of which we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

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In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more deſired to hear of Peace in the Empire, than School Arguments, how well ſoever diſputed, confirmed the Treaty made 1532. of which the Duke of *Saxony*, who came from him to *Smalcald*, advertis'd the Proteſtants, who, *December* 24. decreed, that the League betwixt them, made 1530. for mutual Defence in the Cauſe of Religion, now ſhortly Expiring, ſhould continue ten Years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who received the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. To this Diet, *Guillaume de Bellay*, *Seigneur de Langey*, employed from *Francis*, came likewiſe. But his Advices, though for the moſt Part conformable to our Kings, were not ſo acceptable. For as *Francis* by confederating himſelf with the *Turk* (that formidable Enemy of *Germany*) had diſobliged the whole Nation on the one Side, ſo by burning divers Evangelicks in *France*, he had on the other Side much incenſed them all againſt him; which Diſpleaſure, being fomented many Ways by *Ferdinand*, had intercluded almoſt all Correſpondence betwixt them, till by *Monſieur de Langey*'s Induſtry it was revived. Who to appeaſe them, alledged not only ſome excuſatory Letters formerly ſent, but ſaid his Maſter could no make any Alliance, nor lend any Aid to any Prince againſt them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenets of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſs they were both Authors of Diſſention in his Kingdom, and deſpighted the antient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in a private Conference with their Divines, he declared that the King his Maſter was not averſe to moſt of the Tenets ſet down in *Melanchon*'s *Loci Communes*; and particularly that he did not hold the Pope's Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *Humano*; tho' *Henry* VIII. he ſaid, denied it either Way. That Purgatory being the Ground of the Maſs, and all their gainful Doctrine, he had required by what Place in the Scripture they proved it: To which all the Anſwer they made, after divers Months Space, was, that they would not give their Adverſaries Weapons which might afterwards be retorted on themſelves. As for Monaſteries, he ſaid, that he thought it might be obtained of the Pope, that none who were not of ſome ripe Age, ſhould vow themſelves to that Life. Or if they did, they might leave it and marry if they would. But by no Means, that his Maſter would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather employed towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for Marriage of Prieſts, he thought this the beſt Expedient, that Men already married, might (notwithſtanding their Wives) be admitted to execute their Prieſthood; but for others, they ſhould not marry, or if they would, they ſhould relinquiſh the Prieſthood. As for Communion under both Kinds, that the King had heretofore ſpoken with *Clement* VII. at *Marſeiles*, and that he thought it might be obtained of this Pope, that free Uſe of both might be granted according to the Conſcience of him that took it, alledging for this Purpoſe from the King his Maſter, how he had heard from antient Men, that about 120 Years ago, it was the Manner to communicate in both Kinds, in the Chappels or Oratories, but not in the Body or Middle of the Church. Nevertheleſs, that the Kings of *France* received it ever in both Kinds. Which when his ſaid Maſter urged, the Prieſts did anſwer him, that Kings were anointed, and

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therefore might communicate in both Kinds as well as they.

For the Scriptures ſpake of the royal Prieſthood, but it was not lawful for others to do ſo. That in the common and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many Things might be cut off, many Things ſhould be wholly taken away. And that the Care hereof was heretofore committed by *Clement* to the Cardinal *de la Cruz*, though not with any good Succeſs. In Concluſion, he exhorted them to ſend ſome of their chief Divines to confer with thoſe he had in *Paris*; and that he would make ſuch a Choice, as if ſome that were appointed, were vehement, and eager, he would alſo join others that were mild and temperate Perſons to treat with them, to the Intent that all Parts being diſcuſſed the Truth might appear.

In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give Ear, or agree to any Council, until they knew his Mind and the King of *Englana*'s, who both were reſolved to do nothing but by a mutual Conſent. As for thoſe who had Power to call it, that his Predeceſſor *Lewis* was of Opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperors and Kings, and that the King of *Navarre* was of the ſame Mind, but that Pope *Julius* proſcribing or excommunicating them both, *Ferdinand* of *Spain* took that occaſion to conquer *Navarre*. Nevertheleſs that the King his Maſter confeſt no Council was authentical, unleſs it were both aſſembled in ſo ſafe a Place, and held in ſo free a Manner as no Man might ſuffer for ſpeaking his Conſcience. After all which, the ſaid Monſieur *de Langey* did ſollicit them much to enter into a ſtrict League with the King his Maſter. But they, whether out of Favour for *Ferdinand* the Emperor, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwiſe they were not ſufficiently ſatisfied of the *French* King's Proceedings, formerly mentioned, refuſed this. So that Monſ. *de Langey* (though profeſſing on the preſent Pope's Part, that if Matters were orderly carry'd, he would be content to comply in many Things for a common Good and Peace) returned without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what miſtaking or Obſtinacy, this great Overture for bringing all the Differences in Religion to a moderate and uniform Accord, was interrupted and broken off; it being probable that *Francis* would have ſubſcribed to the Tenents of Religion, which himſelf propoſed, when he had found them conformable for the reſt. But as Monſ. *de Langey* told them, they might afterwards repent their Neglect of ſo great an Offer, ſo it proved true, as by the Sequel will appear. For *Francis* who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope uſurped over Kings were ſomething diminiſhed, and the aboveſaid Articles in Religion eſtabliſh'd, finding there was now no probability of an Union, thought it ſafer to rule by his antient Maxims, than to run the Trouble and Hazard of a Reformation. Yet I find by an Original from *Chriſtopher Mount*, a *German*, and Agent of our King's, then in *France*, that Monſ. *de Langey* did once receive from the Proteſtants certain Articles concerning Pacification in Religion, which he delivered to the King his Maſter, which thereupon being peruſed, mitigated and changed by the *Sorbon* or *Pariſian* Divines, were again returned to the Proteſtants, who likewiſe adviſing of them, ſaid they would tolerate this Change, ſo that from hence ſome Hope of Agreement mght accrue. But this was be-

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fore *Langey*'s Oration abovementioned, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular Notice of the *French* King's Actions formerly delivered. I find alſo by the ſame Original, that *Mount* was commanded by our King to haſten to *Germany*, and to diſſuade *Melanchon* from going to *France*, whither he was invited by that King, and to perſuade him hither. For as about this time the *German* Proteſtants deſired both Friendſhip and Accommodation in Religion with King *Henry* and *Francis*, into whoſe Hands they put the Arbitrament of their Differences, ſo both Princes ſought to make uſe of *Melanchon*; eſpecially our King; having, as I find in the Inſtructions to *Mount*, a great Opinion of his Virtue, Learning, Temperance and Gravity, and therefore deſired his Preſence here, both for framing an Agreement with the *Germans*, and (when that ſucceeded not) for appeaſing the Differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being thought a fit Work for that pious and modeſt Man. But if *Mount*'s Relation of his Conference with Monſ. *de Langey* may be entirely believed, or, if you will, Monſieur *de Langey* himſelf, one of the Points the ſaid Proteſtants would have agreed to, was, That they could bear the Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to preſerve a Conſent of Doctrine in the Church, ſo that he determine all Things by the Word of God. *Langey* himſelf confeſſing, that it was impoſſible to prove the Primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* from the Word of God. And that this Point was ſo far acknowledged by *Clement* VII. that he ſaid he was content, that the Primacy might be diſpenſed with; and that the more learn'd Cardinals in *Rome* were of this Opinion. But theſe Things I leave to the Credit of *Mount*, the diſcreet and diligent *Sleiden* not mentioning any ſuch Moderation on either Side, and *Mount* himſelf giving indeed no other Authority for this, but Monſieur *de Langey*'s Word by way of Diſcourſe, who yet when he was demanded for a Sight of the Articles and Cenſure above related, excuſed himſelf.

This Year (1535) ſome Letters from *Seville* in *Spain*, extant among our Records, advertiſed our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperor from *Peru*, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the Spoils of the Country than otherwiſe. No rich Mines being then found. Nevertheleſs, that the Inhabitants of *Andaluſia* flocked thither in ſo great Numbers, that the Country was almoſt left empty. Which Intelligence, tho' of great Conſideration, was yet paſſed over; the King intentive wholly to the ſettling of Religion, and the Right of Succeſſion, which I find he did with all Induſtry procure.

It appears by our Hiſtories that this Year great Braſs Ordnance, as Canon and Culverins were firſt caſt in *England*, by one *John Owen*, they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and far from the Perfection of which they are at this preſent, as may be ſeen in *Tartaglia*, and ſome other antient Authors.

Queen *Catherine*, or (as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princeſs Dowager, finding now no Aſſiſtance but from the Pope, nor Reparation procur'd by the Emperor but incertain and ſlow, and for the reſt grieving at the Proſperity and Fruitfulneſs of Queen *Anne* (now with Child again, whereof yet ſhe aborted) fell into her laſt Sickneſs at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingtonſhire*, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and the three and thirtieth ſince her coming into *England*; during which time, though comforted

forted by the King and *Euſtachio Chapuys*, Doctor of both Laws, and Ambaſſador Reſident from *Charles*, ſhe fell ſo deſperately ill, as finding Death now coming, ſhe cauſed a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect:

My moſt dear Lord, King and Huſband, *THE Hour of my Death now approaching, I cannot chuſe, out of the Love I bear you, adviſe you of your Soul's Health, which you ought to prefer before all Conſiderations of the World or Fleſh whatſoever. For which yet you have caſt me into many Calamitics, and yourſelf into many Troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to do ſo likewiſe. For the reſt I commend unto you* Mary *our Daughter, beſeeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore deſired. I muſt intreat you alſo, to reſpect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other Servants a Year's Pay, beſides their due, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for: Laſtly, I make this Vow, that mine Eyes deſire you above all Things.*

Farewell.

Beſides which Letter ſhe dictated another to *Euſtachius*, deſiring him to procure that the Emperor might put our King in Mind of her Requeſt, when otherwiſe he forgot it.

The King having received her Letter, became ſo compaſſionate, that he wept; but her Death being related ſhortly after, he cauſed her Goods, which I find eſtimated at 5000 Marks, to be employed toward the Funeral chiefly, and after to thoſe that deſerved Recompence; and her Body to be buried with due Solemnity in the Monaſtery at *Peterborough*; which for the Honour of her Memory, King *Henry* reſerved when all the reſt fell, and erected it to a Biſhop's See. The News whereof, not long after, being brought to the Emperor, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in ſingular Eſteem. But as he conſidered, that in her Death all Cauſes of Hoſtility were ceaſed, and that beſides, it concerned him more to defend himſelf againſt the *Turk*, than to purſue the Execution of the Pope's Ban, (though once undertaken by him) he endeavoured nothing more than to cloſe handſomely with our King. Nevertheleſs, as he was diſcreet and magnanimous, he would not fully diſcover himſelf till he had ſounded firſt our King's Diſpoſition. After which (as I find mention'd in the Inſtruction of our King to Doctor *Richard Pace*) *Charles*, by his Reſident Ambaſſador here, propoſed a Renovation of the antient Amity, upon theſe Conditions: Firſt, that our King would be reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offered his Mediation. Secondly, that our King would aid him againſt the *Turk*. Thirdly, that (according to the Treaty 1518) he would help him againſt the *French*, who now threatned *Milan*. To which our King anſwered, That the firſt Breach of Amity proceeded from the Emperor, which if he will acknowledge, and excuſe, King *Henry* is contented to renew it, ſimply and abſolutely: as for the Conditions propoſed; Firſt, touching the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Proceedings againſt him have been ſo juſt, and ſo ratified by the Parliament of *England*, that it cannot be revoked. Therefore, though the Biſhop himſelf hath made Means to him for a Reconciliation, yet it hath been refuſed. Secondly, for Aid againſt the *Turk*, when Chriſtian Princes ſhall be at Peace, then King *Henry* will do therein as to a Chriſtian Prince belongeth. Thirdly, for Aid againſt *France*,

he cannot reſolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperor, that ſo being indifferent Friend to both, he may freely travail, either to keep Peace between them, or Aid the injured Party. And theſe Anſwers of the King's, *Pace* was to ſignify to the Emperor then at *Rome*, and to urge him to renew the Amity without any ſuch Conditions: but as the Emperor hearken'd not thereunto, ſo King *Henry*, thinking of nothing leſs than embracing his Friendſhip on thoſe Terms, employed his Care chiefly how to defend his Kingdom againſt the threatned Invaſions. And therefore as he had often experimented the Love and Obedience of his Subjects, ſo in his important Occaſions at this Time, he reſolved to make uſe of them, commanding thereupon, the Parliament, which had been prorogued, to ſit the fourth of *February*. In which many Acts paſſed, the moſt Material whereof I have ſet down briefly, not always according to the Order obſerved in the Statute-Book, but rather according to the Matters handled, remitting the Reader for the Reſt to the Statutes themſelves. My Intention being not to make an Abſtract of them otherwiſe than may ſerve for the Illuſtration of the Times, and my Hiſtory.

Whereas the Trial and Puniſhment of Pirates was heretofore according to the Forms of the Civil Law, It was now ordered, That it ſhould be determined by the King's Commiſſion, in like Form as Offences done upon Land, no Benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to thoſe who were convicted; Nevertheleſs, Diſtinction to be made between Pirates, and thoſe who took ſomething at Sea out of Neceſſity: As is to be ſeen the Statute more largely.

Order alſo was taken upon Penalty, That all they who had Parks ſhould keep two or more Mares, according to the Greatneſs of the Parks, of thirteen Handfuls high, for Breed of ſtrong Horſes; and that the Stallions ſhould be fourteen Handfuls high at leaſt: And this was much to the Increaſe of good Horſes.

The Courſe of ſuing forth Gifts and Grants made under the King's Sign Manual, and the Clerks of the Signets Fees alſo was ſet down.

Alſo becauſe many Men by Will made Feoffments of their Lands to ſecret Uſes, whereby the King and the Lords loſt their Wards, *&c.* It was ordered, That the Poſſeſſion of Lands ſhall be adjudged to be in him that hath the Uſe thereof.

Order alſo was taken, That no Land ſhould paſs by Bargain and Sale, unleſs it be by Writing indented, ſealed and enrolled. And this prevented many Miſtakes, and took away much Deceit.

And now becauſe ſome Statutes following give me Occaſion to ſpeak of *Wales*, it will not be diſpleaſing to the Reader, I hope, to ſet down thoſe Reaſons, which I conceive were the true Motives of them.

Wales and the Marches thereof now having been for a long Time ſo diſtinguiſhed, as the maritime Parts thereof were held by the Remnant of the antient *Britains*, or Natives of this Iſland, the other by thoſe who had got Ground upon them, much Diverſity of Government was uſed. For as the Kings of *England* heretofore had many Times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a ſtout People, without yet reducing them to a final and intire Obedience; ſo they reſolved at laſt to give all that could be gained there to thoſe who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much Land from the *Welſh*:

Which, as gotten by Force, was by Permiſſion of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages in that abſolute Manner, as *Jura Regalia* were exerciſed in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in thoſe Parts which were gotten at the King's only Charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was obſerved. Howſoever, the general Government was not only ſevere, but various in many Parts: Inſomuch, that in about ſome 141 LordſhipsMarchers which were now gotten, many ſtrange and diſcrepant Cuſtoms were practiſed, as will appear hereafter. Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the King's, and particularly thoſe in the Eaſt, Weſt, and North *Wales*, being about this Time adminiſtred by my great Grand-father Sir *Richard Herbert*, (Son of Sir *Richard Herbert*, renowned for that alone, he paſſed and returned twice through an hoſtile Army at the Battel in *Banbury-field*, 8 *Edw.* IV.) ſuch Juſtice was uſed, as I find him in our Records highly commended to the King's Council by *Rowland Lee*, now Preſident of *Wales*. So that they were governed in general according to the Laws of *England*; the Lords Marchers, who conquered at their own Coſt, ruling yet by their own Laws and Cuſtoms, and ſubſtituting Officers at their Pleaſure, who again committed ſuch Rapines, as nothing almoſt was ſafe or quiet in thoſe Parts: Whereupon this Statute was made.

That the Lord Chancellor of *England*, or Keeper of the Great-Seal, ſhall nominate and appoint Juſtices of Peace, Juſtices of the *Quorum*, and Juſtices of the Jail-Delivery in the ſaid Counties, and that they ſhall have like Power and Authority as thoſe in *England*, &c. And by this means one Kind of Juſtice was eſtabliſhed in the ſaid County-Palatine of *Cheſter*, and the Shires aforeſaid: So that Offenders now were kept in Awe, being not able, as before, to eſcape and fly from one Lordſhip Marcher to another. Another Act alſo was made to this Purpoſe.

Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches there were divers and many Forreſts belonging either to the King or the Lords Marchers, wherein ſundry Actions had been uſed a long Time, contrary to the Law of God and Man; inſomuch, that if any entered the ſaid Foreſts without a Token given (by ſome of the Foreſters or Walkers of it) to let him paſs, or unleſs he were a yearly Tributor or Chenſer, he was forced to pay a grievous Fine; but if he were found 24 Foot out of the Highway, then to forfeit all the Gold or Money about him, and a Joint of one of his Hands, unleſs he fined for it at the Diſcretion of the Foreſter, or Farmer of the ſame. And whereas likewiſe, if any Cattel ſtrayed into the ſaid Foreſts, it was the Cuſtom of the Foreſters to mark him for their own with the Mark of the Foreſt; Orders was now given, that People ſhould be ſuffered to paſs freely, as in other Places, and eſtray'd Cattel within a Year and a Day to be reſtored again, the Owners paying for the Herbage.

That whereas by the Gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, divers of the moſt antient Prerogatives and Authorities of Juſtice appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, have been ſever'd and taken from the ſame, it was now enacted that no Perſon from the firſt of *July* 1536, ſhould have Power and Authority to pardon or remit Treaſons, Murthers, Manſlaughters, or any Felonies, or their Acceſſaries in any Part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the ſame. That likewiſe none ſhould make Juſtices of Oyer, Juſtices of Aſſize, Juſtices of Peace, or Juſtices of Jail-Delivery, but they ſhould be made

by the King's Letters Patents: And that all original Writs, and judicial Writs, and all Manner of Indictments of Treaſon, Felony, and Treſpaſs, and all manner of Proceſs ſhould be made in the King's Name; and Things done againſt the King's Peace, ſhould be ſuppoſed as done againſt the King's Peace, and not againſt the Peace of any other Perſon. Notwithſtanding which, divers Privileges were permitted, as is to be ſeen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vaſt Power inveſted antiently in thoſe who had Counties Palatine, and *Jura Regalia* in Lordſhips Marchers may appear; ſo we may obſerve how the reſtoring of them to the Crown hath eſtabliſhed an uniform Juſtice, and taken away the Occaſions of many Miſchiefs done within the Juriſdictions and Precincts of the ſaid Counties Palatine, and Lordſhips Marchers, as is before recited; which though a great Benefit and Eaſe to the *Welſh*, yet as they were under many Conſtraints, they hoped his Highneſs would further extend his Goodneſs to them: And thus ſome (as in their Name) ſpake to this Effect:

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

WE, on the Part of your Highneſs's Subjects, inhabiting that Portion of the Iſland which our Invaders firſt called *Wales*, moſt humbly proſtrate at your Highneſs's Feet, do crave to be received and adopted into the ſame Laws and Privileges which your other Subjects enjoy; Neither ſhall it hinder us, we hope, that we have lived ſo long under our own. For as they were both enacted by Authority of our antient Lawgivers, and obeyed for many Succeſſions of Ages, we truſt your Highneſs will pardon us, if we thought it neither eaſy nor ſafe ſo ſuddenly to relinquiſh them. We ſhall not preſume yet to compare them with theſe now uſed, and leſs ſhall we conteſt how good and equal in themſelves they are. Only if the Defence of them and our Liberty againſt the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for ſo many hundred Years, and laſtly, againſt the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the Sword, was thought juſt and honourable, we preſume it will not be infamous now, and that all the Marks of Rebellion and Falſhood, which our Revilers would faſten on us, will fall on any ſooner than thoſe who fought for ſo many Years, and with ſo different Nations for our juſt Defence: Which alſo is ſo true, that our beſt Hiſtories affirm the Chriſtian Religion to have been preſerved only by us for many Years, that the *Saxons*, being Heathen, either attempted or poſſeſſed this Country. May your Highneſs then graciouſly interpret our Actions, while we did but that Duty which your Highneſs would have now done by all your Subjects on like Occaſion; for when any ſhould invade this Country henceforth, we know your Highneſs would have us to behave ourſelves no otherwiſe. Beſides, had not the Aſſailers found ſome to reſiſt, they might have deſpiſed a Country that brought none forth able enough to aſſert it: So that we crave Pardon, Sir, if we ſay it was fit for the Honour of your Dominions that ſome Part of it ſhould never be conquered. We then in the Name of whatſoever in your Highneſs's Poſſeſſeſſions hath in any Age held out againſt all Invaders, do here voluntarily reſign, and humble ourſelves to that Sovereignty, which we acknowledge ſo well inveſted in your Highneſs. Nor is this the firſt Time; we have always attended an Occaſion to unite ourſelves to the greater and better Parts of the Iſland.

But as the Kings of this Realm weary of their Attempts in Perſon againſt us, did formerly give not only our Country to thoſe who could conquer it, but permitted them *Jura Regalia*, within their ſeveral Precincts; ſo it was impoſſible to come to an Agreement, while ſo many that undertook this Work, uſurped martial and abſolute Power and Juriſdiction in all they acquired, without eſtabliſhing any equal Juſtice. And that all Offenders, for the reſt, flying from one Lordſhip Marcher (for ſo they were termed) to another, did both avoid the Puniſhment of the Law, and eaſily commit thoſe Robberies, which have formerly tainted the Honour of our Parts. So that until the rigorous Laws not only of the ſeveral Conquerors of *England*, but the Attempters on our Parts, were brought to an equal Moderation, no Union, how much ſoever affected by us, could enſue.

Therefore, and not ſooner, we ſubmitted ourſelves to *Edward* the Firſt, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws than any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the Second, when not only the *Engliſh* forſook him, but ourſelves might have recovered our former Liberty, had we deſired it. Therefore we got Victories for *Edward* the Third, and ſtood firm during all the Diſſentions of this Realm to his Grandchild and Succeſſor *Richard* the Second. Only if ſome amongſt us reſiſted *Henry* the Fourth, your Highneſs may better ſuppoſe the Reaſon than we tell it, though divers Foreigners openly refuſing to treat with him as a Sovereign and lawful Prince, have ſufficiently publiſhed it. We did not yet decline a due Obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtful Times, we cannot deny, but many refractory Perſons have appear'd. Howſoever, we never joined ourſelves with the *Engliſh* Rebels, or took Occaſion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's Time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaſter* and *York*, much Occaſion was given. For adhering to the Houſe of *York*, which we conceived the better Title, we conſerved our Devotion ſtill to the Crown, until your Highneſs's Father's Time, who (bearing his Name and Blood from us) was the more chearfully aſſiſted by our Predeceſſors in his Title to the Crown, which your Highneſs doth preſently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave antiently Proof of a generous Courage in defending our Laws and Country, we have given no leſs Proof of a loyal Fidelity ſince we firſt rendered ourſelves. Inſomuch, that we may truly affirm, That after our Acceptance of the Condition given us by *Edward* the Firſt, we have omitted no Occaſion of performing the Duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any Thing that comforts us more than that all thoſe Controverſies about Succeſſion, which ſo long waſted this Land, are determined in your Highneſs's Perſon; in whom we acknowledge both Houſes to be happily united. To your Highneſs therefore we offer all Obedience, deſiring only that we may be defended againſt the Inſulting of our malignant Cenſurers: For we are not the Off-ſpring of the *Run-away Britains*, as they term us; but Natives of a Country, which, beſides defending itſelf, received all thoſe who came to us for Succours. Give us then, Sir, Permiſſion to ſay, that they wrong us much, who pretend our Country was not inhabited before then, or that it failed in a due Piety, when it was ſo hoſpital to all that fled thither for Refuge: Which alſo will be more credible, when it ſhall be remembred,

membred, that even our higheſt Mountains furniſh good Beef and Mutton, not only to all the Inhabitants, but ſupply *England* in great Quantity. We humbly beſeech your Highneſs therefore, That this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it ſeem harſh, it is that yet which was ſpoken antiently, not only in this Iſland, but in *France*: Some Dialects whereof therefore remain ſtill amongſt the *Bas Bretons* there, and here in *Cornwal*. Neither will any Man doubt it, when he ſhall find thoſe Words of the antient *Gauliſh* Language repeated by the *Latin* Authors, to ſignify the ſame Thing amongſt us at this Day: Nor ſhall it be a Diſparagement, we hope, that it is ſpoken ſo much in the Throat, ſince the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this Kind of Pronunciation, as believing Words that ſound ſo deep, proceed from the Heart. So that if we have retained this Language longer than the more northern Inhabitants of this Iſland, (whoſe Speech appears manifeſtly to be a kind of *Engliſh*, and conſequently introduced by the *Saxons*) we hope it will be no Imputation to us; your Highneſs will have but the more Tongues to ſerve you: It ſhall not hinder us to ſtudy *Engliſh*, when it were but to learn how we might the better ſerve and obey your Highneſs: To whoſe Laws we moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted, and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other Part, ours alſo by your Highneſs's good Favour and Employment may receive that Eſteem.

The King now conſidering that it was but reaſonable to unite this Part of the Kingdom to the reſt, and that their Loyalty beſides had deſerved as much as they were Sutors for, cauſed an Act to be paſt for executing Juſtice in *Wales*, in Manner as is in *England*, and reduced the Lordſhip Marchers to Shire-Ground. The Statute is to this Effect:

That albeit the Dominion, Principality, and Country of *Wales* be a Member and Part of the Temporal Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler; yet as it hath divers Rights, Uſages, Laws and Cuſtoms diſcrepant from the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, and becauſe their Language is different from that which is ſpoken here, and that many rude People hereupon have made Diſtinction and Diverſity betwixt his Highneſs's other Subjects, and them, to the cauſing of much Diſcord and Sedition; his Highneſs therefore, out of his Love and Favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament ordain and enact, That *Wales* ſhould be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England*; and that his Subjects ſhould enjoy and inherit all ſingular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges and Laws which his Highneſs's Subjects elſewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore that Inheritances ſhould deſcend after the Manner of *England*, without Diviſion or Partition, and not after any Tenure or Form of *Welſh* Laws or Cuſtoms. And foraſmuch as there are divers Lordſhips Marchers within the ſaid Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no Parcel of any other Shires where the Laws and due Correction is uſed and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoining manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all Law and Juſtice, becauſe the Offenders, making their Refuge from one Lord Marcher to another, were continued without Puniſhment and Correction: There-

Therefore it was enacted, that the ſaid Lordſhips Marchers ſhould be united, annexed and joined to divers Shires ſpecified in the ſaid Act.

Whereupon 24 Lordſhips Marchers were united to *Monmouthſhire*, and the Laws of *England* enjoined in them: 16 to *Brecknockſhire*; 16 to *Radnorſhire*; 11 to *Montgomeryſhire*; and 10 to *Denbighſhire*; ſeven to *Shropſhire*, which were reduced again to certain Hundreds, as *Doun*-to *Cherbury*, &c. 10 to *Herefordſhire*, and they likewiſe reduced to Hundreds three; and all the Lordſhips, *&c.* betwixt *Chepſtowbridge* and *Gloceſterſhire*, to *Gloceſterſhire*; and they again reduced to one Hundred; 17 to *Glamorganſhire*; eight to *Carmarthenſhire*; 13 to *Pembrokeſhire*; four to *Cardiganſhire*; one to *Merionethſhire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lords Marchers. After this again, many Privileges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the Service their Anceſtors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering thoſe Parts at their own Coſt, concerning which Hiſtories, Records, *&c.* may be ſeen, to which I refer myſelf.

Alſo Power was given to the King to alter any Thing in this Act, within the Space of three Years next enſuing, whereof we ſhall ſpeak again, 34 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 26. More alſo is extant hereof 1 *Edward* VI. 10 and 21 *Jacobi* 10. where through that King's Goodneſs all Power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repealed.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning eccleſiaſtical Matters, of which Kind there are four chiefly.

The firſt, having Relation to one formerly recited out of 26 *Henry* VIII. whereby the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths were given for more Augmentation of Maintenance of the King's Royal Dignity, of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, That no Tenth ſhall be exacted that Year wherein Firſt-Fruits are paid.

Secondly, whereas 25 *Henry* VIII. it was enacted, that the Clergy in their Convocations ſhall make no Conſtitutions without the King's Aſſent, at alſo that the King ſhould have Authority to nominate 16 Spiritual and 16 Temporal Perſons to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions aforeſaid, the ſaid Acts were now confirmed.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary-men, that they ſhould wear Badges to be known by, and no Weapons; that they ſhould not go abroad but at due Hours, and not reſiſt their Governors, *&c.*

Fourthly, A Court of Augmentation was erected, whereby Order was taken concerning the Religious Houſes that were ſurrendred or ſuppreſſed; and how the King's Revenue ſhould be encreaſed thereby, and Officers for this Purpoſe appointed.

Theſe Marks of the King's Sovereignty being thus premiſed, I ſhall come to the Act of Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes under 200 *l.* yearly. Which though lamented by many, and no ways ſo excuſed, that I know, as by the King's Neceſſities, had yet thoſe Motives. The vicious and incorrigible Life of monaſtical Perſons, confeſſed by the whole Parliament; the Lands not employed according to the Intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superſtitions and Forgings of Miracles practiſed amongſt them; that when thoſe under 200 *l.* yearly were taken away, there remained yet many great and Religious Houſes: That they were the Seminary of thoſe that oppos'd the Regal

Regal Authority in eccleſiaſtical Matters; to which ſome have thought the Reaſon formerly touched might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the Burthen of furniſhing the King's Neceſſities from themſelves. And the rather, that the King promis'd to employ ſome of the Revenues to other religious Uſes; as founding of Biſhopricks, Deaneries, and Chapters, and the like. Which indeed followed, though not mentioned in the Statute.

However, the Statute, without any formal Preamble in the publiſhed Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majeſty ſhall have and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, all Monaſteries, Priories, and other religious Houſes of Monks, Canons, and Nuns of what Habit, Order, or Rule ſoever, which have not in Lands and Revenue above the clear yearly Value of 200 *l.* as alſo all ſuch religious Houſes which at any Time within one Year's Space, preceeding, have been given up and granted by any Abbot, Prior, Abbeſs, or Prioreſs under their Convent Seal; (reſerving yet all Right to others by Leaſe and otherwiſe, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Succeſſors of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Poſſeſſion, Rent, Fee, or Office, according to the true Intention:) As alſo of Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, belonging to the ſaid religious Houſes: Nevertheleſs, that Hoſpitality and Husbandry ſhould be kept by the Farmers of the ſaid religious Houſes, and the Lands belonging to them; upon the Penalty of paying every Month ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four Pence. The King alſo, (as I find in the Parliament Roll) allowed the Governors of theſe Houſes Penſions during their Lives, and tranſlated ſome of the religious Perſons into other greater Foundations.

And thus were the leſſer Monaſteries diſſolved, with Care yet that Hoſpitality ſhould be preſerved; for which Reaſon alſo our King did paſs them away at ſuch eaſy Rates. Nevertheleſs, as the Penalty being not ordinarily required, due Hoſpitality was for the moſt Part neglected: So the Forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parliament, 21 *Jacobi*, wholly aboliſhed, at length, by the Indulgence of that King. Notwithſtanding, it is probable, that not on this Occaſion only, the Abbey Lands were ſcattered and diſtributed into ſo many Hands, ſince *Cromwell* forgot not to tell his King, that the more had Intereſt in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatſoever the Reaſons were, it is certain, that Uſe was not made of them which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was ſo little improved thereby. Since it is clear, that if the Profits of thoſe which were diſſolved, had been employed for a ſettled Entertaining and Payment of a Royal Army at Land, and a great Fleet at Sea, which as they were the third or fourth Part of the Revenues of the Land, might have been eaſily done, our King without having Recourſe to any other Means, might, beſides ſecuring his Realm, have given the Law in great Part to all his Neighbours. And now of theſe antient Monuments of Devotion, 396 being diſſolved, a Revenue of about thirty or Thirty-two thouſand Pound yearly, fell into the King's Hand, beſides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at One hundred thouſand Pound. The People (eſpecially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being grieved to ſee the Monks and Nuns

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wandring abroad, and the Churches and Chappels perverted to ſecular and prophane Uſes; ſo that they began to murmur; which being again fomented by ſome religious Perſons turned to Rebellion, as ſhall be told hereafter. The Reſpect alſo given to the Relicks there, and ſome pretended Miracles fell; inſomuch as I find by our Records, that a Piece of St. *Andrew*'s Finger, (covered only with an Ounce of Silver) being laid to pledge by a Monaſtery for forty Pound, was left unredeemed at the Diſſolution of the ſaid Houſe; the King's Commiſſioners, who upon Surrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay to the Debts thereof, refuſing to return the Price again.

This Fall of Abbeys yet did but ſet forward the King's Deſigns with the confederate Princes and Towns in *Germany*; who underſtanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papiſtry, and knowing beſides that Queen *Anne* was diſaffected to their adverſe Party, as her greateſt Enemies, thought fit to make our King's Orators (yet at *Smalcald*) theſe Propoſitions, as our Records ſhew.

I. That he ſhould approve and embrace the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſs ſome Things ſhould be altered therein by common Conſent according to the Scripture.

II. And ſecondly in a free Council, if any be, ſhall defend it with them.

III. That neither Part ſhould admit any Summons for a Council, or agree upon a Place for the ſitting of it without the others Conſent; yet that if ſuch a Council were offered as *Vergerius* the Pope's Legate now propoſed, that is to ſay, free and pious, that it ſhould not be refuſed.

IV. That if the Pope proceeded otherwiſe, that they ſhould oppoſe and proteſt publickly againſt him.

V. That the King ſhould join himſelf, as to their Doctrine, ſo to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.

VI. That the vulgar Opinion of the Primacy of the Pope, ſhould be rejected for ever.

VII. That if either of the Contrahents be invaded for Religion, the other ſhall give no Aid againſt him.

VIII. That the King ſhall pay 100000 Crowns towards the Defence of the League, and if the War be long, 200000 Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining ſhould be reſtored when the War was ended.

IX. That when the King had declared his Mind herein, they will ſend an Ambaſſage of learned Men to him.

Theſe Propoſitions being communicated by *Cromwell* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* then in *France*; the Biſhop returned this Advice: That if the firſt Article were accorded, the King ſhall do nothing without their Conſent, though otherwiſe he be bound in Conſcience to reform his Church. To the reſt, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with thoſe inferior Princes for Religion without the Emperor, whom the King muſt allow to be ſupream Head of *Germany*, as his Majeſty is of *England*. Again, that they could give *Henry* no Reciproke, as lying at that Diſtance: Finally, he admoniſhed, that they be moved to approve the King's Title, ſince he had underſtood in *France*, that they would not agree thereto, leaſt they ſhould thereby grant the Emperor the ſame Authority over their Perſons. In Conſequence whereof, on the twelfth of *March* following, (1536.) the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and

and the other Orators now at *Wittemberg* returned the Proteſtants this Anſwer: That the King their Sovereign liked their Propoſitions with ſome Corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no Cauſe why he ſhould fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the Death of the late Queen; yet for reſtoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to diſburſe the Sum required, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would treat at large with their Commiſſioners, whom they promiſed to ſend: As for the Honour they did him, in conſtituting him Patron and Defender of the League, that he render'd them due Thanks, and acknowledg'd their good Will. And though he underſtood well, to how much Envy this Charge was expos'd, yet that for the publick Good he would not refuſe it; when they could agree among themſelves concerning the firſt and ſecond Article. For unleſs there were an Union and Conſent in Doctrine, that he ſhould get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he deſir'd their learned Men and his ſhould concur; for until ſome Places of their Confeſſion and Apology were mollified by private Conference, that there was ſmall Hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he deſired much that they would ſend ſome Commiſſioners for this Purpoſe, and among them, ſome one eminent for his Learning, who might confer with his Divines of the Doctrine and eſſential Part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That ſince he was ſo liberal to them, he hoped they would not refuſe, if any made War againſt him, to furniſh for four Months, 500 Foot, or 10 Ships equipped at their Coſt: and at his Coſt 2000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, or in lieu of theſe Foot 12 Ships equipped; which the King ſhall keep and maintain ſo long as his Occaſions require. Laſtly, that they ſhould approve the Sentence given by the Divines of *Wittenberg* in favour of his Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, and if any Council General were holden, ſhould there defend it.

To all which the Duke of *Saxony* replying, that he would adviſe hereof with the other Confederates, this Anſwer finally at a Meeting at *Frankfort* on the 24th of *April*, 1536, was return'd, That altho' divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a Diſtance from Home, had no Commiſſion for giving any definitive Sentence: Notwithſtanding, that in this Meeting it ſhould be reſolv'd concerning an Ambaſſador to be ſent his Highneſs, and they who could not reſolve for the preſent, ſhould declare themſelves within the Space of one Month. And that there was no Queſtion but they would conform themſelves to the Opinion of the major part. Whereupon Inſtructions were given for certain Orators to be ſent to *England*; in which yet it was (ſaith *Sleidan*) eſpecially provided, that nothing ſhould be treated of to the Prejudice of the Emperor or Empire. And thus in the Name of the confederate Cities, *Jacobus Sturmius* was appointed; the Divines being *Melanchthon*, *Bucerus*, and *Georgius Draco*. But as ſhortly after the Death of Queen *Anne* followed; ſo all their Proceeding (as *Sleidan* notes) was ſtopt, until upon Occaſion given, it was revived. As for the Approbation of the Divorce propoſed to the *German* Divines, *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Philip*, and others, the King was judiciouſly adviſed by his Agents from thence, not to require any Thing of them which would be too hard to grant; the King having attained his principal Intent concerning the Council and Pope, and the Princes being then

in ſuch Terms with the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, as they deſired not to offend them without an urgent Neceſſity.

James King of *Scotland*, having the Year before been inſtalled of the Garter, and in Sequence thereof inſtructed with the Cauſes of thoſe Changes which had followed in religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an Eye to the Troubles that might enſue in *England* concerning Succeſſion, as long as the Iſſue of both Queens ſurvived; ſo he deſired to ſtrengthen himſelf by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of *Francis*: Yet being deſirous withal to conſerve our King's Affection; and knowing alſo his Deſigns on that Part could not be long concealed, he thought fit to advertiſe our King thereof; diſcovering himſelf no farther yet, than that he intended to match in that Country: Who alſo approving this, rather than that he ſhould beſtow himſelf in the Emperor's Family, (which he ſtill ſuſpected) gave his Conſent thereunto, as I find by our Records; yet ſo as he deſired the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, rather than of *Francis*; upon Condition ſtill that the Interview might precede. But King *James*, who had no Diſpoſition thereunto (though I find in our Records, the Queen his Mother once perſuaded him,) reſolves to go ſecretly and in diſguiſed Habit to *France*. Whereupon alſo, commanding ſome Ships to be made ready, he ſet ſail from *Leith*, not acquainting any yet with his Journey; ſo that divers thought he purpoſed to land in ſome Part of our King's Dominions. But contrary Winds ariſing, he being demanded what Courſe his Pilots ſhould hold, anſwer'd, to any Place but *England*; wherewith falling aſleep, he was e'er he wakened, by the Advice of one of the *Hamiltons* (as *Buchanan* hath it) carried back. But at laſt, opening his Eyes, and finding himſelf at Home, he was much offended with the Author of this Counſel, and the rather, that he was thought ſecretly to oppoſe the Match: So that he commanded to ſet Sail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s, and his Daughter not pleaſing him (or rather, the Daughter of *Francis* liking him better) he arrives at *Paris*, and poſting thence to the *Lionnois*, where *Francis* was raiſing an Army againſt the Emperor (as ſhall be told hereafter) he obtained the Conſent of *Francis*, though not without ſome Reluctancy on his Part, and wholly againſt our King's Will, for his Daughter *Magdalen*, whom he married *Jan.* 10, 1537. The News whereof being brought to our King, troubled him ſo much, that he writ to *Francis*, whom he perfectly loved at that Time, that his late Interview with the Pope, and Alliance with the *Scotiſh* King, vexed him no leſs than it would do a perfect Lover, to ſee his Miſtreſs entertain his mortal Enemy. But as *Francis*'s Excuſe, (alledging it was better he match'd there than with his Adverſaries) did in ſome Part ſatisfy our King; ſo the new married Lady falling to a Hectick Fever, and dying the Year following, they both ſoon return'd to ſome Part of their former Correſpondence.

Queen *Anne* being now without Competitrix for her Title, thought herſelf ſecure. But Proſperity is a dangerous Eſtate to thoſe that uſe it not reverently. Again, Beauty is not always the beſt Keeper of itſelf. It may be doubted yet whether either of thoſe did concern her; ſince ſhe was thought both moderate in her Deſires, and of Diſcretion enough to make her capable of being truſted with her own Perfections, as having lived in the

the *French* Court firſt, and after in this, with the Reputation of a virtuous Lady; inſomuch that the Whiſperings of her Enemies could not divert the King's good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own Nature more jealous than to be ſatisfied eaſily. I do reject all thoſe, therefore, that would ſpeak againſt her Honour in thoſe Times they ſtaid in *France*; but I ſhall as little accuſe her in this particular of her Affairs at this Time; it is enough, that the Law hath condemned her; and that whether ſhe, or any elſe were in Fault, is not now to be diſcuſſed. This is certain, that the King had caſt his Affection already on *Jane Seymer*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymer*, Knight, then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which followed, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody, but where Law, or at leaſt Pretexts drawn from thence, did countenance his Actions.

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on *May-day* there being a ſolemn Juſts at *Greenwich*, (wherein *George* Viſcount *Rochford* the Queen's Brother was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norreis* principal Defendant,) the King ſuddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, eſpecially the Queen. No Cauſe hereof is related yet, unleſs (as *Sanders* hath it) ſhe let fall a Handkerchief, wherewith ſome one (ſuppoſed her Favourite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceived by the King. But our Hiſtories mention not this Paſſage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires herſelf. He again haſting to *Weſtminſter*, takes Order to commit the next Morning *George* Lord *Rochford*, and *Henry Norreis* to the Tower: After which, herſelf coming to *London* in her Barge, was apprehended by ſome of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her Offence, ſhe exclaimed that ſhe was wrong'd, and that ſhe deſired to ſee the King only before ſhe went; but in vain, they having no ſuch Commiſſion. When ſhe entred the Tower, ſhe is ſaid to have fallen on her Knees, beſeeching God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed. This was about Five in the Afternoon on the Second of *May*. After which, one *William Brereton*, Eſq; and Sir *Francis Weſton* of the King's Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton* a Muſician, were committed on the ſame Occaſion. The Queen being thus in the Charge of Sir *William Kingſton*, Conſtable of the Tower, much Speech paſs'd betwixt them, as appears by a Original of his: Yet as her Language was broken and diſtracted betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for ſhe uſed both,) little can be inferred thence, only ſhe ſeem'd to exclaim on *Norreis*, as if he had accus'd her; when yet ſhe ſaid, they both ſhould die together. She named others alſo, and thereupon confeſſed, tho' not enough to condemn her, yet ſuch Paſſages as might argue ſhe took the utmoſt Liberty, that could be honeſtly allowed her: But whether ſhe extended it to any further Act, is not there declared. For amidſt all her Diſcourſes, ſhe ſtill proteſted herſelf innocent. By other Originals alſo of *Kingſton*'s, it appears that he had made ſome Difficulty to carry a Letter from her to Mr. Secretary, and that ſhe wiſh'd her Biſhops were there: For they, ſhe ſaid, would go to the King for her; and that the moſt Part of *England* would pray for her; and that if ſhe died, a Puniſhment will fall on the Land; and in Effect I find divers Biſhops and learned Men did much honour her, and particularly the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who in a conſolatory

ſolatory Letter to the King, (which I have ſeen) wrote as much in her Behalf as he durſt; yet ſo as he made no Apology for her, but rather confeſſeth that divers of the Lords had told him of ſuch Faults as he was ſorry to hear of, deſiring howſoever, that he would continue his Love to the Goſpel, leſt it ſhould be thought it was for her Sake only, he had ſo favoured it. After which another Letter in her Name, but no Original, coming to my Hand, from more than one good Part, I thought fit to tranſcribe here, without other Credit yet than it is ſaid to be found among the Papers of *Cromwel* then Secretarry, and for the reſt ſeems antient and conſonant to the Matter in Queſtion.

SIR,

YOUR Grace's Diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are Things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your Favour, by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine antient profeſſed Enemy; I no ſooner receiv'd this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceiv'd your Meaning; and as if as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed, may procure my Safety, I ſhall with all Willingneſs and Duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo much as a Thought thereof every preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Anne Bullen*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your Grace's Pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any Time ſo far forget myſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an Alteration as now I find; for the Ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt Alteration I know was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me from a low Eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my Deſert or Deſire; if then you found me worthy of ſuch Honour, good your Grace, let not any light Fancy, or bad Counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of a diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the Infant Princeſs your Daughter: Try me good King, but let me have a lawful Trial; and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open Shames. Then ſhall you ſee either mine Innocency cleared, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure, and mine Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at Liberty both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Puniſhment on me as an unfaithful Wife, but to follow your Affection already ſettled on that Party, for whoſe Sake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my Suſpicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoying

joying of your desired Happiness; then I desire of God that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies the Instrments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict Account for your unprincely and cruel Usage of me at his general Judgment Seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not, whatever the World may think of me, mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only Request shall be, that myself may only bear the Burthen of your Grace's Displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who, as I understand, are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my Sake. If ever I have found Favour in your Sight, if ever the Name of *Anne Bullen* hath been pleasing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good Keeping, and to direct you in all your your Actions. *From my doleful Prison in the Tower, this 6th of* May.

Your most Loyal,

and ever Faithful Wife,

ANNE BULLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little, as what Answer might be made thereunto: Only I cannot omit to tell, that the King was so little satisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten Proof enough to put her to Death, he would further be divorced from her; which also by due Order and Process of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28 *Hen.* VIII.) was performed by *Cranmer*. The Causes being not yet set down otherwise than that they were declared just, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage: I know not how to satisfy the Reader therein; especially since the Lady *Elizabeth* their Daughter is thereby pronounced illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I find by an original Letter of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who it seems might most be suspected, that he disavows it on his Part. So that unless he retracted this Protestation, or that the contrary were proved, I cannot so much as imagine a Reason. The Letter is thus to *Cromwel*.

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But if this were not sufficient, I believe such other Cause was produced for the Divorce, as might satisfy the People, since the Act was publick. Neither is it much material which *Hall* saith, that the Validity of this Marriage was questioned, because the King married this second Wife before he was divorced from his first; for it seems contrary to the Act of Parliament, which saith, That the Impediments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which she was arraigned the 15th of *May*, 1536. before the Duke of *Norfolk*, High Steward

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Steward of *England* for the Day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and others of the Peers: And there, notwithſtanding her diſcreet Anſwers, (as our Hiſtorians term them, found guilty, and Judgment pronounced accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord *Rochfort* her Brother, was arraigned and condemned, as alſo *Henry Norreis*, Eſq; *Mark Smeton*, Groom of the King's Privy Chamber, *William Brereton*, Eſq; and Sir *Francis Weſton*, Knt. Gentlemen of it, (the Lord-Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being preſent) and the 17th of *May* beheaded; the Queen's Death yet was reſpited till the 19th of the ſame Month. About which time, Order being taken that all Strangers in the *Tower* ſhould be removed; *Kingſton* in an Original to *Cromwel* writ theſe Words; *viz.*

SIR,

IF we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known in London, *I think here will be but few: And I think a reaſonable Number were beſt; for I ſuppoſe ſhe will declare herſelf to be a good Woman for all Men, but for the King, at the Hour of her Death: for this Morning ſhe ſent for me, and proteſted her Innocency: and now again, and ſaid unto me,* Mr. *Kingſton*, I heard ſay I ſhall not die before Noon, and I am ſorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this Time and paſt my Pain. *I told her it ſhould be no Pain, it was ſo* ſotell *(for ſo is his Word.) And then ſhe ſaid, ſhe heard ſay the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her Hand about it, laughing heartily; I have ſeen many Men and Women executed, and they have been in great Sorrow; and to my Knowledge, this Lady hath much Joy and Pleaſure in Death.*

The 19th of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the expreſs Order given, was brought to a Scaffold erected upon the Green in the Tower of *London*, where our Hiſtorians ſay, ſhe ſpake before a great Company there aſſembled, to this Effect:

Good Chriſtian People, I am come hither to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to die, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no Man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed, and condemned to die. But I pray God ſave the King, and ſend him long to reign over you; for a gentler nor a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a ſovereign Lord. And if any Perſon will meddle of my Cauſe, I require them to judge the beſt. And thus I take my Leave of the World, and of you all; and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me.

After which coming to her Devotions, her Head was ſtricken off with a Sword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as ſhe was deſirous to advance learned Men, in which Number *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Nicholas Saxton* Biſhop of *Saliſbury* are recounted; and as ſhe was a great Almsgiver, inſomuch, as ſhe is ſaid in three Quarters of a Year to have beſtowed fourteeen or fifteen thouſand Pounds in this Kind, beſides Money intended by her towards raiſing a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realm. *Sanders* ſays, her Father died ſhortly after for Grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two Years after, 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and Silence, I find by our Records, that the Princeſs

Princeſs *Mary* did about thoſe Times much endeavour to be reſtored to the King her Father's good Favour and Opinion, as hoping now that the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was declared illegitimate, ſhe ſhould be received as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earneſt Letters, written with her own Hand, ſhe both acknowledgeth her Fault of Obſtinacy heretofore, and craveth inſtantly from the King to write to her, or ſend ſome Token as a Sign of Reconciliation. Upon which Submiſſion, our King, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſent certain Articles for her to ſubſcribe; which were,

Firſt, Whether ſhe doth recognize the King's Highneſs for her Sovereign Lord and King, and will ſubmit herſelf unto his Highneſs and all the Laws of the Realm.

Secondly, Whether ſhe will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.

Thirdly, Whether ſhe will recognize the King's Highneſs to be ſupream Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, and utterly refuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretended Power, or any Intereſt ſhe hath or may have thereby.

Fourthly, Whether ſhe doth freely recognize and acknowledge both by God's Law and Man's Law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majeſty and her Mother to be unlawful.

Fifthly, For what Cauſes, and by whoſe Motion and Means ſhe hath remained in her Obſtinacy ſo long.

Sixthly, What is the Cauſe ſhe at this Time above all others ſubmitteth, and who moved her hereunto.

In Satisfaction to which ſhe returned a Subſcription, ſigned with her own Name to the four firſt Articles, but concerning the other two, ſhe demurred; ſome Perſons being intereſted therein, whom ſhe would not diſcover.

What Effect followed hereupon appears not otherwiſe than that, notwithſtanding this and other Submiſſions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage; which alſo he ſo haſtened, as ſome ſay the Day following Queen *Anne*'s Death, others not 'till three Days after, he caus'd it to be ſolemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law had declared criminal; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the Opinion held in theſe Times of the different Perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I ſhall out of our Records produce the Cenſure of Sir *John Ruſſel*, afterwards Earl of *Bedford*, who having been at Church, obſerved the King to be the goodlieſt Perſon there; but of the Queens gave this Note, that the richer Queen *Jane* was in Cloaths, the fairer ſhe appeared, but that the other, the richer ſhe was apparell'd the worſe ſhe look'd; but this Queen certainly deſerved all the Favour done her, as being reputed the diſcreeteſt, faireſt, and humbleſt of the King's Wives; though both Queen *Katherine* in her younger Days, and the late Queen, were not eaſily paralell'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto foreign Buſineſſes now a long Time intermitted.

Affairs betwixt our King and the *Roman* See were not ſo deſperate, but that divers Overtures on either Side were made for an Accommodation; for while the Pope feared, leſt our King, together with renouncing the *Roman* Church's Authority, would relinquiſh the Religion, he not only cover'd his inward and deep Diſpleaſure, but ſecretly permitted Treaties in divers Kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a War againſt the *Turk*; who alſo gladly entertained the

the Motion, as hoping the Pope would not ſo ſoon join Chriſtian Princes againſt him. Inſomuch that Sir *George Caſalis*, now reſiding Agent at *Rome*, the Pope about *May* 20, ſent for him, and told him that he heard of the Queen's Impriſonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequal Matrimony, had offered his Majeſty Occaſion of gaining eternal Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and *French* King; which might be now done by joining with the *Roman* See. As for himſelf that he never did him but good Offices, as having urged *Clement* VII. to right him in his Divorce, and at *Bononia*, being then Cardinal, perſuaded the Emperor to ſuffer it with Patience. As for *Rocheſter*, that he made him Cardinal only to uſe him in the enſuing Council; and when his Death was related, being ſollicited and compelled to revenge it, he could not but yield for the Time to do thoſe Things, which yet he never intended to carry into Extremes. Wherefore that he purpoſed to ſend a Nuncio into *England* to treat of a Peace in Chriſtendom, when our King would hearken thereunto; whence ſhall follow a General Council, and a War againſt the *Turk*: And all this he wiſh'd Sir *Gregory* to write (as of himſelf) to our King; as appears by the Original, *May* 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinal *Campejus* ſending hither his Brother *Marco Antonio* about other Buſineſs, as regaining his Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, and the Place of *Engliſh* Protector in the next Council, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the Terms propoſed pleaſed not; ſo the Pope conceiving now all Treaty, to be in vain, laboured to unite all Chriſtian Princes in a War againſt him, as a Deſerter of all papal Authority, and an Heretick. Therefore he both gained *Charles* (who had long ſollicited a Council) by ſummoning one to begin at *Mantua* the Year following, *May* 23, and to oblige *James* V. he ſent him a rich conſecrated Sword. He found not yet in *France* that Diſpoſition he hoped for, the Overtures of War being thought unſeaſonable, in a Time when a general Reformation was expected on the *Roman* Church's Part. Therefore I find by an original Diſpatch of *Mount*'s, how the Biſhop of *Chaalons* in *Campagne* told him, (upon Notice taken in *France* of the Breve of the Pope, whereby (as aforeſaid) he excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdom, and abſolved his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unleſs he returned to that See, and abrogated thoſe Laws were made againſt the papal Authority,) that the Cardinal of *Lorain* would warn the Pope, and adviſe him not to be ſo bold with Princes, unleſs he would become a Laughing-ſtock to the World, (for theſe are *Mount*'s Words;) yet did not *Francis* fully comply with our King, but held a middle Way: For as he approved not the Pope's harſh Proceeding, ſo when our King by his Ambaſſador gave him Account of his Actions, expecting his Approbation, he returned this Anſwer: *That notwithſtanding all the King's Realm ſhould agree and condeſcend never ſo much to the Right and Title of Succeſſion in the Iſſue of his ſecond Marriage, yet when Foreign Parts ſhall conceive any other, and contrary Opinion thereof, great Troubles might enſue.* Whereupon *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, then Reſident in *France*, was commanded by our King to tell *Francis*, *That he marvelled much the King his Brother, being a wiſe Prince,*

ſhould ſo long inſiſt upon theſe Points, ſince it was ever the Manner of lawful Kings to purſue their Right without demanding the Approbation of others. For Proof whereof, he ſaid he could give particular Inſtances in *Francis* his Predeceſſors, who had done many Things contrary to the Advice of the Popes, (when they were beneficial to the Kingdom,) and that notwithſtanding all Oppoſition they had been happily atchieved. Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep *Francis* in good Correſpondency, as knowing the Deſire he had to recover *Milan* (for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*) was ſo vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtained. And in Effect I find by *Bellay*, that the Treaty hereof begun the laſt Year, as aforeſaid, was ſtill proſecuted; inſomuch that *Charles* gave Hopes of reſtoring *Milan* now upon *Sforza*'s Death (who being thought the laſt of the Line of *Æneas* and *Mutius Scævola*, died about the End of *October* precedent) to the Duke of *Angouleſme*, the third Son of *Francis*, when he would ſend the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son, to aſſiſt him in an intended Expedition againſt *Algier*, and help to reduce the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, and the King of *England* to an Union with the Church; but *Francis* replied, That to give *Milan* from his ſecond Son to his third, was to cauſe a perpetual War betwixt two Brothers. That that he deſired it for the Duke of *Orleans*, in which Caſe alſo the ſaid Duke ſhould renounce all Claim to *Naples*, *Florence*, *Urbin*, &c. That to ſend him to the Emperor, upon what Pretence ſoever, was in Effect to do nothing but put an Hoſtage into his Hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of thoſe who had any Way ſeparated themſelves from the Church, he ſhould be glad to ſecond him as well in *Germany* as in *England*. And that for *Henry* the Eighth in particular, he thought fit the Emperor ſhould ſummon all Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to aſſiſt him, and as *Bellay* hath it *Donner main fort* to conſtrain the ſaid King to obey the Sentence and Determination of the Church.

During theſe Treaties, the *French* Army under the Count *de St. Paul*, advanced ſo far in *Savoy*, as they had taken all but *Montmelian*, which yet at laſt yielded: While thoſe of *Geneva*, thinking the Occaſion fair, ſhook off their Obedience to the Duke, and by the Help of the Proteſtant *Swiſs*, aſſerted themſelves into the Liberty they now enjoy: Expelling together their Biſhop, and changing the Form of both their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Policy. Of all which the Emperor being advertiſed, thought how to gain Time, eſpecially 'till he had reinforced his Army, not yet fully made up ſince his late Voyage to *Tunis*, and aſſured himſelf of the Pope: Therefore he promiſed the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*, ſo that the Dutcheſs, being the Relict of *Sforza*, might be provided for, intending thereby (as my Author hath it) that ſhe might be given the *Scotiſh* King: Yet in the Manner of performing thereof, ſo much Caution and Delay was propoſed, as their former Jealouſies did but increaſe. And indeed, neither was the Overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperor to preſs the Pope againſt our King, more than Device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Propoſition of the Emperor for reſtoring *Milan*, other than an Invention to gain Time, he being reſolved to ſuccour *Savoy* at what Price ſoever: And the rather, that (as is before ſaid) there was a Project of giving all that Country

to the Emperor for ſome other Lands in *Italy*; whereby alſo the Emperor ſhould have wholly environed *France*; ſo that all was but Diſſimulation on either Part. For while theſe Things were treating, the Emperor (though enjoining Silence to the *French*, and promiſing it himſelf) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers Paſſages, and together made him jealous of the Intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the *Venetians* to his Side, and made ſundry Propoſitions of Alliance and Friendſhip with our King, (ſome whereof we have before ſhewed) and raiſed great Forces by Sea and Land, upon Pretence of employing them againſt Infidels: While *Francis* on the other Part, being well informed hereof, reſolved ſo to proceed in his War, as he neglected nothing which might ſtrengthen himſelf, or weaken his Enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand under the Command of *Chabot*, Admiral of *France*, taken the chief Places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piedmont*, which was rendered to him, as alſo divers other Places there. And thus it is probable they might have entered and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Government unſettled; ſo there wanted all Things which might ſerve to defend the Country.

Nevertheleſs, out of I know not what Scrupuloſity or Preſumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to ſtay until he had ſent to demand again the Inveſtiture thereof from the Emperor in the Name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not ignorant yet, that ſome *French* Writers ſay, that *Francis* checkt this Command by private Inſtructions: But *Chabot* thought it ſafer to follow thoſe Directions he had under the Hand and Seal of *Francis*, than to comply with an intimated and contradictory Advice. Howbeit, the Overtures of Peace continued ſtill, at *Naples*, where the Emperor then was, betwixt both Princes, the *French* Ambaſſador Mounſieur *de Velley* alledging, that the Buſineſs of *Savoy* was but a particular Difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it ſhould not hinder the General Treaty. To which the Emperor ſeem'd to give Ear alſo; not omitting yet to raiſe Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: having for the more enlarging his Entry into that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace, built by the *Romans*: And indeed, the Pope's Deſire was he ſhould never put up his Sword, till he had reduced our King, and the Proteſtants to their former Devotion, and afterwards invaded the *Turk*. Of which our King being well informed, (for no Prince had better Intelligence) commanded *Richard Pace* his Ambaſſador, to treat with the Emperor, though not with Intention to joyn with him, ſo much as to diſcover his Deſigns. For I find by *Bellay*, that our King had acquainted *Francis*, by Means of his Ambaſſador then reſident here, with a Letter of the Emperor's, about this Time ſent him, wherein the ſaid Emperor adverti ſed, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would ſay and do there; requeſting our King further to interpoſe Offices with *Francis* for reſtoring all he had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the reſt, deſiring our King to forget not only what Diſcontentment ſoever had paſt betwixt them, by Reaſon of the Divorce with Queen *Katharine*, ſince ſhe being dead, all Cauſe of Offence was ceaſed, but to renew their antient Treaties of Confederation and Amity; and together

to

to aſſiſt him againſt the *Turk*. So that by this free Communication of the Emperor's Letters, as well as by an Advertiſement which I find *Francis* gave our King of certain following Paſſages at *Rome*, one may perceive what ſtrait Correſpondence was then held betwixt them. Howſoever, *Pace* in his Negotiation found, that the Emperor took nothing ſo ill as the Illegitimation of the Princeſs *Mary*: For though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* againſt his Niece, and encouraged the Princes in *Germany* to take Arms againſt him: yet theſe Affronts the Emperor ſaid might be paſſed over, but not the Princeſs *Mary*'s Illegitimation; whom therefore he deſired our King to reſtore, giving hope, as *Pace* writes from *Rome*, on that Condition to procure a general Council which might give the King Contentment in his Deſires; or if he would refer all Things to the Pope's Authority, to make his Peace with him, to validate his laſt Marriage, and together eſtabliſh his Succeſſion, Honour and Conſcience in all he could wiſh. Theſe were indeed thought great Offers: But our King, conſidering that they were little more than Sollicitations and Diſcourſes of *Granvele*, and that to legitimate the Princeſs *Mary*, was in Effect no leſs that to declare her his Heir, what Diſguiſe ſoever the Emperor would put on it, and deſiring, for the reſt, nothing ſo much, as to ſettle the Succeſſion in his future Iſſue, (which he hoped would be maſculine) gave no good Audience hereunto.

The Emperor having now at *Rome* ſaluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his Reaſons in private, *Monſieur de Velly* was referred again to them for an Anſwer concerning his Demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no Hope thereof; adding, that the Emperor had no ſuch Intention; and when he ſhould aſſent, the *Venetians* would not, who had entered a League defenſive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperor, requiring Performance from him: But the Emperor demanded whether he had Commiſſion to treat thereof: but *Velly* ſaying he had none, the Emperor would hear him no more. Nevertheleſs, to ſhew a Deſire to come to a ſolid Peace with *Francis*, and avoid Effuſion of their Subjects Blood: The Emperor in the Preſence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Ambaſſadors of *France*, of *Venice*, and many great Prelates and Noblemen aſſembled, made a Oration in *Spaniſh*, his Hat in his Hand; declaring firſt the Cauſes of Quarrel and Unkindneſs betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis* VII. deducing them after to his Times, with much particularity; and ſhewing ſtill the Fault was on the *French* Side: After which, in the Preſence of the great Aſſembly, he made three Offers to *Francis*, firſt, that if a ſure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of *Milan* to one of the King's Children, (but not the Duke of *Orleans*, ſince he knew *Francis* did not demand it ſo much to fix there, as to ſerve himſelf thereof as a Step to paſs further to the State of *Florence*, and *Urbin*, in the right of the ſaid Duke's Wife: neither would he accept any Diſclaim thereof, ſince he knew it would prevail no more, than that *Francis* had already made of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.) Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of *Angouleſme* his third Son, when *Francis* would declare in what Maner he would aſſiſt him towards the Celebration of a Council, a Reformation of *Chriſtendom*, and War againſt Hereticks and Infidels: Which becauſe it would not be done except all Offences were removed, he required firſt that his Army ſhould be withdrawn out of *Piedmont*. Secondly, if within twen-

ty Days *Francis* did not approve this, he offered to end the Buſineſs in a Duel betwixt their two Perſons; not out of Bravery yet, but for avoiding the Effuſion of Blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been ſhed already. And that he thought there would be no more Difficulty in aſſigning a fit Place for this Combat, than for an Interview, and that it might be in ſome Iſle, or on ſome Bridge or Boat on a River: And for Arms, he thought them all good, whether they were Sword, or Poignard, in their Shirts; only in this Caſe, that whoſoever overcame, ſhould give his Forces to the Pope, for the more ſtrengthening him to ſummon a Council, and reduce all diſobedient Perſons to the Church, and reſiſt the *Turk*; for which Purpoſes he did there engage himſelf to the Pope and Apoſtolick See; requiring beſides, that the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy* ſhould be depoſited in ſome good Hand, and the Victor have both. The third Offer was War, to which yet he proteſted not to come without Neceſſity; tho' he had ſufficient Cauſe, *Francis* having taken Arms againſt him while he talk'd of a Peace, by the entremiſe of one who had no Power to treat thereof: Only if he were conſtrained to this Courſe, nothing ſhould make him leave it, till one of them two remained the pooreſt Gentleman in their Country. Thus bowing his Head to look upon a Scroul lapt about his Finger, he made a Pauſe: after which the Pope began to ſpeak; but the Emperor interrupting him, ſaid he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referred all to his Holineſs, whom he deſired to beſtow his Favour on him who had moſt Reaſon and Equity on his Side. This being done, the Pope commended the Emperor's Propoſitions, as tending to a Peace, and hoped the *French* King would be no leſs inclined thereunto.

After which the Biſhop of *Maſcon* ſtep'd forth, and ſaid, the Proteſtation being in *Spaniſh*, he underſtood it not well: But for the Point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Maſter would be inclinable to it; reſerving the further Declaration thereof to Monſieur *de Velly*, who drawing near, and deſiring to be heard, the Emperor ſtopt him, and ſaid he had already ſpoken to him too often of Peace, and that he deſired Deeds and not Words; and that he would grant him no other Audience at that Time, only what he had there publickly ſaid, ſhould be given in Writing, and therewith aroſe. So that tho' *Velly* deſired to anſwer for his Maſter, yet the Emperor ſtill laid the Fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Maſs. But that Evening the Pope, who knew of what Conſequence a War betwixt theſe Princes was, ſent for the *French* Ambaſſadors, deſiring them to do good Offices in their Diſpatches to *Francis*, proteſting that he was ſurpriſed on his Part: And that whatſoever he ſaid, he would keep Neutrality betwixt them. The Emperor being now ready to take his Leave of the Pope, the *French* Ambaſſador deſired Audience, and thereupon told the Emperor in the Pope's Preſence, *That whereas he had ſpoken of a Combat with his King in caſe no Peace were made, without declaring other Cauſe than to ſpare Effuſion of their Subjects Blood; he deſired to know whether his Majeſty had made a Challenge to fight; and that if it were ſo, he durſt anſwer on the Part of his King, that it ſhould not be refuſed.* And that the Emperor might well remember that heretofore there was Queſtion hereof, but not now that he knew, the King his Maſter deſiring to have *Milan* by

by Treaty, and having given expreſs Command to his General in *Piedmont*, not to invade any Thing in the Emperor's Poſſeſſion. As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was ſet down in Writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would ſay no more of it, but know only whether the Emperor would charge the King his Maſter, as having failed in his Word or Honour, and whether he had defied him. There were not many preſent when this paſſed; which the Emperor obſerving, called all thoſe in the *Sala* and Chamber of Audience, and ſaid, as he ſpake publickly before, ſo he would again. Many hereupon repairing to him, he ſaid in *Italian*, *That indeed he did moſt deſire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think beſt that they two in Perſon ſhould end the Buſineſs; which yet he ſpake by way of Advice, and not as a Challenge; eſpecially ſince it was in the Pope's Preſence, without whoſe Permiſſion he would do nothing. And therefore that he propoſed it only to avoid a greater Inconvenience, as thinking it better to do ſo, than ſuffer a War in Chriſtendom; which was the Reaſon alſo why he appointed him twenty Days time to retire his Army out of* Piedmont. But theſe ſharp Words, at the Pope's Requeſt, were not openly advertiſed to *Francis*, nor ſome others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldiers of that Nation in Compariſon of his, (as *Bellay* hath it) who relates the Buſineſs ſomewhat more in Favour of his Nation, and Monſieur *de Velly*, than *Sandoval* doth, or indeed our Records; amongſt which I find divers of theſe Paſſages certified by *Richard Pace*. But though the *French* Ambaſſadors, at the Pope's Intreaty, were ſparing in their Relation of the Emperor's Words, which, if we may believe *Sandoval*, were very high; yet Order was given to his Ambaſſadors in *France* (as *Sandoval* hath it) to acquaint *Francis* with them; adding only four Days more to the Term of twenty formerly prefixed: Though *Bellay* doth not acknowledge this Particular.

While theſe Things paſt thus at *Rome*, the Cardinal of *Lorain* was employed by *Francis* to the Emperor; who in his Way coming to the *French* Army, charg'd *Chabot* not to march farther, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperor both raiſed great Forces, and drew near him.) After which he went to *Antonio de Leyva*, and the *Spaniſh* Army, requiring the ſame of them, at leaſt till he had ſpoken with the Emperor; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his Anſwers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the *French* King; who having in the mean while underſtood by the Emperor's Ambaſſador's Reſident with him, the Effect of his Maſter's Oration at *Rome* (tho' yet he would give no Copy of it) ſent to the Pope a Juſtification, (ſet down at large in *Bellay*) in the Concluſion whereof he returned this Anſwer to the Emperor's Offer of a Combat, *That if ever they came near each other* (as might well be if they led their Armies in Perſon) *and the Emperor then ſent a Challenge he would fight with him.* But the Pope who had more Uſe of their Swords than to employ them one againſt the other, endeavoured ſtill to procure all good Amity and Correſpondence betwixt them: Therefore he ſent (upon the Requeſt of the Cardinal of *Lorain*) the Cardinal *de Carpi*, and the Cardinal *Trivulcio* to mediate an End; for which purpoſe they were to go jointly to the Empe-

Emperor first, and then one of them to the *French* King, according to the Occasion.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperor from going into *France*, where in Sequence of a Protestation (as *Sandoval* hath it) to attend the *French* King thirty Days, to see whether he would come in Person to fight, he resolved to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about sixty thousand Men, and an hundred Pieces of Artillery, he came to *Asti* the 22d of *June*, 1536. while his Sister *Mary*, Governess of the *Low Countries*, by his Order had raised an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse under the Command of *Henry* Count of *Nassau*, to invade *France* on that part: It was yet advised, whether in his Way he should take the Places in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, which the *French* held, or go strait to *France*. *Antonio de Leyva* said, that wild Beasts were to be sought in their Dens; and therefore wished the Emperor not to spend his Men in Sieges, but march on: which Counsel being followed (and the rather, because the Emperor desired personally to be in *France* to acquit himself of his Promise) the Army having first taken some Towns, came near *Marseilles*, where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonio de Leyva*, a valiant, but covetous and cruel Commander, dying there, and about thirty thousand more of Sickness and Disorder, the Emperor, who had now stayed 33 Days (as *Sandoval* hath it) in the *French* King's Dominions, returned to *Genoa*, and, not long after, to *Spain*, leaving Order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. But whatsoever retarded *Francis*, it was not Want of Courage: Tho' I find by *Bellay*, he was resolv'd by his Council rather to weary and famish the Emperor's Army, than to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a considerable Army in those Parts under the Command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maistre* of *France*, he was not unprovided to resist him; besides which, he had another under his own Command at *Valence*, not far off; which he yet left at last to come to his other Army. But the Emperor, as having, even by the Confession of *Bellay*, lost half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behind him so many dead Soldiers unburied, that they infected the Air.

Hereupon *Francis* took Advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperor into *Italy*, or to return and raise the Siege from *Peronne*, being then in some Danger; the latter pleas'd him, his Affairs in *Italy* at that Time succeeding well, and Winter besides drawing on: Only before he return'd, he thought good to visit *Marseilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the Ruins of *Aix*, where the Emperor had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going homewards, the glad News was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was raised; which happen'd the same Day the Emperor dislodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*.

Francis being yet upon his Way home, received Letters from his Ambassador in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the *French* Court, that the Emperor's Retreat was out of Stratagem, that the *French* might follow him, and so be taken at an Advantage: And that this Rumour of his Mens Death, was rais'd only to draw them on the sooner; but that in Effect he had not lost 2000 Men since his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which false Advertisements also, our King

King forbare to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other Side eſtranged himſelf a little from King *Henry*, inſomuch, as he began to cheriſh and love the King of *Scotland* more than before, who alſo had promiſed him Aſſiſtance in his Wars (which our King had neglected, contrary to *Francis* his Expectation) and was now in *France*; for which Reaſons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalen*, as is before related: Nevertheleſs, that he might proceed formally, he ſent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King: Firſt, the true Cauſe of the Emperor's Retreat: Secondly, the Cauſe of his accepting the *Scotiſh* King for his Son-in-law: Thirdly, to propoſe a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, his Son, and the Princeſs *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the Excuſe for it was produced, our King was in that Paſſion, that he would not hear him again for four Days Space; tho' yet he forgot not by his Council to ſhew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray*, without almoſt daring to ſpeak of the Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, becauſe our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while ſince propos'd it to *Francis*, only to ſow Diſſention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this Coldneſs on the *French* King's Part, began to think how he might fortify himſelf by the Emperor's Friendſhip; for which Purpoſe alſo, ſeveral Overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princeſs *Mary* to be illegitimate hindred all, which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be perſuaded to revoke, though he profeſſed himſelf much inclin'd to return to his antient Friendſhip with *Charles*; ſo that till after the Death of Queen *Jane*, being the Year following, all Things remained in Suſpence. In which Terms alſo, he thought fit they ſhould be continued till he ſaw the Event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and the *French* King with more Ardor than ever; of which Occaſion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himſelf, for giving Order to his Buſineſſes at Home: Which that he might do by the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament, he commanded it to ſit the 8th of *June*, 1536. 1536

The principal Act was touching the Succeſſion of the Crown; in which after a Rehearſal of the Statute 25 *Henry* VIII. touching the King's Marriages, and Limitation of Succeſſion to the Crown; and another of 26 *Henry* VIII. It is declared, that whereas a Marriage heretofore was ſolemnized betwixt the King's Highneſs and the Lady *Anne Bullen*, that ſince that Time, certain juſt, true, and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the ſaid Acts, were confeſſed by the ſaid Lady *Anne* before *Thomas* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the ſaid Marriage betwixt his Highneſs and the ſaid Lady *Anne* was never good nor conſonant to the Laws; and therefore his Highneſs was lawfully divorced from the ſaid Lady *Anne*: Moreover, that ſhe and her Complices beforementioned, were convict by due Courſe of Law, and have ſuffer'd according to their Merits.

And whereas it hath pleas'd his Highneſs, notwithſtanding the great Perils ſuffered by Occaſion of his firſt unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katharine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the moſt humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for the Conſervation of the ſame, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Laws of the Church; and

that there is Hope ſhe may conceive by his Highneſs; that it is the moſt humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for Extinguiſhment of all Ambiguities and Doubts, it may be enacted in Manner and Form as followeth. And firſt, that the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katharine* ſhould be void and of no Effect; as being grounded on a Diſpenſation, in a Caſe not diſpenſible by human Authority; and ſo determined by the whole Clergy, and both Univerſities of this Realm; as alſo by the Univerſities of *Bononia*, *Padua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholouſe*, *Anjou*, and divers others, in regard, ſhe being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*, was carnally known by him, as was ſufficiently proved before *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and therefore, that any Diſpenſation to the contrary hereof ſhould be to all Intents void, and of no Effect; and the Iſſue procreated under the ſame unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highneſs and the ſaid Lady *Katharine*, to be illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any Inheritance from his Highneſs by lineal Deſcent; and that the Marriage alſo, betwixt his Highneſs and Queen *Anne* is of no Value, no Effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highneſs and her, is good and effectual, and the Iſſue illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highneſs, by lineal Deſcent; any former Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And furthermore, ſince many Inconveniences have fallen by marrying within Degrees prohibited by God's Law; which Marriages yet have been often diſpenſed with by ſome uſurped Power; when yet no Man hath Power to diſpenſe with God's Law. Therefore it was enacted, that if any were married within the ſaid Degrees, or took to Wife the Siſter or Daughter, *&c.* of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and ſhould be ſeparated by the definitive Sentence of the Archbiſhops and other Miniſters of the Church of *England*: And their ſaid Sentence to be good and effectual, without ſuing any Appeal to or from the Court of *Rome*.

Further it was enacted, That the Iſſue betwixt his Highneſs and Queen *Jane* ſhould be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the Courſe of Inheritance of the Laws of this Realm, the Imperial Crown of the ſame, with all Dignities, Honours, Pre-eminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Juriſdictions to the ſame annexed or belonging.

But if it ſhould happen that Queen *Jane* ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue-Male of the Body of her Highneſs, to be begotten, then the ſame Imperial Crown and all other the Premiſſes to be to his Majeſty, and to his Heirs of Males by any other lawful Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the ſame Son and Heir Male, lawfully begotten; and ſo from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, and to the Heirs of every ſuch Son and Heir Male, lawfully begotten, according to the Courſe of Inheritance, as is aboveſaid. And for Default of ſuch Iſſue Male, then the ſaid Imperial Crown and Premiſſes ſhould be to the Iſſue Female, betwixt his Majeſty and Queen *Jane* begotten, and ſo again to the Iſſue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to ſay, to the eldeſt Iſſue of the Iſſue Female, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and ſo from Iſſue Female to Iſſue Female, and to the Heirs of their Bodies, one after another by Courſe of Inheritance, according to their Ages, as the Crown of *England* hath been accuſtomed, and ought to ſucceed and go, in caſe when there is Heir Female

Female inheritable to the ſame. And foraſmuch as it ſtands in the only Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God, whether his Highneſs ſhall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no Proviſion be made in his Life, who ſhould govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his tranſitory Life ſhould be deſtitute of a lawful Governor, or incumbred with ſuch a Perſon that would covet to aſpire the ſame, that in this Caſe, his Highneſs might limit the Crown to any Perſon or Perſons in Poſſeſſion, and Remainder by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; or elſe by his laſt Will aſſigned with his Hand, after ſuch Manner as ſhould be expreſſed in his ſaid Letters Patents; and that ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſhould have and enjoy the ſame after his Deceaſe in as large and ample Manner as the lawful Heirs of his Body ſhould have done.

After which, Order was taken to prevent Uſurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treaſon impos'd on Uſurpers, as on thoſe alſo who believed either the Marriage of his Highneſs with the Lady *Katharine*, or the Lady *Anne*, to be good; and did call the Lady *Mary*, or the Lady *Elizabeth*, legitimate, and who uſed certain Words and Actions tending to this Purpoſe: As is to be ſeen more largely in the ſaid Statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted, that if his Majeſty ſhould deceaſe before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realm ſhould be of the Age of 18 Years, or any Heir Female which ſhould be inheritable as aforeſaid, ſhould be married, or be of the Age of 16 Years, that then they, or any of them, ſhall be and remain until they came unto the ſaid ſeveral Ages, at and in the Governance of their natural Mother, and ſuch others his Counſellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highneſs ſhould name and appoint by his laſt Will in Writing, ſigned with his Hand, or otherwiſe to be at and in the Governance of ſuch his Connſellors and nobles of his Realm, as his Highneſs ſhould Name and appoint, by his laſt Will in Writing, and ſigned with his Hand, as is aforeſaid, and that an Oath ſhould be adminiſtred for Performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treaſon inflicted on thoſe that ſhall refuſe it.

Furthermore, it was enacted, that the King ſhould have Power by his Letters Patents or laſt Will, as aforeſaid, to advance any Perſon or Perſons of his moſt Royal Blood, to any Title, Stile, or Name of any Eſtate, Dignity, or Honour, and to give to them or any of them any Caſtles, Honours, Lands, *&c.* in Free-ſimple, Free-tail, or for Term of Lives, or the Life of any of them, ſaving the Rights and Eſtates of all others, in and to the ſame.

Finally, it was enacted, that every Clauſe, Article, and Sentence therein, ſhould be taken and accepted according to the plain Words thereof. How yet this Act was altered, *35 Hen.* VIII. ſhall be declared by me, God willing, in this Hiſtory; referring the Reader to 1 *Mary* I. when it was repeal'd.

This Year *Thomas Howard*, youngeſt Son to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the preſent Duke (but by another Mother) had ſo obtain'd the Favour of the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots* (then living in the King's Court,) that ſome affiancing or privy Contract paſt betwixt them: Whereof the King being informed, was much incenſed; as conceiving that one ſo joined in Blood to him and his Nephew the *Scotiſh* King, ſhould not be given nor taken without his Conſent, eſpecially when ſhe lived ſo near him: Wherefore

he was committed firſt to the Tower, and ſhe not long after. The Buſineſs thus being in *July* brought to the Parliament, and certain Suſpicions and Accuſations alledged of aſpiring to the Crown, ſome Circumſtances being drawn thereunto, he was there attainted of High Treaſon; and in Sequence thereof a Statute made, that none ſhould marry in the next Degrees of the Blood Royal, without the King's Licence firſt had, *&c.* Which yet being repealed 1 *Edw.* VI. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1. I mention no otherwiſe. The News hereof being brought with Speed to *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, afflicted her much; ſo that it retarded her Journey into *England*, whither ſhe was coming; being deſirous alſo to be reconciled to her former Huſband *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*. Nevertheleſs, ſhe thought fit to write to the King, that whereas ſhe heard he was diſpleaſed with her Daughter for promiſing Marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to puniſh her for the ſame, ſhe deſired his Majeſty to pardon her; and if he ſo pleaſed, to ſend her into *Scotland*, that ſhe come no more in his Preſence; and not to be extream to his own Blood. Notwithſtanding which, both ſhe and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, were committed to the Tower, without ſuffering other Puniſhment, where alſo ſhe remained till the Death of the ſaid *Thomas Howard*: But then releaſed to be a Mother of that great Offspring which after followed.

Beſides theſe two Statutes formerly mentioned, I find ſome others concerning State-Government enacted this Seſſion, which therefore I ſhall inſert here.

Whereas in the 19 *Hen.* VII. 7. a Law was made, That no Maſters, Wardens, and Fellowſhip of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds and Fraternities, ſhould take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, nor to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made, in Diſheritance or Diminution of the King's Prerogative, nor of other, nor againſt the common Profit of the People, except the ſame Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or Chief Juſtice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Juſtices of Aſſize in their Circuit or Progreſs, in the Shire where ſuch Acts or Ordinances are made, upon pain of Forfeiture, *&c.* Since which Time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the Meaning of the ſaid Act have been made; it was now ordered that Apprentices ſhould pay but little Fees at their Entry, and that no other ſhould be given to reſtrain them from keeping Shops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the Benefit of thoſe who would learn and ſet up Trades and Occupations, ſo it was thought by ſome it would be much more, when the Myſteries of the ſaid Trades (as far as could be expreſſed by Words) might be commanded to be publiſhed in Print; to the End that all Men who would might learn them, and an honeſt Emulation, who ſhould do beſt, might quicken Induſtry, and bring down the Prices of Things: Or if this were not permitted, that at leaſt due Order were taken, that the Maſters in all Trades might be reſtrained from packing together to inhance Wares and Commodities, but by the Approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* as being to that common Profit of the Subject, mentioned in the Statute, which is more to be eſteemed than any Man's particular Gain.

In Sequence whereof, alſo another Act was made concerning the Prices of Wine, to this Effect; that no *French* Wine ſhould be ſold by Retail above Two-pence

pence a Quart, and no *Malmeſies*, *Rammies* (being Wines of *Romania* as I take it) *Sacks*, or Sweet Wines, ſhould be above three Pence the Quart. Provided always that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Preſident of the King's Council, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two Chief Juſtices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them ſhould have Power and Authority by their Directions to ſet the Prices of Wines; the ſaid Prices to be publiſhed in Chancery, in the Term Time, or in ſuch Cities, Towns and Places where Wines are ſold in Groſs; the Contents or Quantity of Liquor alſo, to be held in every Veſſel, was expreſſed in the ſaid Statute; and Remedy given for Loſs ſuſtain'd in thoſe which wanted Meaſure: And though this prevented much Coſenage, yet Order being not taken to puniſh thoſe who falſified and corrupted Wines, much Abuſe in this Kind followed.

Order alſo was taken how Pirates at Sea ſhould be puniſhed.

All Bulls, Breves and Diſpenſations alſo from the Biſhop, or See of *Rome* were declared void; nevertheneſs, that all Marriages ſolemniz'd before the Third of *November*, 26 of the King's Reign, and not contrary to God's Laws, ſhould be good and effectual. And alſo that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Orders of this Realm, might keep and retain their Archbiſhopricks, *&c.* and exerciſe all Things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures, *&c.* And that the Effect and Contents of all Bulls, Breves, Faculties, *&c.* purchaſed of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould be confirmed under the Great Seal at the humble Suit of the Petitioners for the ſame.

Alſo, for the more Confirmation of the King's Supremacy (enacted two Years ſince) it was now ordained, that every Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Officer ſhall be ſworn to renounce the ſaid Biſhop and his Authority, and to reſiſt it to his Power; reputing any Oath, heretofore taken for the Maintenance of the ſame, to be void. And the Refuſal of this Oath ſhall be adjudged High Treaſon.

Some Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions alſo were made, during this ſhort Seſſions of Parliament, beginning the Eighth of *June*, and ending the Eighteenth of *July* next following. But to leave the leſs important to be ſeen in their Places, I ſhall here briefly ſet down the Reſultance of certain Articles concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. Theſe Articles were deviſed by the King himſelf, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation-Houſe by *Cromwell*, who being lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and then Vicegerent General of the King's Authority in eccleſiaſtical Affairs, gave much Subject of Diſcourſe.

After eſtabliſhing the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four firſt Councils, as the Grounds of Religion: He made, according to his Definition of Sacraments, three only. Firſt, Baptiſm for waſhing away of Sins. Secondly, Penance for Satisfaction of Faults afterwards committed both towards God and our Neighbour. Thirdly, the Euchariſt; changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary, as I conceive, unleſs auricular Confeſſion ſeem not there altogether ſo ſtrictly commanded as before; nor otherwiſe much then in caſe of mortal Sin. And that Prayer, Faſting, or Alms-deeds, are not to be held as Means of our Salvation by way of Merit, but of Mercy only. For Juſti-

fication, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other inward and ſpiritual Motions and Graces, and outward good Works.

Concerning Images, That they had been uſed in the Old Teſtament, and ſometimes, for the Abuſe of them taken away; and allowed in the New, as good Authors declare, therefore that the true Uſe of them ſhould be taught by Biſhops and Preachers every where, they being permitted to ſtand in Churches no otherways than as Repreſentors of Virtue, and Stirrers of Devotion; and not that rude People ſhould take Superſtition thence, as in Times paſt, or that Idolatry ſhould enſue; and that the cenſing of them, kneeling before them, and all other Honours ſhould be done, as in the Honour of God only, although they be done before the Images of Chriſt, the Croſs, or of our Lady, or any Saint beſides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we ſhould not truſt to obtain at their Hands that which is to be had only of God: Yet that they were to be honour'd becauſe they reigned in Glory, and were Examples of Virtue, as not fearing to die for Chriſt; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the Advancers of our Prayers and Demands unto Chriſt, but not to be had in other Reverence and Honour.

Concerning praying to them; That it is very laudable to uſe theſe Words, *All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's Sake we may have Grace of him, and Remiſſion of Sins, with an earneſt Purpoſe (not wanting Ghoſtly Strength) to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the ſame again unto our Lives End.* And that in this manner we ſhould pray to our bleſſed Lady, St. *John the Baptiſt*, and other Apoſtles, ſo that it be done without any vain Superſtition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us ſooner than Chriſt, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one Thing more than another, or is Patron of the ſame. And that we ſhould keep Holidays in Memory of him, and his Saints, upon ſuch Days as the Church hath ordained, except they be mitigated, or moderated by the Aſſent or Commandment of the ſupreme Head; in which Caſe the Subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as uſing certain Veſtments in God's Service, ſprinkling of Holy-water, giving of Holy Bread, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-Day*, giving of Aſhes on *Aſhwedneſday*, bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the Croſs on *Good Friday*, and offering there unto Chriſt before the ſame, and kiſſing of it, ſetting up of the Sepulchre of Chriſt, the hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Miniſters of God's Church; as alſo all other laudable Cuſtoms, Rites and Ceremonies; that they were not to be contemn'd and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued, to put us in Remembrance of thoſe ſpiritual Things that they do ſignify, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our Memory from Time to Time; but that none of thoſe Ceremonies have Power to remit Sins; but only to ſtir and lift up our Minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory; foraſmuch as according to due Order of Charity, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers antient Writers; it is a very good and charitable Deed to pray for Souls departed: And foraſmuch as ſuch Uſes have continued

in the Church even from the Beginning, That all Biſhops and Preachers ſhould inſtruct and teach the People not to be grieved with the Continuance of the ſame: But foraſmuch as the Place where they be, the Name thereof, and the kind of Pains there alſo, be to us uncertain by Scripture; that therefore this and all other ſuch Things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whoſe Mercy it is meet and convenient to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our Prayers for them; referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their State and Condition. And therefore that it was neceſſary that ſuch Abuſes ſhould be clearly put away, which under the Name of Purgatory have been advanced; as to make Men believe, that through the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardon Souls might be clearly delivered out of Purgatory, and all the Pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scali Cæli*, or otherways in any Place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their Pain, and ſend them ſtrait to Heaven; and other like Abuſes.

This was ſubſcribed by *Thomas Cromwell*, *Thomas Cantuarienſis*, *Johannes London*, and ſixteen Biſhops more (*Rowland*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* being compriſed by his Proxy) and *William*, Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, with 39 Abbots and Priors; and by the lower Houſe, conſiſting of 50 Arch-deacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original, I find two *Italians*, *Polydore Virgil*, Archdeacon of *Wells*, and *Peter Vanner*, Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, who not long before was made Co-adjutor to *Richard Pace*, Dean of *Salisbury*, being then thought commonly diſtracted and out of his Wits.

And thus the King having taken on him the Title of *Supreme Head* of the Church in his Dominions, would ſhew how capable he was of it: Though yet he publiſhed not theſe Articles without much Conſultation with his Biſhops and Divines, who ſtood divided in Opinion; ſome leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Saliſbury*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, St. *Davids*, and the reſt; others cleaving to the old Doctrines and Rites, as *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich* and *Carliſle*; whoſe Arguments on either Side the King himſelf took Pains to peruſe and moderate, adding Animadverſions with his own Hand, which are to be ſeen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the *Romiſh* Party, becauſe it took away much of their Authority and Revenue: Nor by the *Lutheran* and *Zuinglian*, (then beginning to appear in theſe Parts) becauſe it differ'd from theirs. But whatſoever any of the reformed might ſay for their only two Sacraments, it was thought by ſome, that according to the King's Inſtauration, Penance might have been retained ſtill upon ſome Terms as a third; both as there is no other general Way than Averſion from Sin, and Converſion to God, known to all Mankind for making their Peace with him, and obtaining Pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites only of the Chriſtian Church, are in their Explication ſubject to ſo much Difficulty and Diſputes, as no leſs than a Man's whole Age is required to ſtudy them; when as this other, being an uncontroverted Sign of the Operation of God's Spirit in our Hearts, produceth ſuch holy Effects, as it ought to be acknowledged not only as a particular Sacrament of Grace, but an Univerſal of the reaſonable Nature of Mankind, whereſoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where

where Abuſes in Abſolution were taken away: For performing whereof, they ſaid the Prieſt ſhould never pronounce it but in Caſe of ſuch a ſerious Repentance as might totally efface the Fault, and make the Sinner a new Man; without which therefore he ſhould be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to Sin and Puniſhment, as if no ſuch Abſolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Abſolution of Prieſts, extending (for the moſt Part) no farther than to require Attrition, or Sorrow for their Offences paſt, and to command, for the reſt, ſome formal Prayers, eaſy Faſts, or ordinary Pilgrimages, not only made Men believe they were quit of their Sins at ſo eaſy a Rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but uſurped on the Power of God, while they brought the Forgiveneſs of Sins within their own particular Juriſdiction, and together put off Heaven and everlaſting Happineſs at a cheaper Price than either they could juſtly promiſe, or frail Man expect. So that they concluded, that Prieſts ſhould be allowed indeed to abſolve, but ſo as Men might not think their Sins paſt, as much pardoned as if they had not been committed, unleſs they never do the ſame Offence again; leſt greater Occaſion and Liberty of Sin ſhould thereby be given.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly ſeen the Reformation *Francis* would have ſtood to, when it might have been embrac'd in *Germany*; ſo here he may perceive what our King required in *England*: Neither of which could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious School-men on all Sides would have rather diſturbed the Peace of the whole World, than relinquiſhed or retracted one Particle of thoſe Opinions they had publickly taught their Auditors and Diſciples. For which Obſtinacy alſo, as the Reformers being the weaker ſuffered moſt, they being uſually burnt in theſe Times; and among them, one *William Tindal*, who had tranſlated into *Engliſh* a great Part of the Bible (a witty, but violent, and ſometimes railing Diſputant) at a Town near *Bruſſels*: So on the other Side, theſe Cruelties made the *Romiſh* Party ſo odious, as their Differences grew almoſt irreconcileable.

Our King having thus begun to rectify the Frame of Religion, endeavoured now to prevent foreign Oppoſition: And becauſe he knew of what Conſequence the General Council now appointed at *Mantua*, was, he obtained this Decree to be ſigned by the Biſhops, while their Synod laſted.

AS concerning General Councils, like as we (taught by long Experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is any Thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the Extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſt's People unto one perfect Unity and Concord in his Religion, than by the having of General Councils, ſo that the ſame be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conformable and agreeable, as well concerning the Surety and Indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholeſome and godly Inſtitution and Uſage for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the primitive Church. Even ſo on the other Side, taught by like Experience, we eſteem, repute and judge, that there is, nor can be any Thing in the World more peſtilent and pernicious to the common Weal of *Chriſtendom*, or

or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in Times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced and ſubverted, or whereof hath and may enſue more Contention, more Diſcord, and other deviliſh Effects, than when ſuch General Councils have or ſhall be aſſembled not chriſtianly, nor charitably; but for and upon private Malice and Ambition, or other worldly and carnal Reſpects and Conſiderations, according to the Saying of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, in his Epiſtle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writes thus, *I think this, if I ſhould write truly, that all General Councils be to be eſchewed. For I never ſaw that they produced any good End or Effect, nor that any Proviſion or Remedy, but rather Increaſe of Miſchiefs proceeded of them. For the Deſire of Maintenance of Mens Opinions and Ambition of Glory, (but reckon not that I write this of Malice) hath always in them overcome Reaſon.* Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes eſpecially above all Things ought and muſt, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foreſee and provide, *Leſt the moſt noble wholſom Inſtitutions of our Elders in this Behalf be perverted to a moſt contrary and moſt wicked End and Effect. That is to ſay, to fulfil and ſatisfy the wicked Affections of Mens Ambition and Malice; or leſt they might prevail for any other Colour, or bring forth any other Effect, than their moſt virtuous and laudable Countenance doth outwardly to the World ſhew or pretend.* And firſt of all, we think they ought principally to conſider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, whether the Cauſes alledged be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily they require a general Council, nor can otherwiſe be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the general Council. Fourthly, what Order of Proceeding is to be obſerved in the ſame, and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be conſulted or aſked. Fifthly, what Doctrines are to be allowed or defended: with divers other Things which in General Councils ought of Reaſon and Equity to be obſerved. And as unto the firſt Point, we think that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any one Prince of what Eſtate, Degree or Pre-eminence ſoever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or ſummon any general Council without the expreſs Conſent, Aſſent, and Agreement of the Reſidue of Chriſtian Princes; and eſpecially, ſuch as have within their own Realms and Seignories *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole intire and ſupream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without acknowledging or recognizing of any other ſupream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and ſundry, as well Examples, as great Reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be over-long, and tedious to expreſs here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this Preſent. And in witneſs that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion, and Judgment touching the Premiſſes, we the Prelates and Clergy underwritten, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, have to theſe Preſents ſubſcribed our Names the 20th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1536. 28 *Hen.* 8.

Thomas Cromwel.
Thomas Cantuarienſis.
Johannes London.

With 13 Biſhops; and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-deacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks and other Miniſters, 49.

After

After which, he ſet forth an Injunction to reſtrain the Number of Holy-days, now grow to that Exceſs, that there was ſcarce Time to gather in Harveſt, or hold the Seats of Juſtice in Term-time; which as it was inconvenient, ſo again the Abuſe of Holy-days in drinking, and other Vices, and Idleneſs was ſo great, as many Riots and Diſorders were committed; for which Reaſon, though the Number was limitted, yet Prieſts were ſuffered to do their Duties in Churches on theſe Days, and all who would to hear them. And now as the poorer Sort were at Liberty to work for their Living on thoſe Days, ſo they approved well this Reformation. Whereby it came to paſs, that the Reverence of ſuppoſed Saints (whereupon much of the *Roman* Religion was built) growing to an Exceſs, became one of the firſt Degrees of the Ruin thereof in this Kingdom. In Conſequence of which, the ſame Year he commanded (under the Name of *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent) theſe Injunctions following to be obſerved of the Deans, Parſons, Vicars, Curates and Stipendaries reſident, of having Care of Souls each where.

1. And firſt, that in all Pariſhes and Places of Preaching, once every *Sunday*, for a Quarter of a Year together, the Doctrine of Supremacy ſhould be taught, and the Laws to that Purpoſe read, and that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority having no Eſtabliſhment by the Law of God was juſtly taken away.

2. That in the King's Articles, lately ſet forth, the real Doctrine of Salvation ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and ſo taught the People, as they might know what was neceſſary in Religion, and what was inſtituted for the decent and politick Order of the Church, according to ſuch a Commandment given heretofore in that Point.

3. That the late Order concerning abrogating of certain ſuperſtitious Holy-days, ſhonld be read to the People, and they perſuaded to keep it.

4. That they ſhould not extol or ſet forth Images, Relicks, or Miracles, or allure People to Pilgrimages, otherwiſe than as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep God's Commandments, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to beſtow it rather on the Poor, than upon the ſaid Images, or Relicks.

5. That in their Sermons, they admoniſh Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater noſter*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which alſo ſhould be often repeated by the ſaid Youth, and to bring them up in Learning, or ſome honeſt Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid Idleneſs, and get their Living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently adminiſtred by the Parſons, Vicars and Curates; and if any be abſent from their Benefices by Licence, that learned Curates be left in their Place.

7. That every Parſon or Proprietary of a Church ſhould provide a Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, and lay the ſame in the Choir for every Man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the Word of God, teaching them withal to avoid Controverſy among themſelves in the Places they underſtood not, but to refer themſelves therein to the better Learned.

8. That the ſaid Deans, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates ſhould not haunt Tavers nor Ale-houſes, or uſe Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their Leiſure that they ſhould read the Holy

Holy Scripture, and be Example to others in purity of Life.

9. That becauſe the Goods of the Church are the Goods of the Poor, and yet the Needy in theſe Days not ſuſtained with the ſame, therefore all Parſons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed Men, which may diſpend 20 *l.* yearly, or above, ſhould diſtribute amongſt the poor Pariſhioners in the Preſence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth Part of the Revenue of their Benefices, leſt they ſhould be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving thirty-nine Parts, and yet not vouchſafing to beſtow the fortieth.

10. That every Parſon, Vicar, Clerk, or other beneficed Man, being able to diſpend in Benefices or Promotions of the Church 100 *l.* yearly, or more, ſhall for one, or every of the ſaid 100 *l.* yearly, give a competent Exhibition to maintain one Scholar, or more, either in Grammar-Schools, or the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in Learning, may be Partners in their Patron's Cure and Charge, in preaching and otherwiſe, or elſe profit the Common-wealth with their Counſel and Wiſdom.

11. That all Parſons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Manſions, ſhall beſtow yearly upon the ſaid Manſions, or Chancels of their Churches, being in Decay, the fifth Part of their Benefices, till they had fully repaired the ſame.

That all theſe Injunctions ſhould be obſerved, under Pain of Suſpenſion and Sequeſtration of the Benefices until they were done.

Other Injunctions alſo at divers Times were ſet out, which may be ſeen in *Fox*. But as the People were not generally ſatisfied with the King's Alterations, and Proceedings in Religion and Laws: So certain fifteenth, granted by Act of Parliament, which were demanded of them, about theſe Times, being more than for their Poverty and former Taxes they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmur; but if this were a Crime in them, *Cromwel* was not altogether free from Error; ſince to charge the Purſe at the ſame Time, that he would make a Reformation plauſible, could be no ſafe Counſel; and in Effect, it proved ſo. For the People did riſe in many Places; though as they agreed not alike in the Cauſes of their Diſcontentments, they neither took Arms at once, nor altogether for the ſame Pretexts. The *Lincolnſhire* Men, ſet on by one Doctor *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in the ſaid County, but calling himſelf Captain *Coblet*, began firſt, though the moderateſt in their Demands, as hoping, perchance, the ſooner to have them granted. But as this was not the Way, ſo neither could they long ſubſiſt, when no ſuch neceſſary Motive united them.

The Grievances they ſent the King in the Quality of moſt humble Suppliants, were, the Suppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes: The Act of Uſes, as reſtraining the Subjects Liberty in the Declaration of their Wills: The Fifteenths, for which yet Poverty is only pleaded; that his Grace had ill Counſellors, and of mean Birth about him, (among which *Cromwel* was not forgotten;) that divers Biſhops had ſubverted the Faith, and that they feared the Jewels and Plate of their Pariſh Churches ſhould be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious Houſes. For Reformation of which, yet they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly deſired his gracious Majeſty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to ſee ſuch Order and Directions concerning the Premiſſes given, as they might

might accept his Grace to be their Governor or Supream Head of the Church of *England*, which they did acknowledge to be his Grace's true Inheritance and Right; and that his Grace ſhould have the Tenth, and Firſt Fruits of ſpiritual Promotions of the Value of twenty Pounds and above, and of all other under the ſaid Value, which do not keep Reſidence and Hoſpitality.

And now theſe Articles being publiſh'd in the Neighbourhood, and thence voiced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they ſwore to be true to God, the King, and Commonwealth. Nevertheleſs, as they reſerved the Interpretation of the Oath to themſelves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertiſed to our vigilant King, cauſed him immediately to diſpatch *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* againſt them, about the 7th of *October*, 1536, (as I find by an Original) with Commiſſion to raiſe Forces; together with which he writ a Letter to them in ſuch a Style, as though he might promiſe Juſtice, he yet required many Things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels ſhould be deliver'd to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen who were aſſociated with theſe Rebels, wrote to the Duke of *Suffolk*, how ill the People were ſatisfied with the King's Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cry'd they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along or elſe deſtroy them. And for this Cauſe they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as alſo that by Policy they might the better ſtay them; which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the People roſe in ſo many other Parts. Adding further, that if they had not found Means to keep them back, and perſuaded them to petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no ways to appeaſe them but a general Pardon. This Letter made itſelf conſiderable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its Pretext, though not ſufficient to excuſe the Gentlemen; and when not, it was cunningly remonſtrated; for it ſerved both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of *Suffolk* finding that the end thereof, at worſt, was to obtain a general Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, ſollicited on their behalf: yet ſo as he offered withal to go againſt the Rebels with the Forces he had there aſſembled, if the King gave him Leave. In the mean while, he order'd the Buſineſs in that Manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the King's Anſwer were return'd. But the King, who was inform'd already from divers Parts, but chiefly from *Yorkſhire*, that the People began there alſo to take Arms; and knowing of what great Conſequence it might be, if the great Perſons in thoſe Parts (tho' the Rumour were falſe) ſhould be ſaid to joyn with him, had commanded *George* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*, to make a Proclamation to the *Lincolnſhire* Men, ſummoning and commanding them under their Allegiance and Peril of their Lives to return; which as it much diſhearten'd them, ſo many ſtole away, while the reſt (being aſſured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) ſcatter'd themſelves to divers Parts; the more ſtubborn and poorer Sort yet retiring to the *Yorkſhire* Men. Beſides, they had heard, that, notwithſtanding the foul Ways of this Country, and the Winter Seaſon approaching, the great

Ordnance

Ordnance was coming on, and the King in Perſon following: All which Conſiderations, together with the Danger that divers of the principal Ringleaders found themſelves in, as being Men of good Fortunes, and ſure to ſuffer moſt, cauſed them to perſuade thoſe who remained, to make their Submiſſion as the King required; which was, *That they ſhould acknowledge their Fault, deliver up their Armour, and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made ſince the King's Reign.*

And ſo this Buſineſs ended; though not that of *Yorkſhire*, which paſſed in this Manner: While the *Lincolnſhire* Commotion was on Foot, the *Yorkſhire* Men made an Inſurrection under the Command of one *Robert Aſke*; they would have it call'd yet only a Pilgrimage of Grace; while, for giving it Reputation, certain Prieſts with Croſſes led the Way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five Wounds, and the Chalice. And becauſe they deſired to draw in as many good Perſons as they could, they attempted firſt *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, adviſing him (as being of late wrongfully accuſed, and in Danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to joyn with them, but he refuſed: Then they ſent to invite divers others, uſing Threats, where Perſuaſions ſerved not; inſomuch, that at laſt they made ſundry Perſons of Quality ſwear to be faithful to them; for they pretended only the Good of the King and Commonwealth, the Church and Religion, and the depreſſing of Hereticks.

There being now aſſembled in great Number, the diſpoſſeſs'd and diſcontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aſke* for Remedy; who I find alſo re eſtabliſh'd them in divers Places, wiſhing them to pray for the King, and to take up Victuals of the Farmers of the ſaid Monaſteries upon Bill, till their Suit were granted. Which being advertiſed to the King on the one ſide, and, preſently after) that the Commons of *Richmond*, *Lancaſhire*, *Durham*, *Weſtmoreland*, *&c.* were up in another Place, and had fired the Beacons, made him think what he had to do; yet was not his Service neglected by ſome of the Nobility there, eſpecially *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who raiſing many Men before he receiv'd the King's Commiſſion for it, did by this dangerous Diſcretion much advance his Service. For though his Zeal for the Welfare of the State were above Scruples, and that ſome learn'd Men in the Law beſides had told him, That his Intention being good, his Action could not be conſtrued ill: He yet ſaid, he knew his Danger ſo well, as he had ſent to the King for a Pardon; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the ſatisfying many, who otherwiſe might have ſuſpected him, he gave an Oath to his Men to be true unto the King; proteſting further, that according to the antient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a Stake, he would have lived and dy'd in Defence of it.

And now the firſt Order the King gave, was to command the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Stay in *Lincolnſhire*, leſt they ſhould riſe again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewſbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Cannon, againſt the Northern Men: He writ alſo to *Edward Stanly* Earl of *Derby*, to raiſe what Forces he could, promiſing to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* alſo Marqueſs of *Exeter*, Couſin german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland* offer'd themſelves to the

King's Service. And becauſe now divers Monks in thoſe Parts were reſtored to their Monaſteries by the Rebels (as I find particularly thoſe of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton* and *Hexam)* he commanded them to be taken out, and Martial Law to be uſed againſt them. Yet as the Noiſe of this Inſurrection was by continual Couriers augmented, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* about the 20th of *October*, was diſpatch'd with Forces to aſſiſt the Earl of *Shrewſbury:* who writ to the King, *That the* Yorkſhire *Men, as being uſed to Arms, were more conſiderable than thoſe of* Lancaſhire, *yet that they could not long continue together, but for lack of Means to provide Victuals otherwiſe than by Rapine; and the Seaſon of the Year: And that the beſt way was to perſuade them to lay down their Arms, or ſew Sedition among them.*

This while *Aſke* and his Company advancing forward, forced *Edward Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* to ſurrender to them *Pomfret* Caſtle, and take the Oath; which was, *That they ſhould enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the Love of God, the Preſervation of the King's Perſon and Iſſue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expulſing all villain Blood and evil Counſellors; and for no particular Profit for themſelves, nor to do Diſpleaſure to any, nor to ſlay nor murder any for Envy; but to put away all Fears, and take afore them the Croſs of Chriſt, his Faith, and the Reſtitution of the Church, the Suppreſſion of Hereticks and their Opinions.* But as this Caſtle was ſtrong, the Archbiſhop and Lord *Darcy* (tho' pretending want of Furniture and Proviſion to hold out) were ſuſpected to have render'd it in Favour of the Rebels. They ſtayed not yet ſo, but took the City of *York* and *Hull*; and betwixt Force and Intreaty drew moſt of the great Perſons in thoſe Parts unto them,

While not content to have a Pretext of Religion, they by falſe Tales got many Partizans; therefore they gave out as before they had done in *Lincolnſhire*, that all the Gold in *England* ſhould be brought to the Tower to be touch'd; and that the King claim'd all the Cattle unmark'd as his; as alſo all the Goods and Ornaments of Pariſh Churches; that they ſhould pay Fines for Chriſtenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat white Bread, and the daintier Sorts of Meats, *&c.* And this again ſtirr'd Rancour in the Peoples Hearts.

Aſke and his Followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaſter* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aſke* ſitting in State, and having the Archbiſhop on the one Hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, deſired firſt to know the Contents; which being told, he ſaid it ſhould not be proclaim'd. Nevertheleſs, he gave the Herald a ſafe Conduct, as long as he wore his Coat.

But the Rebels not contented thus, required *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (being then in his Caſtle of *Skipton)* to joyn with them: but he by Letter aſſures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen retain'd at his Coſt had forſaken him, he would yet continue the King's true Subject, and defend his Caſtle, in which he had great Ordnance againſt them all. Sir *Ralph Ewers* alſo kept *Scarborough* Caſtle with no leſs Courage againſt the Rebels; he and his Company having no Suſtenance but Bread and Water for the Space of twenty Days that they beſieged him.

The King being now in *Windſor*, intends in Perſon to go againſt the Rebels,

bels, commanding his Nobles for this Purpoſe to meet him at *Northampton*, *November* 7, 1536. And it was time to take ſome good Order, for they were now grown to be thirty thouſand Men; in which Number, being divided into three Bodies, they preſented themſelves before *Doncaſter*; near which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and Marqueſs of *Exeter* were encamped with an Army, though little in Number, as being but five thouſand, yet better furniſh'd. And two Ways they had to paſs the River *Don* to the Town; a Bridge and a Ford: The Bridge the Duke took on him to defend; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces; the Ford was undertaken by the reſt of the Army. This alone yet could not have ſtayed the Rebels, but a great Rain falling that Night, ſo increaſed the Water, that it was not paſſable the next Day: Beſides, by the coming of ſome Shot, the Bridge was ſo fortify'd, that it was now defenſible. This hinder'd not the Treaty; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the reſt knowing of what Importance it was to gain time till all the King's Forces were aſſembled, and having Intelligence beſides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them to be delivered to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elecker* and *Robert Bowes* ſhould carry, (who tho' manfully defending *Hull* againſt the Rebels, were at laſt forced to joyn and take the Oath.) The Duke himſelf alſo promiſed to go with them, upon Condition that there might be a Ceſſation from Hoſtility in the mean time, which was condeſcended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being firſt heard, who acquainted the King with the State of all Things, the aforeſaid Commiſſioners preſented the intruſted Petition with many Excuſes on their own Part. But the King, who deſired ſtill to gain more Time, would return no preſent Anſwer; and the rather, becauſe he was inform'd by the Duke that the Rebels began to diſband; for the Treaty diſheartned and divided them, while Rumours were diſperſed every where, that ſome of the Chiefs would compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Gallows. Inſomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, eſpecially the poorer Sort, who had neither Means to ſubſiſt, nor might have Leave from their Captain to take any Thing by Force; which being advertiſed to the King, made him both give private Order to diſcharge thoſe Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon Pretext that ſome Innovation had been attempted by the *Yorkſhire* Men ſince their coming up; nevertheleſs, at laſt for clearing all Suſpicion, (ſince the Commons took this Detention of their Meſſengers ſo ill, that they encouraged one another to be in Arms again at an Hour's Warning) the King thought fit to ſend his Anſwer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with a ſafe Conduct, under the Great Seal, for three hundred Perſons to meet in in the Town of *Doncaſter* for concluding all Things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great Number, as being confident they would not only leſs agree among themſelves, but that ſome would be won to his Party. After which, the ſaid *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their Diſpatch too, as being commanded to ſay, that his Majeſty took it marvellous unkindly at their Hands, that knowing his Benignity, that they would rather riſe in Arms than Petition his Majeſty, and that they had left their Country open to the *Scots*, who prepared to

invade

invade them; referring the reſt to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought (as I gather out of thoſe Originals I have ſeen) the Offer of a Pardon to all, except ſix named, and four unnamed, when the reſt would ſubmit. But as the four unnamed concerned every Body, ſo it was declined. Nevertheleſs certain Books, the King ſent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion deviſed by himſelf, being received by them, took away much Miſunderſtanding and ill Impreſſion which their diſcontented Prieſts had given; while for accompanying hereof, expreſs Order was ſent to the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, not to neglect the uſual Ceremonies of the Church. Hereupon the Clergy of thoſe Parts met at *Pomfret*, and agreed on certain Articles of Religion, to be propoſed in the following Treaty. The Archbiſhop of *York* being preſent, and taking occaſion to tell them, that though Pilgrimages were good, yet an armed Pilgrimages could not be lawful. After this, a Day of Meeting at *Doncaſter* was appointed, in which *John* Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, *Robert Aſke*, and about three hundred Perſons, were to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William Fitz William* Admiral of *England*, and the reſt: But concerning *Aſke* there was ſome Difficulty, the Rebels demanding Hoſtages for his ſafe Return. But the King inform'd hereof, anſwer'd, *That he knew no Gentleman or other, whom he eſteemed ſo little, as to put him in Pledge for ſuch a Villain*; therefore he wiſh'd the Duke of *Norfolk* and the reſt, to aſſure the Paſſages over the River *Don*, and to ſecure *Doncaſter*: And whereas the Rebels had demanded an Abſtinence from War for fourteen Days, in caſe no Agreement ſhould be made; not to grant it, as being time given them to fortify themſelves, whereas he ſhould rather win it from them by Policy for his own Advantage. But the Duke of *Norfolk* ſuppoſing that a general Pardon and a Parliament in thoſe Parts, which they required, might quiet all, had by Letter to our King, perſuaded him to accord it, or elſe to march towards the Rebels with an Army of Gentlemen and Houſhold Servants, and not to truſt the Commons; ſince the Rebels, though they had laid down Arms, had yet upon firing of Beacon and other Signals, agreed among themſelves to reſume them again on all Occaſions.

And now on *December* the Sixth, the 300 on the Part of the Commons came to *Doncaſter* to the King's Lieutenants, where their firſt Demand was a general Pardon, then a Parliament to be held in thoſe Parts, and a Court of Juſtice, that none beyond *Trent* might be cited to *London* in Law Suits. After which, they deſir'd a Repeal of the Act of Parliament for the laſt Subſidy, for Uſes, for Miſpriſion of Treaſon for Words, for Tenths and Firſt-fruits; then that the Lady *Mary* might be reſtored to her Legitimation, the Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction, and the late expulſed Monks to their Houſes; the *Lutherans* to be puniſhed, the Lord Privy-Seal and Lord Chancellor to be excluded from the next Parliament, and the Doctors *Leigh* and *Layton* to be impriſon'd for Bribery and Extortion. But as theſe Demands were more inſolent than thoſe of the *Lincolnſhire* Men, and ſuch as the King would not accord, the Lords rejected them; whereupon the Rebels aſſembled in great Numbers, divers others alſo, deſirous to know the Succeſs, appearing among them. Which cauſed the Duke of *Norfolk* to write

write again to the King, what a Multitude was gotten together, and if no agreement followed, his Highneſs's Army was in ill State to reſiſt. Therefore he and his Aſſociates deſired his Grace to ſend them Inſtructions for divers Degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the laſt might be for gaining of Time, in caſe they came to no Agreement.

The King finding theſe Difficulties, and ſuſpecting beſides, that the Emperor had or would have a Hand therein, and that the Rebels might have Aſſiſtance from *Scotland*; and for the reſt, believing that all was but Miſ-underſtanding in the ſimpler Sort, which yet he hoped hir Book of Articles, and other good Orders, would in Time rectify, ſent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a general Pardon for the Rebels, and Promiſe of a Parliament, with Directions yet to the Duke, that he ſhould not make Uſe thereof, but in Caſe of Extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding ſo many gathered together, as their Number was very great; and being not able to diſtinguiſh thoſe who came on the Rebels Part, from ſuch as Curioſity only brought thither; and conſidering that the firſt Denial of their Demands had ſo inflamed them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of *Doncaſter*, (had not the River this ſecond Time ſwelling by Rain, the Night preceding, prevented their Attempt) made Uſe of the King's general Pardon and Promiſe of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and returned Home. The Contents of this Pardon, dated *December* 9, at *Richmond*, and ſealed with the Great Seal, was, as our Records ſhew, that the King granted them all a general and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treaſons, Felonies, and Treſpaſſes, unto the Day of the Date thereof; provided that they make their Submiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the King's Lieutenant, and that they rebel no more. I find alſo by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mentioned) ſent by *Ellecker* and *Bowes*, the King ſent a Reply penn'd by himſelf; which I doubt not gave much Satisfaction, as another had before done to this Effect ſent to the *Lincolnſhire* Men. It was this:

Firſt, As touching the Maintenance of the Faith, the Terms be ſo general, that it would be very hard to make certain Anſwer to the ſame; but if they mean the Faith of Chriſt, to the which all Chriſtian Men be only bound, we declare and proteſt ourſelf to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath always minded to live and die in the Maintenance, Defence and Obſervation of the Purity of the ſame. And that no Man can or dare ſet his Foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marvelling therefore much, that ignorant People would go about to take upon them to inſtruct and teach us, which hath been noted ſomething learned, what the Faith ſhould be. And alſo, that they being ignorant People, be ſo preſumptuous (ſeeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles declared it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein: Or, that they would be ſo ingrate and unnatural towards their moſt rightful King, and natural Sovereign Lord, without any our Deſert, upon falſe Reports or Surmiſes to ſuſpect us of the ſame, and give rather Credence to forged light Tales, than to the very Truth by us theſe Twenty-eight Years uſed, and by our Deeds approved.

The *Second*, Which toucheth the Maintenance of the Chuch, and the Liberties of the ſame; we ſay it is ſo general Propoſition, that without Diſtinctions

no

no Man with Troth can anſwer; neither by God's Laws, nor by the Laws of the Realm. For *Firſt*, The Church which they mean, muſt be known. *Secondly*, Whether thoſe Things which they call Liberties, and ſay they would maintain, be Things lawful and beneficial to the Prince and Commonwealth, or otherwiſe. And theſe known, we doubt not but they ſhall be anſwered, according to God's Law, Equity and Juſtice. Nevertheleſs, for all their Generality this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they liſt) we have done nothing that may not be adiden by, both by God's Laws and Man's Laws, or that is prejudicial to our Commonwealth, if our Proceedings may be indifferently conſidered. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the ſupreme Head on Earth, we have done nothing ſo burthenſome and chargeable to them, as many of our Predeceſſors have done upon much leſſer Grounds. Wherefore, ſince this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any Thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great Unkindneſs and Unnaturalneſs in them, which had rather a Churl or Twain ſhould enjoy thoſe Profits of their Monaſteries for the Supportation and Maintenance of abominable Life, than that we their Prince ſhould receive the ſame, towards our extreme Charges done, and daily ſuſtained for ther Defence againſt foreign Enemies.

The third Article toucheth three Things, the firſt is the Laws, the ſecond is the Commonwealth, the third the Directors of the Laws under us. Touching the Laws, as it becometh not blind Men to judge of Colours, nor to take upon them to be Judges of the ſame; ſo we dare expreſly and boldly affirm, as a Thing that may be eaſily and duly proved; that there were never in any one of our Predeceſſors Days, ſo many wholſome, commodious and beneficial Acts made for the Commonwealth, as have been made in our time; and ſince ſome of them had Credit and Doing in our Affairs, that would perchance pick them Thank without Deſert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Council ſhould have loſt ſo much Time, as not to know better now, than we did in the Beginning of our Reign, what were a Commonwealth, and what were againſt the Good and Commodity of the ſame, ſeeing we have been a King theſe twenty eight Years, and by Experience learn'd the Perfectneſs thereof. And although the Folly and Unkindneſs of ſome will not perchance let them ſo acknowledge it, yet we truſt and doubt not but the moſt Part of our loving Subjects, eſpecially thoſe which be not ſeduced by falſe Report, do both think it, accept it, and find it ſo. Now touching the Commonwealth, what King hath kept his ſo long in Wealth and Peace, ſo long without taking or doing wrong one to another, ſo indifferently miniſtred Juſtice to all Eſtates both high and low, ſo defended them from all outward Enemies, ſo fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner ineſtimable Charges, and all for their Wealths and Safeties? What King hath given among his Subjects more general and freer Pardons? What King hath been loather to puniſh his Subjects, or ſhewed more Mercy among them? Theſe Things being ſo true as no true Man can deny them; it is an unnatural and unkind Demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whoſe Report ſoever it ſhould be ſet forth againſt us. And at the Beginning of our Reign where it is ſaid, that ſo many Noblemen were Counſellors;

ſellors; for of the Temporalty, there were but two worthy to be called noble, the one the Treaſurer of *England*, the other the High Steward of our Houſhold. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy*, but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of any great Lands, till they were promoted by us, and ſo made Knights and Lords; the reſt were Lawyers and Prieſts, ſaving the two Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Wincheſter*. If theſe be then the great Number of Noblemen that is ſpoken of, and that our Subjects ſeemed then contented withal, why then be they not much better contented with us which have ſo many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and Condition of our Council. For firſt of the Temporalty of our Privy Council, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Lord Steward, (when he is preſent) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, Treaſurer of our Houſe, Sir *William Paulet*, Comptroller of our Houſe. And of the Spiritualty, the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*: and for becauſe it is more than neceſſary to have ſome in our privy Council learned in our Laws and Pacts of the World; we by the Advice of our whole Council, afore-named, did elect and chuſe into our Privy Council, and alſo in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy-Seal; thinking them Men in all our Opinion moſt meet for the ſame Rooms; and we with our whole Council think it right ſtrange, that ye which be but Brutes and imperfect Folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Council, and who be not. Mark therefore now, how theſe ſeditious Perſons, which thus wrongfully have born you this in Hand, have falſly abuſed you; that reckon there were then more Noblemen in our Privy Council than be now: But yet though of our great Clemency and princely Goodneſs we declare now the Truth, to pull our Subjects from that Error and Blindneſs they were led and trained to by falſe and untrue Surmiſe and Report; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to preſume to take upon him the Appointment of his King and Sovereign Lord's Council, nor for our Part will we take any ſuch Thing at any of our Subjects Hands. Wherefore we would, that from henceforth they ſhould better remember the Duties of good Subjects to their natural Liege Lord, and meddle no further with thoſe or ſuch like Things, as they have nothing to do withal.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Council to be Subverters both of God's Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as juſt and true Executors both of God's Laws and ours, as far as their Commiſſion under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we ſhall proceed againſt them, and all other Offenders therein according to Juſtice, as to our Eſtate and Dignity Royal doth appertain. And in caſe it be but a falſe and untrue Report, as we verily think it is, then it were as meet, and it ſtandeth as well with Juſtice, that they ſhould have the ſelf-ſame Puniſhment, which wrongfully have objected this to them, that they ſhould have had if they had deſerved it. And one Thing among others cauſeth us to think that this Slander ſhould be untrue, becauſe it proceedeth from that Place which is both far diſtant from that where they inhabit, and alſo from thoſe People which never heard them preach, nor yet know any Part of their Converſation.

ſation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more ſo light of Credit in the believing of evil Things ſpoke of us your natural Prince and Sovereign Lord, nor of any of our Prelates and Counſellors; but to think that your King, having ſo long reigned over you with the Advice of his Council, hath as good Diſcretion to elect and chooſe his Counſellors, as thoſe, whoſoever they be, that have put this in your Heads, or ye either, being but ignorant People, and out of all Experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this final Point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Cumberland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Richmondſhire*, *Craven*, *Dent*, *Sedbane*, and all other Places that have been ſeduced to this Inſurrection do deſire, and alſo in the Matter of the whole Diſcourſe of your Petitions; we verily think that the Reſt of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an Handful, will greatly diſdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to ſet Order to us and them, and eſpecially to us, being Sovereign Lord to you both. And that, you being Rebels, you would make them as Bearers and Partakers of your Miſchief, willing them to take Pardon for Inſurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded; but like true Subjects, to the contrary, have both with Heart and Deed been ready at our Call to defend both us and themſelves. And now for our Part, as to your Demands, we let you know that Pardon of ſuch Things as you demand, lieth only in the Will and Pleaſure of the Prince: But it ſeemeth by your lewd Proclamations and ſafe Conducts, that there be among you, which take upon them both the Parts of Kings and Counſellors, which neither by us, nor by the general Conſent of our Realm hath been admitted to any ſuch Room. What Arrogance is then in thoſe Wretches, being alſo of no Experience, to preſume to raiſe you our Subjects without Commiſſion or Authority; yea and againſt us, under a cloak'd Colour of your Wealth, and in our Name, and as the Succeſs and End would declare, if we ſhould not be more merciful unto you, than you have deſerved, to your own utter Confuſions; Wherefore, we let all you our ſaid Subjects again know, That were it not that our Princely Heart cannot reckon this your ſhameful Inſurrection, and moſt ingrateful and unnatural Rebellion to be done of Malice or Hatred, but rather by a Lightneſs given in Form by a naughty Nature to a Commonalty, and a wondrous ſudden Surreption of Gentlemen; we muſt needs have executed another Manner of Puniſhment, than if you will humbly acknowledge your Fault, and ſubmit yourſelves to our Mercy, we intend to do, as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be informed.

And now this great Company being diſperſed, began to take Books of Controverſies in Hand, and inform themſelves concerning the King's Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in general wholly oppoſing the King's Reformation, kept the Rebellion ſtill on Foot, though outwardly ſmothered for a while, as will appear in his Place.

I ſhall come now to foreign Hiſtory.

Barbaroſſa, being driven from *Tunis*, repairs to the *Turk*, newly returned from the Expedition to *Perſia*; and perſuades him to take Arms againſt the Emperor; who wanted, he ſaid, only *Algier* to command entirely all that Coaſt of *Africa*. The Counſel pleas'd him; and the rather that Monſieur *De Forreſt*, the *French*

French Ambaſſador concurred therein, and one *Pignaſelo*, a Renegado of *Naples*. Aſſembling thus an Army of 200,000 Men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the Command of *Lutſi Baſſa*, he appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues diſtant from *Otranto* in *Italy*; from whence a ſmall Part of the Fleet being ſent to enter that Continent, they choſe rather to fall on *Caſtro* than *Otranto*, or *Brindiſi*, being ſtronger than that they could be gotten eaſily. This great Preparative yet, at laſt, came to nothing: For thoſe of *Apulia* not riſing in Favour of the *French* (which was hoped) nor *Francis* having any Army near to ſecond him, and *Doria* (beſides that) having taken ſome of their Gallies from them, the *Baſſa* having gotten *Caſtro*, and taken Store of Captives, neglected the Enterpriſe, and return'd; while *Forreſt*, the *French* Ambaſſador, died at *Verona*.

About this Time *Alexandro de Medicis*, firſt Duke of *Florence*, was betrayed by his Kinſman, *Lorenzo De Medicis*, who promiſing to help him to a Lady much deſired by the Duke, enticed him to his Houſe in the Night; but inſtead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Aſſaſſins came in and killed him; which yet was revenged by *Coſmo De Medicis*, his Succeſſor.

Though the Emperor was now retired to *Spain*, as is told before, he yet continued his Wars againſt the *French* in the *Low-Countries*; and the rather, that our King had promiſed to be Neuter betwixt them, giving Order thereupon to beſiege *Therouënne*; which being advertis'd to *Francis*, cauſed him to raiſe an Army of 25000 Men under *Anne Montmorency*, his Lieutenant, wherewith, the King being preſent, *Heſdin*, St. *Paul*, and divers other Places were taken: While by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperor was declared a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Eſtate he held of the *French* Crown, being *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and ſome others. But ſome conſiderable Forces being raiſed on the Emperor's Part, and half the *French* Army being diminiſhed by Reaſon of Garriſons put into the Towns won, and other Occaſions, *Francis* with the Reſt of his Army returned. The Imperial Army hereupon, commanded by the Count *De Bures*, took back St. *Paul*, ſurpriſed *Monſtreul*, and defeated *Claude De Annebault*, Marſhal of *France*, though bravely defending himſelf after his victualling of *Theroüenne*. Things being brought to theſe Extremities, *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, mediated and effected a Truce on thoſe Parts between the two Princes for three Months: While in *Savoy*, ſome Towns revolting, the Count *De St. Paul* was ſent thither by *Francis*, who recovered all again, and freed *Turin*, then beſieged by the Imperials. Yet *Alonſo De Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Guaſto*, won back the greateſt Part of the Marqueſate of *Saluzzo*, in the Behalf of *François*, Marquiſs thereof; who for falling away to the Emperor, was by the *French* King not long ſince deprived of his Poſſeſſions. But the Marquis enjoyed not this Reſtitution; being killed ſoon after with a ſmall Shot, while he play'd the Part of a Canoneer at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Carmagnola*. *Francis* underſtanding now the Progreſs of the *Spaniard* in thoſe Parts, commands Seigneur *De Humieres*, with ſome *German* Foot to paſs to *Piedmont*, both to defend the Places he had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon beſieged *Aſti*, but in vain, it being well defended; ſo that raiſing the Siege, he went to

Albe, which was rendered him without Reſiſtance.

Buſineſs paſſing thus with various Succeſs on both Sides, *Francis* thought fit to ſend *Henry* the new *Dauphin* (his elder Brother *Francis*, after four Days Sickneſs, being the laſt Year dead of a Surfeit of drinking cold Water after Tennis-play, rather than Poiſon by the Emperor's Procurement, though one ſuffered for it) and *Antoine De Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendoſme* and *Montmorency*, who made their Way over the *Alps*, by Force took divers Towns, and performed many brave Exploits; which being advertiſed to the King, made him reſolve to go thither in Perſon, where adviſing with the *Dauphin* and *Montmorency*, what was further to be done, News was brought of a general Abſtinence of War concluded by the Mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that Time, being the 28th of *November*, 1537, 'til the 22d of *February* following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardy* for three Months, as aboveſaid, Commiſſioners were ſent to the Emperor to treat of a Peace, or at leaſt a general Truce, and that for a longer Time, ſo this Ceſſation was accorded: And the rather that the Pope had now a long while mediated it. And by this Means, as the Siege was raiſed from *Therciënne*, ſo the *French* remained in Poſſeſſion of all they had in *Piedmont*.

This Truce being publiſhed, the Marqueſs of *Guaſto* demanded Leave to kiſs the Hands of *Francis*; which being granted, he with many *Spaniards* in good Equipage came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis* for more honouring of *Montmorency*, as a Man who for his rare Merits he thought deſerved that Eſteem, took him in the Middle betwixt himſelf and the Dauphin, and ſo expected the Marqueſs, who having firſt done his due Reſpects, and after treated of an Agreement concerning the Soldiers in the Places taken on either Part, departed with much Satisfaction of the Reception which *Francis* had given.

The Emperor this while not unmindful of the Princeſs *Mary*, uſed all Means for reſtoring her to her Legitimation and Poſſibility of Inheritance. Therefore deſiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica)* ſhould be made a Cardinal, the Pope both eaſily granted it, and in the Beginning of 1537, employ'd him as Legate to *Flanders*, that by this Means he might confirm the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*, and advance his Deſigns, being to ſtir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-royal (his Mother *Margaret* Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, being Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV.) many wanted not, who believed that his Zeal was complicate with ſome Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be diſpoſed, and his Poſterity, eſpecially by Queen *Anne*, declared illegitimate. Being now on his Way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him Paſſage thro' his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at leaſt not to treat with him as a Legate; who thereupon diſmiſs'd him. Coming thus to the *Low Countries*, his Servant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquiſitive whether the Queen, being now great, were thought by the Phyſicians to bear a Male Child or a Female; which, as it made the Intentions of the Cardinal more ſuſpected, ſo it gave Occaſion to *John Hutton*, the King's Agent in the *Low Countries* to gain *Throgmorton*.

ton. He was alſo commanded by our King to charge the Queen Regent there with Breach of Treaty, if ſhe received the Cardinal, being, as he called him, a Traitor; which he ſeconded alſo in that Manner, that tho' at firſt ſhe ſaid it was not fit for her to refuſe the Pope's Legate, yet being now urged again, at a Time when ſhe was, as is before related, in War with *Francis*, ſhe forbid the Cardinal to enter; telling him, that ſince he was an *Engliſhman* of that Quality, his Negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her Prejudice. Howſoever the Cardinal ſent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, to clear himſelf of all Deſign againſt our King, and diſpatch'd *John Matthei* Biſhop of *Velona* to the Regent, both to charge her with Diſobedience to the Apoſtolick See, and to proteſt that Legate was never ſo uſed; adding, that his Buſineſs was chiefly to diſpute the Errors of our King's Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking Diſputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refuſed him; ſo that he was forced to hold his Correſpondence in *England* by more clandeſtine Means: Whereof, as alſo his other Proceeding, his Servant *Throgmorton* and one Friar *Peto* certify'd ſome Part, as I find by our Records; as alſo his Return to *Rome* in *November* 1537, where he was received with much Triumph, as the ſaid *Throgmorton* affirm'd. This Proceeding of the Pope's on the other ſide, made our King cheriſh the Princes of *Germany*; for which he took this Occaſion.

The Proteſtants finding their late Pacification with the Emperor not obſerved in all Points, met again at *Smalcald*, *Febr.* 7. 1537. to concult what was to be bone. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperor's Part, who exhorted the Princes, Firſt, To accept the Council indicted. Secondly, To aid the Emperor with Money againſt the *Turk*; or, if he ſtirred not, againſt the *French*, (now uſurping *Savoy*) &c. Thirdly, He objected to them, that they had received into their League new Confederates ſince the Treaty at *Noremberg*. To this the Proteſtants anſwered, that for the Council it was not propoſed in a due Manner nor Place (the Emperor and Princes having decreed that it ſhould be in *Germany*,) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremberg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperor's Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the Conditions agreed on, had queſtioned Men for Cauſes touching Religion. And as for thoſe entred into their League ſince the Treaty of *Noremberg*, it was deſired that they alſo might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which Condition they promiſed to furniſh the Emperor with ſuch Monies as he required. Howbeit, if he offered Violence to them, they proteſted to defend them as their Confederates.

Things ſtanding thus, King *Henry* privately diſpached *William Paget* and *Chriſtopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Inſtructions to take *France* in their Way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and the *French* King therewith, and by their Directions to do all Things, and that the Voyage was to be performed in diſguiſed Habit. In Concluſion, the Sum of their Inſtructions was, to dehort the *German* Princes from according either with the Emperor, or to the Council indicted; but rather to refer all their Differences to him and the *French* King. And herein as the King pretended to ſhew his Love to the ſaid Princes, who, if the Emperor made a Peace with them, ſhould, he ſaid, be ſingly 1537

ſingly and ſeparately oppreſſed, ſo he had his own Ends, as knowing that if a Council were held, his Actions would receive no favourable Cenſure; ſo that though not only the *French* King, but the Emperor had promis'd (as I find in our Records) that in the Council his Affairs ſhould not be queſtioned; yet he gave them no intire Credit. Therefore, after the Proteſtants had ſent him their Recuſation of the Council, he made a publick Proteſtation againſt it; ſhewing, that the Indiction belong'd not to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but to the Emperor, and the Princes who ſhould ſend or come thither. That the Time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperor and *Francis*; the Place inconvenient for the *Engliſh*, as being in *Mantua*, whither they could neither come ſafely, nor declare themſelves freely; That the Manner of deciding Controverſies in Religion was unjuſt, the Biſhop of *Rome* being Judge in his own Cauſe; that therefore the Pope's Intention was rather to eſtabliſh his Authority on this Occaſion, than to yield to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Council had damned the contrary Opinion. That for his particular therefore, he would not come there, as having more Reaſon to keep home, and provide againſt the Rebellions and Miſchiefs that the ſaid Biſhop had now for three Years Space procured or raiſed in his Kingdom, than run new Dangers. In Concluſion, that nothing remained to be done, but that every Prince ſhould reform in his own Kingdom; all other Ways being ſuſpect, perillous, and unequal: Yet if any could ſhew a better Expedient, he would give Ear to it. The *French* King would not declare himſelf yet ſo far; and indeed he had Uſe of the Pope at this Time. Nevertheleſs, he publickly proteſted again to the Princes, that he would never conſent to a Council which was not aſſembled in a ſafe Place and free Manner: and that his Son-in-law, the King of *Scots* was of the ſame Mind.

May now approaching, *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua*, required Money of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the Security of his City during his Council. But the Pope denying this, or at leaſt requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his Command, found the Duke averſe; ſo that he deferred the Council from *May* to *November*, and then to *May* next, and laſtly, transferred it to *Vicenza*, being in the *Venetian* Territory. And becauſe, by Reaſon of theſe Delays, many doubted whether the Pope really intended a Redreſs to the Enormities then generally complained of, he reſolved privately to proceed in a Reformation a Year ſince propoſed. And this was a ſingular Ingenuity: Yet as he referred the Buſineſſes to the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet*, and *Reginald Pool*, and ſome others who were paſſionate on their own Side, they produced, after many Conferences, no more than a Remonſtrance of divers Abuſes in the Government and Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Affairs; for in the Church Doctrine they would not admit an Error. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that ſomething more had been done; but as their Subjects were ſo much at the Pope's Diſpoſal, when he would uſe his Authority, and as no little Sums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may ſay nothing of theological Points vexed on either Side. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in *Sleidan*, *lib.* 12.) is worth the ſeeing: For certainly it was the Occaſion of rectifying divers Abuſes in that Church; ſo that it hath

hath been better or at leaſt warier ever ſince: Whereby it appears, that Controverſies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious Effects, have yet this one Good, that they make both Sides more careful not to offend; while Fear leſt perſonal Faults ſhould redound to the Detriment of the Religion they profeſs, becomes a Caution for Virtue and good Example; ſo can God draw Good out of Evil; and ſo can Man pervert all again: For though indeed there was Hope at this Time that a further Reformation might have followed, and certainly it had been the ſafeſt Way to begin there, yet as *Luther*, *Stermius*, and others, hearing what was done by the Delegates at *Rome*, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all Reformations but their own: ſo all Hope of Reconciliation in this Kind was precluded: While the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now ſo little Probability of an Accord, by endeavouring to come nearer to the Proteſtants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of the Church, as if it might err, than eſtabliſh a general Peace.

It is Time I return now to thoſe home Affairs which paſſed while thoſe foreign Buſineſſes formerly related were in Action.

The Inſurrection of the North was not yet ſo quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a Hand over them; therefore he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to ſtay there, and together with the Earl of *Shrewſbury* to compoſe all Things: Who thereupon took the Submiſſion of the Commons; which was, *Firſt*, To revoke all Oaths and Promiſes made in the former Inſurrection, asking the King Forgiveneſs on their Knees. *Secondly*, To be true to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors. *Thirdly*, To obſerve and maintain all Acts of Parliament ſince the firſt Year of the King's Reign. *Fourthly*, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highneſs's Authority. *Fifthly*, To apprehend all ſeditious Perſons. And *Sixthly*, To remove all the Monks, Friars, and Nuns they had reinſtated in the late diſſolved Monaſteries. Together with which theſe Lords had private Inſtructions to bring in the Lord *Thomas Darcy* and *Robert Aſke*; and for *Aſke*, I find by our Hiſtory and Records, that he came to our King, and that upon the Submiſſion aforeſaid, and Oath not to depart for any long Seaſon without the King's Leave, being well received for the preſent, he was diſmiſs'd again. But the Lord *Darcy*, ſuſpecting he ſhould be queſtioned, excuſed himſelf to *Cromwell*; ſaying, *That all he did was only for retaining ſo much Credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highneſs Service*; adding thereunto a Note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty Years. But this did not avail; for he was ſent for to *London*, and impriſoned, that ſo he might no more run ſuch Hazards, the King foreſeeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happened: For *Nicholas Muſgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, and others, beſieged *Carliſle* with eight thouſand Men, but were repulſed by the City; and in their Return encounter'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who cauſed all the Captains, except *Muſgrave* who eſcaped, and about ſeventy Perſons, by Law-Martial to be hanged on *Carliſle* Walls.

Sir *Francis Bigot* and one *Halam* attempted alſo to ſurpriſe the Town of *Hull*; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Inſurrections, and ſome leſſer which follow'd, I find

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Of all which Proceedings from the Beginning, tho' *James* the *Scotiſh* King (now in *France*) were advertiſed, yet he ſtirred not. And it was happy for our State, for had he joyn'd, he might have endanger'd the northern Parts, as People ſtood then affected. Howſoever, our King, who thought his Abſence was not Security enough, had employed Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with Command to reſide till *James* return'd, (which was about *Whitſuntide*, 1637.) and to inform him of all Occurrences. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the Coaſt of *England*, divers *Engliſh* caſt themſelves at his Feet, and deſired him to aſſiſt them, ſaying, he ſhould have all. But the King would not ſuddenly diſcover himſelf. Coming thus to *Edinburgh* with his new marry'd Queen, who was brought up under the Queen of *Navarre*, and not diſaffected to the Reformation of Religion; he was received with much Joy, which yet continued not long, ſhe dying ſhortly after of an Hectick Fever. Whereupon Cardinal *Beton* and *Robert Maxwel* were ſent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt

twixt him and *Mary* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which alſo followed.

The King having appeaſed all Things in theſe Parts, procures the Eſtabliſhment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many Executions done upon all Sorts of Perſons had made him terrible, ſo that ſweet Temper of Love and Fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects Hearts, was turn'd into that Awe and Dread as few thought themſelves ſafe; which tho' it might have cauſed ſome Apprehenſion in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he reſolved to hold his Way, and where Occaſion was, to puniſh ſeverely: therefore he gave Order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long Detenſion in Priſon, at this Time ſhould ſuffer Death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hoped of Pardon by the Interceſſion of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yielded himſelf, as is formerly mentioned, he would have died ſome other Death. All the Race yet ended not ſo; for *Gerald*, younger Brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being ſought for, was pack'd up in a Bundle of Clothes, and convey'd to his Friends in *Ireland*, and ſo to *France*, and from thence to the *Low Countries*, in both which Places being required of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinſman, and finding him a fit Inſtrument for his Purpoſes, kept, and cheriſh'd him, until he obtain'd in after-times, that he might be reſtored to his Country and Place.

This being done, our King deviſed certain Acts to paſs in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Briefs, Diſpenſations, *&c.* granted by the Pope; and that the People ſhould uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue. That Marchers ſhould dwell upon their March Lands; That certain Religious Houſes there ſhould be ſuppreſs'd: Againſt Alliance with Rebels: For eſtabliſhing Succeſſion: For the Firſt Fruits and twentieth Part of ſpiritual Promotions: That thoſe who took Part with *Kildare* might be pardon'd when they fined for it, *&c.* of which more may be ſeen in the *Iriſh* Statutes.

This Year at *Hampton Court* Prince *Edward* was born, *October* 12, 1537, who, to uſe *Polydore*'s Words, was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; yet was not the Happineſs entire; for Queen *Jane*, two Days after her Delivery, died, and was bury'd in the Choir at *Windſor*; whoſe Loſs much afflicted the King, as having found her always diſcreet, humble and loyal; for which Reaſon alſo, he was not ſo forward to match again. Inſomuch, that notwithſtanding ſome good Offers made him, he continued a Widower more than two Years; which in his declining Age and Corpulence, for he grew now very unwieldy, was a long Space. The Prince not being above ſix Days old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*: Sir *Edward Seymour*, alſo Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*; and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, lately made Admiral of *England*, Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following, Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of the King's Houſe, was made Lord *St. John*; and Sir *John Ruſſel* Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of the Prince's Birth, congratulates it, and together complains of ſome Unkindneſs in her Son, deſiring ſhe might end her Days

I find yet no Reaſon delivered, but that the People were unſatisfied becauſe a Parliament was not held at *York*, according to their Expectation; and that they imagined the Duke of *Norfolk* had Order ſecretly, notwithſtanding the Pardon, to chaſtiſe the principal Offenders. But our King on the other Side alledged, that ſince they had not reſtored all the Religious Houſes, in which they had reinplaced the Monks, he was not bound ſtrictly to hold promiſe with them; howſoever, theſe new Revolts ended quickly. And how the Duke having this Occaſion proceeded ſeverely; for having by the King's Commandment ſpread his Royal Banner, he thereupon executed Martial Law where he thought it needful. In Concluſion, ſo many were found to be Complices in Treaſon, or the Conſpiracy of it, that the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aſke*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife (or Paramour) Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempeſt* and *William Lumley*, were taken and brought Priſoners to *London*; and in *June* following, the Lord *Huſſy* for the *Lincolnſhire* Buſineſs, and the Lord *Darcy* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter* before the Marquiſs of *Exeter* then High Steward, and found guilty of High Treaſon. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Tower-hill*, and the Lord *Huſſy* at *Lincoln*; others were hang'd at *Hull* and at *York*, ſome elſewhere, among whom were divers religious Perſons; the News whereof being certify'd by the Duke of *Norfolk* to Court, the King by Letter to him ſaid, he would cloſe this Tragedy: For he ſent now a general Pardon; which was received with great Joy, many being terrify'd with the Duke's Proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of *Norfolk* yet could not exempt him from Calumny; for the Lord *Darcy* during his Impriſonment, had accuſed him as favouring the Rebels Articles when they firſt met at *Doncaſter*. But the Duke deny'd it, offering the Duel; ſaying, that *Aſke* (who ſuffer'd at *York* before the ſaid Lord) told him the ſaid Lord's Intentions; who, he ſaid, bare him ill will ever ſince the Duke had ſollicited the ſaid Lord to deliver *Aſke* into his Hands, when he was in chief Credit with the Rebels; which *Darcy* denying, ſome Expoſtulation had paſs'd betwixt them. Nevertheleſs, I find the King was ſo well ſatisfied of the Duke, that thoſe Things were paſs'd over without further queſtioning.

Of all which Proceedings from the Beginning, tho' *James* the *Scotiſh* King (now in *France*) were advertiſed, yet he ſtirred not. And it was happy for our State, for had he joyn'd, he might have endanger'd the northern Parts, as People ſtood then affected. Howſoever, our King, who thought his Abſence was not Security enough, had employed Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with Command to reſide till *James* return'd, (which was about *Whitſuntide*, 1637.) and to inform him of all Occurrences. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the Coaſt of *England*, divers *Engliſh* caſt themſelves at his Feet, and deſired him to aſſiſt them, ſaying, he ſhould have all. But the King would not ſuddenly diſcover himſelf. Coming thus to *Edinburgh* with his new marry'd Queen, who was brought up under the Queen of *Navarre*, and not diſaffected to the Reformation of Religion; he was received with much Joy, which yet continued not long, ſhe dying ſhortly after of an Hectick Fever. Whereupon Cardinal *Beton* and *Robert Maxwel* were ſent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt

twixt him and *Mary* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which alſo followed.

The King having appeaſed all Things in theſe Parts, procures the Eſtabliſhment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many Executions done upon all Sorts of Perſons had made him terrible, ſo that ſweet Temper of Love and Fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects Hearts, was turn'd into that Awe and Dread as few thought themſelves ſafe; which tho' it might have cauſed ſome Apprehenſion in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he reſolved to hold his Way, and where Occaſion was, to puniſh ſeverely: therefore he gave Order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, after a long Detenſion in Priſon, at this Time ſhould ſuffer Death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hoped of Pardon by the Interceſſion of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yielded himſelf, as is formerly mentioned, he would have died ſome other Death. All the Race yet ended not ſo; for *Gerald*, younger Brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being ſought for, was pack'd up in a Bundle of Clothes, and convey'd to his Friends in *Ireland*, and ſo to *France*, and from thence to the *Low Countries*, in both which Places being required of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinſman, and finding him a fit Inſtrument for his Purpoſes, kept, and cheriſh'd him, until he obtain'd in after-times, that he might be reſtored to his Country and Place.

This being done, our King deviſed certain Acts to paſs in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Briefs, Diſpenſations, *&c.* granted by the Pope; and that the People ſhould uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue. That Marchers ſhould dwell upon their March Lands; That certain Religious Houſes there ſhould be ſuppreſs'd: Againſt Alliance with Rebels: For eſtabliſhing Succeſſion: For the Firſt Fruits and twentieth Part of ſpiritual Promotions: That thoſe who took Part with *Kildare* might be pardon'd when they fined for it, *&c.* of which more may be ſeen in the *Iriſh* Statutes.

This Year at *Hampton Court* Prince *Edward* was born, *October* 12, 1537, who, to uſe *Polydore*'s Words, was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; yet was not the Happineſs entire; for Queen *Jane*, two Days after her Delivery, died, and was bury'd in the Choir at *Windſor*; whoſe Loſs much afflicted the King, as having found her always diſcreet, humble and loyal; for which Reaſon alſo, he was not ſo forward to match again. Inſomuch, that notwithſtanding ſome good Offers made him, he continued a Widower more than two Years; which in his declining Age and Corpulence, for he grew now very unwieldy, was a long Space. The Prince not being above ſix Days old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*: Sir *Edward Seymour*, alſo Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*; and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, lately made Admiral of *England*, Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following, Sir *William Paulet*, Treaſurer of the King's Houſe, was made Lord *St. John*; and Sir *John Ruſſel* Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of the Prince's Birth, congratulates it, and together complains of ſome Unkindneſs in her Son, deſiring ſhe might end her Days

(being now about forty nine) in Quietneſs; but if our King could give no Remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that ſhe underſtood how, upon the Death of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, her Daughter was at this time releaſed out of the Tower.

I ſhall conclude this Year with a prodigious Effect of Mount *Ætna*, the Flames whereof lifting up a huge Maſs of burning Sulphur, by ſlow Degrees, to a great Height, ſuſtained it there, till at length it ſcattered over all the Country, and killed (as my Author *Sandoval* hath it) innumerable Men and Beaſts.

1538 In *March* 1538, the Proteſtants meeting at *Brunſwick*, our King ſent thither *Chriſtopher Mount*, with Inſtructions; *Firſt*, To ſee who were the Confederates. *Secondly*, Whether their League was for general Defence, or limited to Matter of Religion only. *Thirdly*, To require a final Anſwer, whether they would ſend the great Legation with *Melanchthon*, as they had promiſed. But they deſiring King *Henry* ſhould firſt declare what Points he diſliked in their Confeſſion, leſt the Ambaſſador ſhould after ſo great Expectation return without Effect, excuſed themſelves in this laſt Point, pretending that they had preſent Uſe of their learned Men, *&c.* And as to the other two Articles, they declar'd, that their League was only in the Cauſe of Religion, and ſent the Names of their Confederates, being (as the Record ſhews) twenty-ſix Cities, and twenty-four Princes; among whom the King of *Denmark* was newly admitted. Nevertheleſs to ripen Matter for a further Treaty, they gave Commiſſion to their Agents now ſent (being *Francis Burgrat*, and two other Men not unlearned) to diſpute with the *Engliſh* Divines about Religion, which they did, till being recalled home, they craved Diſmiſſion of the King, leaving with them their Remonſtrance touching diverſe Abuſes in *England*: as 1. The Adminiſtrations of the Euchariſt in one Kind only. 2. Private Maſs. 3. Celibate of Prieſts: againſt which they urged Scripture, and the antient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the ſame; and that it belongs to his Majeſty to reſtore the Purity of Religion, as did the Kings, *David*, *Joſias*, *Jehoſaphat*, *Ezekias*, *&c.* This, though commended to the King and *Cromwel* by Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, was yet oppoſed by divers others, and particularly by *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, who extracted the ſaid Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments againſt it. So that the King for all Anſwer to the ſaid Orators, defended the Points they would have reform'd. Inſomuch, that they return'd unſatisfied and fruſtrated. King *Henry* the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Proteſtants in *Germany* would be drawn to him. And becauſe he had been often importuned to authoriſe a Tranſlation of the Bible, he committed the Care thereof to *Cromwel*, and the Printing to *Richard Grafton*; who pretending the Want of good Paper here, got our King's and *Francis* Licence to print it at *Paris* both in *Latin* and *Engliſh* in a large Volume, which therefore by *Cromwel* the Vicegerent's Injunctions this Year (1538) was to be ſet in every Church for the People to read: Yet ſo, as the King by Proclamation gave them to underſtand, that this was not his Duty, but his Goodneſs and Liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the Increaſe of Virtue not of Strife. And therefore

therefore no Man ſhould read it aloud to diſturb the Prieſt while he ſang Maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful Places, without Advice from the Learned.

The King having Iſſue Male, proceeded more confidently in his Deſigns: And becauſe he knew that the pretended and falſe Miracles of Prieſts had ſeduced many ignorant People to a ſuperſtitious Obedience to the *Romiſh* See, and Reverence of Monaſteries, he reſolved to detect them, at leaſt, as many as he could; for divers were ſo cunningly repreſented, as they had kept their Credit for ſome Ages; the Manner of theſe Times being, if a Man were reſtored to his Health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtained any thing he deſired upon a Vow to ſome Saint, never to ſtudy other Cauſe.

And here out of our Records I ſhall mention ſome of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of theſe Times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Lady's Girdle, ſhewed in eleven ſeveral Places, and her Milk in eight; the Bell of St. *Guthlac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, both Remedies for the Head-ach; the Penknife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a Piece of his Shirt, much reverenced by great bellied Women; the Coals that roaſted St. *Lawrence*; two or three Heads of St. *Urſula*; *Malchus* his Ear; the paring of St. *Edmund*'s Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierced Chriſt's Side; an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine Years together without waſting, till one forſwearing himſelf thereon it went out; and was now found to be but a Piece of Wood; our Lady of *Worceſter*, from which certain Veils and Dreſſings being taken, there appeared the Statue of a Biſhop ten Foot high. Theſe and others were now brought forth, and with great Oſtentation ſhewed to the People; among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit, One was the *Rood of Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*; which being made with divers Vices to turn the Eyes and move the Lips, was ſhewed publickly at *Paul*'s *Croſs* by *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and there broken and pulled in Pieces. The other was at *Hales*, in *Gloceſterſhire*, where the *Blood of Jeſus Chriſt* brought from *Jeruſalem*, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great Offerings to it from remote Places; and it was ſaid to have this Property, That if a Man were in mortal Sin, and not abſolved, he could not ſee it; otherwiſe very well: Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle, confeſs'd himſelf firſt to the Prieſt there, and then offering ſomething to the Altar, was directed to the Chapel where the Relict was ſhew'd; the Prieſt who confeſſed him, in the mean while, retiring himſelf to the back Part of the ſaid Chapel, and putting forth upon the Altar a Cabinet or Tabernacle of Chryſtal, which being thick on the one Side, that nothing could be ſeen thorough it, but on the other Side thin and tranſparent, they uſed diverſly; for if a rich and devout Man enter'd, they would ſhew the thick Side, till he had paid for as many Maſſes, and given as large Alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great Joy) they permitted him to ſee the thin Side, and the Blood.

Whether yet (as my Author, a Clerk of the Council to *Edward* VI. and living in thoſe Times, affirms) was proved to be the Blood of a Duck every Week re-

newed by two Prieſts, who kept the Secret betwixt them. Beſides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walſingham* of *Ipſwich*, of *Penriſe*, of *Iſlington*, and St. *John* of *Oſulſton* (called otherwiſe Mr. *John Shorne*) who was ſaid to ſhut up the Devil in a Boot; and divers others were publickly burnt: Inſomuch, that a huge Image called *Darvel Gadern* being fetched out of *Wales*, ſerved to burn Fryer *Foreſt*, (condemned for counſelling the People in Confeſſion, not to believe the King's Supremacy,) and to elude I know not what old blind Propheſy.

And by this Means the Monaſteries grew infamous, where moſt of theſe Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who before held a reverend Opinion of theſe pretended Relicks and Miracles; yet, as this Way, there was Danger leſt the People ſhould not believe thoſe Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a Hand over his Subjects, and found Means to humble them; for they were taught, that howſoever the Miracles of theſe later Times proved counterfeit and falſe, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his Glory and Service; and that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the Memory of his Saints, he permitted them ſometimes, where the People were not withdrawn thereby from his Worſhip, to the Worſhip of the Creature.

Upon the Ceſſation of Arms betwixt the Emperor and *French* King formerly mentioned; the Pope endeavoured a further Peace and good Correſpondence, as thinking them capable both of making War with the *Turk*, and revenging his Quarrel on our King, againſt whom he was much intentive to join them. But there are many Difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the ſame Enterpriſe, when it were for nothing elſe, but that they can never agree who ſhould have the Advantage of it. Nevertheleſs, both of them were diſaffected to our King at this Time, not yet ſo much for their particular Intereſts, as that his overthrowing of Religious Houſes and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects, had given ill Impreſſions of him; which our King underſtanding, procures to hold his Treaty with *Francis*. And therefore recalling from *Spain*, *Edmond Bonner* elect Biſhop of *Hereford*, and his Ambaſſador then with the Emperor, he imployed him in *France*, in the Place of *Stephen Gardiner*, who had ſoured all Things; ſince, being one who both diſliked the King's late proceedings, and ſecretly favour'd the Emperor, he did his Maſter little Service in that Court. *Bonner* being now come, was roughly received by *Gardiner*, and coldly by the *French* King, (as I find by an Original;) yet he obtained at firſt that the Old and New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, might be printed at *Paris*, in the largeſt Volume, whereof yet Complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Preſs was ſtayed, and as much as was already printed, publickly burnt, ſave ſome few Copies, that being gotten for Waſte-paper, were recovered and ſent into *England*, whither alſo the Printers themſelves following ſhortly after, finiſhed the Work. Howbeit as *Bonner* had in his other Affairs here but little Satisfaction, he was repealed at laſt on this Occaſion; being commanded by our King to deliver a high Meſſage, concerning his Penſion, now four Years detained, as alſo touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was received and favoured by *Francis*; he uttered it in ſo haughty a Manner, as was thought, that *Francis* return'd both to our King and him ſome harſh language; nevertheleſs

theleſs, as he feared leſt it ſhould cauſe War, he ſent to *England* an expreſs Meſſenger both to interpret and excuſe himſelf, and to deſire *Bonner* might be recalled; which the King did, (as thinking him henceforth an unuſeful Servant in that Place) yet ſo as he forgot not to beſtow the Biſhoprick of *London* on him for his Reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as *Francis*, having about this Time made a ten Years Truce with the Emperor, as ſhall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with *Scotland*, talked louder than before; ſo the Lady Regent in the *Low Countries*, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, ſhewed Diſaffection to our State, without that our King in his preſent Condition, knew well how to repair himſelf, ſince being reſolved to take Order about his home Buſineſſes not yet fully ſettled, he thought of foreign Affairs no otherwiſe, than to attend the Occaſion, and confederate himſelf where it might be beſt for his Advantage. For which at laſt divers Overtures were made. The firſt it ſeems came from the Emperor, whoſe Ambaſſador here ſignified to *Cromwel*, Lord Privy Seal, his Maſter's Deſire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and *Chriſtiana* Dutcheſs of *Milan*, being a beautiful Lady, and at that preſent lately come into the *Low Countries*. *Cromwel* anſwered, that he would firſt ſee her Picture, and then ſpeak to the King; which being granted, one *Hans Holin* (or *Holbin* I believe) being the King's Servant was ſent over, and in three Hours Space (as *John Hatten* our Agent there hath it) ſhewed what a Maſter he was in his Science. Our King hereupon ſeemed inclinable, giving charge to *Hutton* to treat of the Buſineſs. But the Lady Regent (though ſaid to have ſufficient Power) referred all to the Emperor, who having appointed an Interview with *Francis*, was ſo ſlow in returning an Anſwer, that our King underſtood it was a Delay, and therefore neglected the Buſineſs a while; and he had Reaſon; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt *Francis* and the Emperor, for his Son the Duke of *Orleans* and her, and the Place nominated at *Comptean*, where *Francis*, now returned from the Interview, whereof hereafter, met Queen *Mary*, Regent of *Flanders*: Whereof our King being advertis'd, ſent ſome privately thither, to inform him of that which paſſed; but *Milan* being refuſed as Dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was ſuſpended. This made our King proceed again, imploying *Thomas Wriotheſly*, and ſome others, to the Lady Regent for this Purpoſe; but this Treaty produced others, ſo that a Match was propoſed betwixt *Don Lewis* of *Portugal* and our Princeſs *Mary*, in the Terms ſhe then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all Claim to the Succeſſion, except ſuch as the King ſhall give her: As alſo ſtrict Confederation and Amity. The Conditions our King required with the Dutcheſs of *Milan* were great; for tho' ſhe was but the ſecond Daughter of *Denmark*, *Dorothea* the Elder being married to *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavier*, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdom of *Denmark*, there being no Iſſue Male now alive of *Chriſtierne* II. deſiring for this Purpoſe the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, which alſo the Emperor ſeemed to promiſe, as offering to treat with Duke *Frederick* about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was the more ſuſpected at this Time in the *German* Affairs, than that the Emperor deſired to greaten him, by ſuch an Acceſſion. And with *Don Lewis*, the Emperor offered *Milan*, when the

the King would ſhew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thouſand, or two hundred thouſand Crowns; promiſing further, if the *French* King, upon this Occaſion, denied the Penſion uſually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; he offered alſo to endeavour a Reconciliation with the Pope, if our King ſo pleaſed. Nevertheleſs, divers Jealouſies and Cavils ariſing, eſpecially after the Interview, betwixt the Emperor and *Francis*, (whereof preſently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting ſometimes that our King treated of a Match in *France* with the Daughter of *Guiſe*, another while ſaying, that in Regard of the Dutcheſs nearneſs of Blood to the late Queen *Katharine*, there needed a Diſpenſation from the Pope, which ſhe knew the King would hardly accept; but theſe Anſwers being taken as Illuſory, the Treaty at laſt not only broke off, but a cruel War was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; eſpecially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, which followed. But *Francis* omitted not likewiſe to make his Propoſitions, offering our King what Lady he pleaſed in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter; neither ought their Motions of Alliance to ſeem ſtrange, both as there were ever Cauſes of Jealouſy betwixt theſe great Princes, and as they knew well our King had ſettled his Affairs at home.

While Things paſt thus, the Truce expiring in *February*, betwixt the *French* King and Emperor, the Pope obtained yet that it ſhould be continued for ſix Months; hoping in the Interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good Intentions might concur; ſo his particular Intereſt wanted not; he imploying the Cardinal *Carpi* to the Emperor, and Cardinal *Jacobaccio* to the *French* King, for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-child *Ottavio Farneſe* and *Margarita* Relict of the Duke of *Florence*, natural Daughter of the Emperor: The other betwixt *Victoria Farneſe* and *Antoine de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendoſme*; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himſelf would be preſent. All which was accorded, and the Time and Place of Meeting appointed at *Nizza*, about the Beginning of *June*, 1538. where they all came; but ſo as the Emperor being lodged in *Villa Franca*, and the *French* King in *Villa Nova*, they neither ſaw one another in their ſeveral Courts, nor at the Pope's at *Nizza:* Inſomuch, that notwithſtanding the Pope's Sollicitation, their mutual Jealouſies of the Pope's Affection, the Number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third Perſons intervened, their late Defies, and Greatneſs of Buſineſſes to be determined betwixt them, permitted no ſafe Terms of meeting. Nevertheleſs, the Pope (after he he had in vain deſired them to ſend ſome Biſhops to the Council now at *Vicenza*) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten Years, and ſo the Meeting diſſolved. The Pope preſently recalling his Legates from *Vicenza*, and deferring the Couccil till *Eaſter* the next Year.

And now the Emperor and *Francis* being near each other, and for the Reſt, Princes of ſo great Courage, as they heard with ſome Indignation the Difficulties their Counſellors had repreſented about an Interview, reſolved betwixt themſelves to meet. *Francis* ſent an Invitation to him to repoſe at *Aiqueſmortes* and *Marſeilles*, in his Way to *Spain*; and *Charles* accepted it, who coming thereupon

thereupon near the Shore, *Francis*, attended with *Montmorency*, now Conſtable, and few others, without all Difficulty paſſed in a Shallop to the Emperor's Galley; and after an Hour's Stay, and ſome Complements in *French*, which Language both ſpake, *Francis* returned to Land. And now the Emperor was penſative and doubtful whether he ſhould go on Shore; many of his Council oppos'd it; but the Duke of *Alva* ſaid generouſly, he ſhould go; which Counſel the Emperor followed: And thereupon landing, the *French* King and his Queen, the *Dauphin*, and a huge Train received him with Demonſtration of Joy; and two Meals they did eat together, at which the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* (much regarded by *Francis*) was preſent. But the next Day after, being the 16th of *July*, rich Gifts having paſſed on both Sides, the Emperor departed for *Spain*.

And now it was diſputed at *Rome* whether theſe two Princes ſhould join in a War againſt the *Turk*, or bring our King to Reaſon: The former took Place; the *Turk*, as being much animated againſt the *Chriſtians*, having made great Preparations: And when he had not, our King being a Perſon with whom they would not eaſily have fought in the Pope's Quarrel; which alſo is the more probable, for that *Francis* would not ſo much as concur with him in a War againſt the *Turk*, though ſolicited by the Pope, Emperor and *Venetians*, no more than our King: Though, as I find by our Records, intreated by the ſaid *Venetians*, as having a particular War with the *Turk* at this Time in *Morea* and *Sclavonia*; ſo that they above-named only joined, according to a League made at *Rome*, *Feb.* 8, the Pope furniſhing thirty-ſix Galleys, the Emperor eighty-two, and the *Venetians* as many; who yet being led by *Andrea Doria*, and coming to fight with the *Turkiſh* Fleet of 130 Veſſels under *Barbaroſſa*, were on the Coaſt of *Epire* towards Night, *September* 24, defeated; when ſuch a huge Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning aroſe, as ſcattered them every Way: Yet a few Days after they took from the *Turk Caſtel Novo*, a Fort in the Gulf of *Cataro*, and leaving a Garriſon there, returned.

All which Engagements of War, tho' in Effect they were ſo many Diverſions of it from us, could not ſecure our King from Suſpicion either of Treachery at Home, or Invaſion from Abroad. Therefore he took eſpecial Care of the Sea-Coaſts, and particularly had an Eye to the Actions of thoſe who might ſtir in Favour of Cardinal *Pool*; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little Intelligence from our Kingdom. Notwithſtanding all which Attention, divers Meſſages paſſed betwixt the ſaid Cardinal and his Friends and Kindred; which coſt ſome of them their Lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any ſuperſtitious Worſhip reigned here, the Friars and Prieſts would oppoſe his Reformation, eſpecially as long as ſuch were accounted Saints who had reſiſted their Prince, reſolved, after he had burned ſo many Images, to burn the Bones of *Thomas Becket*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Time of *Henry* II. (though others mention not the Burning; and one living in thoſe Times affirms only, that his Bones were ſcattered amongſt ſo many dead Mens, that they could not be found again without ſome great Miracle.) Together with which, our King ſeiſed on that immenſe Treaſure and Jewels which were offered to his Shrine; there being few ſince *Henry* the Second's Time which paſſed to *Canterbury*, that did not both

† viſit

viſit his Tomb, and bring rich Preſents to it. Among which, there being one Stone eminent, which it was ſaid, *Lewis* the Seventh coming hither on Pilgrimage from *France*, *Anno Dom.* 1179, beſtowed; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards.

For which Reaſons, as alſo for being ſo great an Example of Contumacy againſt his King, he was conſtrained to have his Life and Actions again examined; it was declared by our King that he deſerved no Canonization, and proved beſides, that the Scull which the People did ſo much venerate (and which was now burnt as an Impoſture) was not his own, (it, together with his Bones, being found in his Tomb, and ſcattered as aforeſaid) and that there was Forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King being not content, caus'd his Name to be ras'd out of the Kalender, and forbad the Keeping of his Holiday. But that it may appear what a Kind of Saint this Man was, I will repeat ſome Part of his Life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polydore Virgil*, who moſt fabulouſly affirms, that certain Men in *Kent* for cutting off *Becket*'s Horſe's Tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remained, had Tails like Beaſts: But out of a Book of the ſaid Clerk of the Council, formerly mentioned, leaving to every Man yet the Choice of believing what Relation he pleaſeth.

This Man (as my Author hath it) being born of an *Engliſh* Merchant, and a Woman of *Barbary*, having been brought up in Learning, and promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and conteſted with King *Henry* the Second for the Pope's Authority: Inſomuch, that in his *Pontificalibus*, with his Mitre upon his Head, and gilt Croſs born before him, he publickly excommunicated all thoſe who oppoſed the Church; wherewith the King being offended, *Becket* fled to the Pope, who cheriſhed him ſo much, as in Contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and Kingdom; ſo that for about four Years Space, neither Maſs, nor other publick Service was uſed in the Church. But by the Interceſſion of the *French* King, *Becket* and the Maſs being reſtored, and our King and Kingdom abſolved, all Things ſeemed Quiet, 'till he began new Quarrels: At which the King being diſpleaſed, ſaid, if he had faithful Servants, he ſhould not be ſo wronged; which ſome Gentlemen that ſerved him hearing, went to *Canterbury*, and taking their Time, upon ſome ill Language given, killed him in the Cloiſter of his Cathedral Church, and ſo fled. Whereupon the Monks ſhut their Gates, and perſuaded the People that the Bells rung of themſelves; not content therewith, they caſt a certain Compoſition into a Well adjoining, and made the People believe that it appeared bloody by Miracle, for that Holy Martyr, which at laſt obtained ſuch Credit, that *Henry* II. came in Perſon, together with *Lewis* of *France* to viſit the holy Place, and give many rich Poſſeſſions to the Monaſtery; for further Teſtimony of his Favour to them, refuſing ever to receive again, or pardon the Murtherers; yet theſe Wonders ended at laſt, for our King on ſome Occaſion coming to *Canterbury*, diſcovered the Fraud of the Well, and aboliſhed the Miracles.

But what Pretext ſoever our King had to proceed thus with *Becket*, nothing was taken to be a greater Cruelty and Rapine: Inſomuch, that upon News hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publiſh his Bull of Excommunication (formerly decreed 1535) againſt our King; wherein he alſo mentions this Fact with much Horror

Horror and Deteſtation; ſending alſo his Agents abroad with the ſaid Bull, who ſet it up in divers Places of *Flanders*, *France*, and *Scotland*; being ſuch a Bull (ſaith the Writer of the *Council of Trent*) as neither his Predeceſſors left him Example for, or his Succeſſors ever imitated. But the Pope gained little thereby; for all his Rigours were but ſo many Incentives to King *Henry* to oppoſe him; therefore as he had ſent publick Proteſtations every where againſt the Council to be aſſembled at *Vicenza*, affirming the ſame Difficulties would be about holding of it there, which muſt have been at *Mantua*; ſo having made way by the Diſcovery of the former Impoſtures, he ſuppreſſed more Monaſteries, and every Day more and more deveſted the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other Side, he oppoſed all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two *Dutch* Anabaptiſts, and by a Diſpute he publickly held in *Weſtminſter-hall*, with one *John Nicholſon*, alias *Lambert* a Prieſt; againſt whom he maintain'd the Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament after the Manner he ſet down in his Articles; concluding that he ſhould have Mercy if he recanted; otherwiſe that he ſhould be burnt. But *Lambert* deſpiſing Mercy on thoſe Terms, the Sentence was executed; ſo deep a Tincture doth Religion give to the Soul, as being once thoroughly enter'd, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

The King having thus made it appear, that howſoever he rejected the Papal Authority, he concurred not every where with the Reformers, thought he might with more Reaſon now confront the Report which Cardinal *Pool* and his Friends had raiſed, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which Number, becauſe *Henry Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exeter* (the King's Couſin-german, as being Son of *Katherine*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth) and *Henry Pool* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Jeffrey Pool*, Knt. were eminent; he took Occaſion, upon ſecret Information given by Sir *Jeffrey*, to cauſe them to be indicted for deviſing to maintain, promote, and advance one *Reginald Pool* late Dean of *Exeter*, Enemy to the King beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before *Thomas* Lord *Audley*, for the preſent ſitting as his High Steward of *England*, were found guilty; not long after which Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Jeffrey Pool*, two Prieſts and a Mariner were arraign'd, and found guilty alſo, and Judgment given accordingly. The two Lords and *Nevil* were beheaded, the two Prieſts and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd at *Tyburn*, and Sir *Jeffrey* pardoned; Sir *Nicholas Carew* alſo (Knight of the Garter, and Maſter of the Horſe to the King) for being of Council with the ſaid Marqueſs, was beheaded. The particular Offences of theſe great Perſons are not ſo fully made known to me, that I can ſay much. Only I find among our Records, that *Thomas Wriotheſly* Secretary, then at *Bruſſels*, writing of their Apprehenſion to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, our King's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, ſaid, that the Accuſations were great, and duly proved. And in another Place I read, that they ſent the Cardinal Money.

I find little more of this Year for our Parts, ſave that notwithſtanding all theſe Severities, neither was one *Coneſby* Groom of the King's Chamber deterred from counterfeiting the King's Seal Manual;

nor one *Clifford* from counterfeiting the Privy Signet; both which therefore ſuffer'd Death.

The Emperor now in *Spain*, among his Home buſineſſes, thought none more requiſite, than to take Order for Money: Therefore he aſſembled at *Toledo* a *Cortes* or Parliament of both States; ſo that the Grandees of *Caſtile* and *Leon* on the one Side, and Cardinal of *Toledo* and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: where the Emperor's Neceſſities being repreſented by occaſion of his late Wars, it was declared, that neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the *Indies*, nor the *Cruzades*, Tenths and other Helps granted by the Pope, did ſuffice to keep him out of Debt. Wherefore the Emperor deſired that at their Charge all his Eſtate and Dominions every where might be preſerved and ſecured both by Sea and Land; ſo as he might have the ordinary Rent of *Caſtile* and the *Indies* for paying his Debts and ſpending Money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, that their moſt ready and equal way for ſupplying the Emperor's Wants, was to grant a *Siſa* or Tax for a certain Time, with a Limitation to what it ſhould extend; ſince leſs Corruption and Extortion would follow this way than any other; only they deſired the Emperor, that he ſhould procure a Licence and Commandment from his Holineſs to this Purpoſe. But the Grandees and Nobles who had immediate Power in their Hands to conſent unto the Emperor's Demand, would yet reſolve nothing ſuddenly in their own Name or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the Buſineſs to twelve elect Perſons among them; among which the *Condeſtable* being chief, ſpake much againſt Impoſitions; deſiring rather to ſupply the Emperor ſome other way; and that they might confer with the Burgeſſes or *Procuradors* of the chief Cities hereof; beſeeching his Majeſty withal, that he would ſtay at home and ſtudy Peace, as having made eighteen Years of continual War both by Sea and Land: Which Anſwer being brought the Emperor, it was reply'd on his Part, that he demanded Money and not Advice. Hereupon certain amongſt them propos'd to lay Impoſition upon Commodities exported; but the reſt agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinal of *Toledo* came and told them in his Majeſty's Name, that he aſſembled them to the Intent he might communicate his own and his Kingdom's Neceſſities; it ſeeming reaſonable, that as they were general, ſo ſhould the Remedy be: But by as much as is done, he conceiveth there is no Cauſe to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you Leave to depart.

The *Cortes* being thus diſſolved, the Emperor upon Occaſion told the *Condeſtable* he had done ill, and deſerved to be thrown out of a *Corredor* or open Gallery, where they were: To which he anſwered, Your Majeſty will pleaſe to adviſe; for though I am little, I weigh much. But it ſeems, the Emperor ſpake neither in earneſt, nor the *Condeſtable* as one that reſented; ſo that nothing followed. Howſoever, the Grandees and Nobles of *Spain* behaved themſelves inſolently at this Time to the Emperor; who having commanded a Juſt or Tourney, wherein all the principal Perſons were to meet; it happened as they rode in their Equipage and Order to the Place, an *Alguazil* ſtruck the Duke of *Infantados* Horſe, on ſome Occaſion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded

ed, Do you know me? and the *Alguazil* ſaying, Yea: He with his Sword cut him on his Head; who with Blood about his Ears, coming to the Emperor, then on Horſeback, incenſed him ſo much, as he ſent preſently to apprehend the Duke; but the *Condeſtable* being preſent, ſaid to the Officer, You have no Authority, as long as I am in Place; and ſo forced him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all theſe Tranſactions were done in his Preſence, ſends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grandees and others were ſo diſpleaſed, that they all rode away in Troop; ſo that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forced to deſiſt and return; both to his own great Scandal, and thoſe who came to be Spectators. But the Emperor found Means afterwards, to let them know how ſenſible he was of this Contempt.

The *Germans* Proteſtants, this while, being ſollicited for Aid againſt the *Turk*, and denying it, unleſs the Emperor firſt granted them ſuch a ſolid and entire Peace in the Cauſe of Religion, as might comprehend both the preſent and future Confederates; the adverſe Party enter'd a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and ſtipulating mutual Defence, if they were moleſted for the *Roman* Religion.

The Emperor notwitſtanding, giving Commiſſion to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the ſaid Proteſtants of an Accommodation; which yet took no Effect, though there were a Meeting held at *Frankfort*, to this Purpoſe Howſoever, our King omitted not to ſend his Agents (*Chriſtopher Mount* and *Thomas Paynel*) thither, ſhewing, he took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his Knowledge, deſiring to underſtand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be conſtant to their profeſſed Doctrine: To which *Burgart* and others in their Name, *April* 23. coming to *England*, brought Inſtructions to this Effect, that their manifold Troubles, ſuffered them not hitherto, to ſignify the ſaid Pacification, which yet was not likely to take Effect, no Conditions being ſo much as propoſed. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Auguſtine* Confeſſion; ſo that there needed be no Doubt of their Conſtancy: But they are informed, that his Majeſty had ſet forth a Proclamation, enjoyning rigidly, and under heavy Cenſures, thoſe Points which the laſt Year their Ambaſſadors deſired as Abuſes might be reformed; which unleſs his Majeſty pleaſed to mitigate, they could determine nothing of the Legation of learned Men which he expected. For we have, ſay they, diſputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching private Maſs, Communion in one Kind, and Celibate of Prieſts. And unleſs we underſtood that our Doctrine herein were preſcribed by God, we would not undergo the Dangers we do for the Maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the ſaid Doctrines, or ſend any of our Divines into *England*, to give Approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melanchon* ſent a Letter to the King (ſuperſcribed *Sermo. &c. Capiti Anglicæ Eccleſiæ poſt Chriſtum Supremo,*) exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, and not to hearken to thoſe who would hinder it, by exacting too ſeverely Ceremonies and Things indifferent; wherefore he deſires his Majeſty to mitigate the late Proclamation. What Anſwer our King gave

to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was ſo far from condeſcending
1539 thereunto, that he obtained a Confirmation of the ſaid Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as ſhall appear in its Place. In the mean Time, he conſulted to ſtrengthen himſelf at home, by enriching his Treaſury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the Conſent of his Parliament, for diſſolving all Religious Houſes under 200 *l.* yearly, he did now attempt the reſt; ſo that though divers of the Viſitors had heretofore petitioned, that ſome might be ſpared, both for the Virtue of the Perſons in them, and the Benefit of the Country, (the Poor receiving thence Relief, and the richer Sort good Education for their Children;) and though *Latimer* mentioned, that ſome two or three might be left in every Shire for pious Uſes, *Cromwell* yet (by the King's Permiſſion) invaded all; while betwixt Threats, Gifts, Perſuaſions, Promiſes, and whatſoever might make Man obnoxious, he obtained of the Abbots, Priors, Abbeſſes, *&c.* that their Houſes might be given up. Among which, thoſe that offered their Monaſteries freely, got beſt Conditions of the King; for if they ſtood upon their Right, the Oath of Supremacy, and ſome other Statutes and Injunctions brought them in Danger, or their Crimes at leaſt made them guilty of the Law; which alſo was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbots of *Glaſſenbury*, *Gloceſter* and *Reading*, who more than any elſe reſiſted.

In Concluſion, the Title made to theſe, ſeems not to be grounded upon a Grant by Statute, or Claim of Right, but was ſome voluntary Surrender, Purchaſe or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this Proceeding preſently confirmed by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he ſummoned it to begin *April* 28, 1539. In the mean while, Rumours were every where diſperſed, that Cardinal *Pool* laboured with divers Princes, to procure Forces againſt the Kingdom, and that an Invaſion was threatned. And this again ſeemed more credible, in that the Truce concluded between the Emperor and *French* King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted Pretext to bring an Army hither. This alſo was ſeconded by a ſudden Journey of the King unto the Sea-coaſt; unto divers Parts whereof, he had formerly ſent ſundry Nobles and expert Perſons to viſit the Ports, and Places of Danger, who failed not for their Diſcharge upon all Event, to affirm the Peril in each Place ſo great, as one would have thought every Place had needed Fortification; beſides he cauſed his Navy forthwith to be in readineſs, and Muſters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which Preparatives being made againſt a Danger which was believed imminent, ſeemed ſo to excuſe the King ſuppreſſing of Abbies, as the People willing to ſpare their own Purſes, began to ſuffer it eaſily; eſpecially when they ſaw Order taken for building divers Forts and Bulwarks upon the Sea-coaſt; many, if not moſt of theſe we have at this Day, being though not ſo exact as the modern, yet of his raiſing. And that they ſuſpected the diſcontented Religious Orders (ſooner than any elſe) would aſſiſt an Enemy. But if the Reaſons of theſe Proceedings were held by ſome as current, by others they were taken to be no more than Palliation, and by the Clergy but Rapine, who divulged beyond Seas the miſerable Ruins of themſelves, and Houſes, in ſuch Terms as the Chriſtian World was aſtoniſhed; for though their exceſſive Number excuſed the

the King in ſome Part for the firſt Suppreſſion, this latter (they ſaid) had no ſuch precious Pretext, when yet Surrender, Purchaſe, or the like were urged; So that notwithſtanding the King's Neceſſities, no little Occaſion of Scandal and Obliquy was given.

The Number of Monaſteries firſt and laſt ſuppreſſed in *England* and *Wales*, were (as *Cambden* accounts them) 645; whereof theſe had Voices among the Peers: The Abbot of St. *Albans*, being as I take it, declared the firſt Abbey of *England* (whether in Favour of Pope *Adrian* IV. his Father, call *Breakſpear*, who upon his Wife's Death rendred himſelf a Monk there, or St. *Alban* himſelf Protomartyr of *England*) St. *Peter*'s in *Weſtminſter*, St. *Edmondſbury*, St. *Benet*'s of *Holm*, *Berdſey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abbingdon*, *Everſham*, *Gloceſter*, *Ramſey*, St. *Mary*'s in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Wincheſter*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Malmesbury*, *Thorney*, St. *Auguſtine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterburough*, St. *John*'s *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Taveſtock*. Of Colleges were demoliſhed in in divers Shires, ninety. Of Chantries, and Fire-Chappels, 2374, and Hoſpitals 110. The yearly Value of all which were, as I find it caſt up, 161100 *l.* being above a third Part of all our ſpiritual Revenues; beſides the Money made of the preſent Stock of Cattel and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bells, *&c.* and laſtly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church Ornaments; which I find not valued, but may be conjectured by that one Monaſtery of St. *Edmondſbury*, (whence was taken as our Records ſhew) 5000 Marks of Gold and Silver, beſides divers Stones of great Value. All which being by ſome openly called Rapine, and Sacrilege, I will no Way excuſe: though I may ſay truely, that notwithſtanding ſo many Religious Houſes were deſtroyed, there are yet in every Kind (the ſuppreſt Abbies and Chantries only excepted) left ſtanding ſo many, as give no little Increaſe to Learning, Splendor to Religion, and Teſtimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the Ruin of ſo many pious Foundations, as affording a ſingular Conveniency to thoſe who deſired to retire to a holy, private, and contemplative Life, when Abuſes were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention theſe Particulars, that it may appear to foreign Nations, we are not deſtitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which alſo our King had ſuch Regard, that he did not employ all the Profits ariſing from the aforeſaid Diſſolutions, on Fortifications, or the like; for he not only augmented the Number of the Colleges and Profeſſors in his Univerſities, but erected, as he had promiſed, out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Biſhopricks; whereof one at *Weſtminſter*, one at *Oxford*, one at *Peterborough*, one at *Briſtol*, one at *Cheſter*, and one at *Gloceſter*; all remaining at this Day, ſave that of *Weſtminſter*, which being revoked to its firſt Inſtitution by Queen *Mary*, and *Benedictines* placed in it, was by Queen *Elizabeth* afterwards converted to a collegiate Church, and a School for the Teaching and Maintenance of young Scholars: Beſides, many of the ancient Cathedral Churches formerly poſſeſſed by Monks only, were now ſupplied with Canons, and ſome new ones erected and endowed; the Revenues allotted by the King to thoſe new Biſhopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 *l. per Annum*. So that Religion ſeem'd not ſo much to ſuffer hereby, as ſome of the Clergy of thoſe Times and ours would have it believed: Our

King-

Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwell* projected it) inſtead of divers ſupernumerary and idle Perſons, Men fit for Imployment, either in War or Peace, maintained at the Coſt of the foreſaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Deſolations (appearing in their ſtately Foundations at this Day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompenſed.

Beſides, the King in the demoliſhing of them, had ſo tender a Care of Learning, that he not only preferred divers able Perſons which he found there, but took eſpecial Care to preſerve the choiceſt Books of their well-furniſhed Libraries; wherein I find *John Leland* (a curious Searcher of Antiquities) was employed. But hereof enough, ſince I do not intend to exceed the Terms of an Hiſtorian, and therefore ſhall come now to the Parliament, which being compoſed of Perſons well-affected to the King's Service, (as his Manner was always with great Induſtry to procure ſuch,) Theſe Statutes among others were enacted:

That religious Perſons being put at Liberty, might purchaſe, ſue, and be ſued; but not claim any Inheritance, as deſcending on them: And that if they had made a Vow of Chaſtity after one and twenty, they ſhould not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no ſufficient Amends for the Loſs of their preſent Maintenance.

That the King by the Advice of his Council, or the more Part of them, might ſet forth Proclamations under ſuch Penalties and Pains as to him or them ſhall ſeem neceſſary, which ſhould be obſerved as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this ſhould not be prejudicial to any Perſon's Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels, or Life, *&c.* But this was repealed 1 *Edw.* 6. 12.

That the King might nominate ſuch Number of Biſhops, Sees for Biſhops, Cathedral Churches, and endow them with ſuch Poſſeſſions as he will. [Which, though repealed 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mary*, yet Order was taken therein again, 8 *Eliz.* 1.]

It was declared alſo how Lords in the Parliament ſhould be placed.

That Leaſes made of Manors belonging to Monaſteries diſſolv'd, or to be diſſolv'd, and aſſured to the King, ſhould take Effect: Wherein is expreſſed, that the King ſhould hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy to him, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, all Monaſteries, Abbacies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Houſes of Friars, or other Religious and Eccleſiaſtical Houſes and Places, which ſince the fourth of *February*, 27 *Hen.* VIII. have been diſſolved, ſuppreſſed, renounced, relinquiſhed, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highneſs; or which ſhall be diſſolved, *&c.* As alſo all Manors, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, *&c.* belonging to them. All which (except ſuch as came by Attainder of Treaſon) ſhould be under Survey and Governance of the King's Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other Mens Titles yet ſaved.

It was alſo particularly enacted, That whereas *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* by the King's Aſſent had purchaſed of one *William Flatbury*, late Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the ſaid Monaſtery, with all, *&c.* And whereas *George*, Lord *Cobham*, had likewiſe purchaſed the College or Chantry of *Cobham*, in *Kent*, It was enacted, that the Act above-written ſhould not be prejudicial to

to the ſaid Duke, or Lord *Cobham*. Whereby it appears the King's Intention was to unite all the Abby-Lands, *&c.* to the Crown, ſave theſe ſo ſpecified.

The Six Articles, called by ſome the Bloody Statutes, were alſo enacted this Parliament: being,

I. If any Perſon, by Word, Writing, Printing, Cyphering, or any otherwiſe, do preach, teach, diſpute, or hold Opinion, that in the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, under Form of Bread and Wine (after the Conſecration thereof) there is not preſent really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*; or that after the ſaid Conſecration there remaineth any Subſtance of Bread and Wine, or any other Subſtance but the Subſtance of Chriſt, God and Man; or that in the Fleſh under Form of Bread, is not the very Blood of Chriſt; or that with the Blood, under the Form of Wine, is not the very Fleſh of Chriſt, as well apart, as though they were both together; or affirm the ſaid Sacrament to be of other Subſtance than is aforeſaid, or deprave the ſaid bleſſed Sacrament: Then he ſhall be adjudged an Heretick, and ſuffer Death by Burning, and ſhall forfeit to the King all Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, as in Caſe of High-Treaſon.

II. And if any Perſon preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obſtinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the bleſſed Sacrament in both Kinds is neceſſary for the Health of Man's Soul, or ought or ſhould be miniſtred in both Kinds, or that it is neceſſary to be received by any Perſon other than a Prieſt, being at Maſs, and conſecrating the ſame.

III. Or that any Man, after the Order of Prieſthood received, may marry or contract Matrimony.

IV. Or that any Man or Woman which adviſedly hath vowed or profeſſed, or ſhould vow or profeſs Chaſtity or Widowhood, may marry or contract Marriage.

V. Or that private Maſſes be not lawful, or not laudable, or ſhould not be uſed, or be not agreeable to the Laws of God.

VI. Or that Auricular Confeſſion is not expedient and neceſſary to be uſed in the Church of God: He ſhall be adjudged to ſuffer Death, or forfeit Lands and Goods as a Felon.

If any Prieſt, or other Man or Woman which adviſedly hath vowed Chaſtity or Widow-hood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another; or any Man which is, or hath been a Prieſt, do carnally uſe any Woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be converſant or familiar with any ſuch Woman, both the Man and the Woman ſhall be adjudged Felons. Commiſſions alſo ſhall be awarded to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, his Chancellor, Commiſſary, and others, to enquire of the Hereſies, Felonies, and Offences aforeſaid. And alſo Juſtices of Peace in their Seſſions, and every Steward, under Steward, and Deputy of Steward in their Leet or Law-day, by the Oaths of twelve Men, have Authority to enquire of all the Hereſies, Felonies and Offences aforeſaid.

In this Parliament alſo, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury* (being Grand-child of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward* the Fourth, and Mother of Cardinal *Pool*,) as alſo the Cardinal himſelf, and

and *Gertrude*, Wife to the late Marquis of *Exeter*, Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and *Thomas Dingley*, Knight of St. *Johns*, were attainted of Treaſon. Againſt *Margaret* and *Gertrude* it was alledged, that they were Accomplices with the Marquis of *Exeter*, and other Traitors: Our Records alſo tell us, that certain Bulls granted by the Biſhop of *Rome* were found at *Cowdrey*, being then, as I take it, the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*'s Houſe; and that the Parſon of *Warblington* convey'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinal; and that ſhe forbad all her Tenants to have the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, or any other new Book the King had priviledged. But whatſoever the Cauſe was (for our Parliament Records are ſhort in the Particulars) I find by a Letter from the Earl of *Southampton*, and Biſhop of *Ely* to *Cromwell*, That (though ſhe were ſeventy Years old) her Behaviour yet was maſculine and vehement, and that ſhe would confeſs nothing. Howſoever, the Teſtimonies brought convincing her, ſhe was condemn'd.

Againſt Cardinal *Pool* it was alledg'd that he had conſpired againſt the King with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and taken Preferment of him.

Againſt the Reſt, I find no more, but in general, that they were Accomplices. Howſoever, *Forteſcue* and *Dingley* ſuffer'd firſt; for *Margaret*'s Execution was deferred for two Years, as ſhall be told hereafter; and *Gertrude* died a natural Death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I find our King required him earneſtly of all thoſe Princes that received him in their Dominions.

The ſix Articles being now publiſhed, gave no little Occaſion of Murmur, ſince to revoke the Conſcience not only from its own Court, but from the ordinary Ways of reſolving Controverſies, to ſuch an abrupt Deciſion of the common Law (as is there ſet down) was thought to be a diverting of Religion from its right and uſual Courſe; ſince the Conſcience muſt be taught, not forced; without that it ſhould at any Time be handled roughly, as being of ſo delicate a Temper, as tho' it ſuffer an Edge to be put on, who doth more, diminiſheth or breaks it. Beſides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be capital, before they be fully proved, is prejudicial to that Liberty, without which no Man can juſtify himſelf before God or Man. For if it be Death to believe otherwiſe than we are commanded, how unſafe will it be to make exact Enquiry? And without it, who can ſay his Religion is beſt? Beſides, the Example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their People in Obedience) ſhould do the like, who would ever turn Chriſtian? Therefore *Cranmer* for three Days together in the open Aſſembly oppos'd theſe Articles boldly; though it appears not what Arguments he uſed. Only I find the King ſent to him for a Copy of them, and miſliked not his Freedom, as knowing all he ſpake was out of a ſincere Intention; though ſome thought he had a private Intereſt, as being himſelf a married Man, though fearing of this Law, he ſent away his Wife for the preſent into *Germany*, ſhe being Kinſwoman to *Hoſiander*, the Divine of *Noremberg*, whom he married during his Ambaſſade with the Emperor about *Anno* 1532.

But that it may ſeem leſs ſtrange why the King, who before was much diſpoſed to favour the Reformers, did on a ſudden ſo much vary from them, I have thought fit to ſet down ſome of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which Number certainly, the Objections of *Stephen Gardiner*, formerly mentioned, may have

Place, while ſpeaking againſt the Treaty with the Proteſtants in *Germany*, he alledged that they would not allow the King's Supremacy, leſt they ſhould infer an inveſting of the ſame Authority in the Emperor, whoſe abſolute Power they ſeemed to fear more than that of the Pope himſelf: And as this Suſpicion alienated ſecretly the Mind of our King, who ſaw that if he embraced their Reformation, they would abridge his Power; ſo they not only deny'd to approve his Divorce, but lately, as is ſhew'd, in a peremptory Manner refuſed all Accommodation, unleſs our King yielded wholly to the *Auguſtin* Confeſſion. Again, the Duke of *Saxony* about this Time particularly ſhew'd ſome Diſaffection to him in the Overture of his Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Laſtly, as Affairs then ſtood, the King was both in that Danger of Rebellion at home, and Invaſion from abroad, as he thought it not ſafe to reform any further in Religion; for which Reaſon alſo as he was fevere againſt all new Sectaries, eſpecially *Anabaptiſts*; ſo when occaſion was given, he ſtill teſtify'd his Deſire, as far as was poſſible to keep an Unity with the *Roman* Church, affirming that the Pope had ſlanderouſly called him Heretick. Inſomuch that the ſame Time he publickly diſputed with *Lambert* in *Weſtminſter-hall*, he declared his Reſolution to continue in the Religion he had openly profeſſed. For theſe Reaſons therefore, I ſhall not here intermeddle with thoſe of Conſcience, it ſeems our King was the more diſpoſed to keep him to the antient Forms of the Church.

And now the Proteſtants in *Germany*, deſpairing of Accord with the Emperor, aſſembled at *Arnſtet* in *Thuringia*, *November* 9. to conſult about mutual Defence. To which purpoſe, they ſent Ambaſſadors to our King; who told them, as I find in our Records, That he would make a League with them in honeſt Cauſes, as he had done with the Duke of *Juliers*, and after that he would treat of an Accord and League in Religion. Tho' *Sleidan*, a little differing herein, writes that King *Henry* told them plainly, he thought their Doctrine touching Communion in both Kinds, private Maſs, and Prieſt's Marriage erroneous, and that his learned Men ſhould diſpute herein. And that *Cromwell* thereupon told them, the beſt way was to ſend an honourable Ambaſſy, and *Melanchthon*; aſſuring them that if they came to any reaſonable Agreement of Doctrine with our King, he would not only furniſh them with a vaſt Sum of Money for their Occaſions, but enter into a ſtrict League with them for Defence in general. But they ſtanding firm to the *Auguſtin* Confeſſion, and intending no League but in caſe of Religion, the Buſineſs ended for the preſent, in a Reſolution to anſwer the King's Arguments concerning the Six Articles in Writing, and ſend it in a Book to him, and to deſire an Abolition of them.

And now the Six Articles cauſed no little Apprehenſion in all the Reformers; yet I do not find the Law was uſed with much Rigour till *Cromwell*'s Death. Nevertheleſs, the Terror of it made *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Saliſbury* (being committed to Priſon) to reſign their Biſhopricks to the King, they being unwilling it ſeems to have a Hand in the Approbation or Execution of them. So that if Sir *Thomas More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had their Scruples about the Supremacy; theſe Men were as conſcientious about the Six Articles.

This Year the Emperor glad to re-

poſe himſelf a while from War, attended his Pleaſure in *Spain*, while *Barbaroſſa* with a ſtrong Fleet keeping the Seas, and landing his Men, did Miſchief in many Places. Recovering ſo after a brave Reſiſtance by *Sermiento* a *Spaniard*, the Place of *Caſtel-novo* in the Gulf of *Cataro*; which tho' it excited the Emperor to proceed in War againſt the *Turk*, yet a Mutiny ariſing in *Gaunt*, his native Town, made him reſolve in Perſon to go and appeaſe it. And the rather, that having now loſt his Empreſs, and check'd a little the Greatneſs of ſome principal Perſons in *Spain*, he thought himſelf more free and diſengaged. All the Difficulty was what Way to take; for if the Sea were full of Hazard, there was no ready Land-way but by *France*; which though beſt, when it could be handſomely procured, yet the Buſineſs being brought to his Council, was judged impoſſible; nevertheleſs, an Overture thereof being ſecretly given to *Francis*, and a Promiſe of *Milan* to one of his Sons, as the *French* write, he both gladly embraced the Occaſion, and offered his two Sons for Hoſtages of his ſafe Paſſage. This was thankfully received by the Emperor, but as the Age was full of antient Honour, which I never found intermitted but in barbarous Times, the Emperor would have no Security, but only a ſafe Conduct under the Hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that Pledge only for his Life and the Empire, while *Francis* that he might exempt his magnanimous Gueſt from Jealouſy, ſent his two Sons and *Anne de Montmorency* the Conſtable to receive him at *Bayonne*, whither in his mourning Weeds he came with twenty-ſix Perſons only, in the end of *November*, 1539. And ſo like Knight-errant following his Journey, he every where, as *Francis* had permitted, deliver'd all Priſoners. Coming thus to *Coſtel le Herand*, the King, tho' troubled with an Ulcer in his ſecret Parts, and the Queen and Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* his Favourite, and a great Train of noble Perſons, welcomed the Emperor with all Demonſtration of Love. This confident Paſſage having, it ſeem'd, aboliſhed all Memory of their former Rancour, holding their Way thus to *Amboiſe*; the Emperor was there almoſt ſtifled by a thick and ſudden Smoak, which, though the *French* report it to have been the caſual Burning of ſome Hangings near his Chamber, and alſo might be true, yet one *Style*, employ'd there by our King to write him the Succeſs of this Journey, ſaid came thus. They who had Charge from *Francis* to make the Emperor's Reception, had hung a long Iron Chain from the Top of the Caſtle to the Bottom, covered all over with Pitch, Tar, and Roſin, in very great Quantity, which being lighted at the Emperor's coming, ſomewhat in Night, did afterwards upon ſome Accident, go out in that Snuff and ill Savour, as the Emperor ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe to choak him; but theſe Jealouſies were ſoon cleared, Succours not only coming in quickly, but *Francis* commanding the Authors of this Diſturbance to be hanged, had not the Emperor interceded for them. And here, during ſome Stay, both Princes (who formerly would have uſed their Arms againſt each other) ending their Emulation in ſhooting a Stag, which they both hit at the ſame time with their Hand-guns, as *Style* relates, departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and Officers of the City met him, with a brave Equipage, which yet the Emperor ſeem'd not much to affect; his black cloath

Suit,

Suit, and private Train, being not proper, as he thought, for ſuch Shews; ſo that he wiſhed they had been ſpared. Nevertheleſs *Francis* would not omit any thing which might ſerve either for Oſtentation or Magnificence, ſo that in the Splendor thereof, all Note of their former Diſſention ſeem'd hidden or effaced. Howbeit, there wanted not ſome who perſuaded *Francis* to cancel the Treaty of *Madrid*, and make a new one at *Paris*, and that *Milan* ſhould be reſtored into the Bargain. But as the Condeſtable *Montmorency*, a Perſon of great Worth, oppoſed this Advice, ſo *Francis* abhorred it. Beſides, the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes*, who at firſt ſeemed averſe, being gain'd by a Diamond, which the Emperor having purpoſely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) changed her Language, and now began to ſerve the Emperor. Seven Days thus being paſt, either in Maſks, Tilts, Tourneys, and other royal Diſports and Triumphs, or in friendly and private Communication, the Emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of Satisfaction for his good Entertainment, many Aſſurances of his Love to *Francis*, who alſo for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our King, had diſcovered ſome Secrets (formerly paſt betwixt them) which diverted the Emperor much from making any new Alliance in our Parts. But as this, at laſt, was diſcloſed again to our King, the unkind Uſage he received herein, made him attend an Occaſion to reſent it. And now the Emperor and *Francis* leaving *Paris*, the Condeſtable entertained them both at his goodly Palace of *Chantilly*: The admirable Situation whereof, and Variety of Country Pleaſures about it, was ſuch, as it made the Emperor wiſh that he had ſuch another Place, when it had coſt him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to *St. Quintin*, bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing to be admired, in all the Paſſages betwixt them, than that they never ſpake of any particular Difference, but by way of gentle Diſcourſe, or urged it further, than either of them pleaſed to give ear, ſo much did Civility prevail with them over all other Conſiderations; and thus at length, in *February* the Emperor came to *Valenciennes*; whither *Francis*'s Children having accompany'd him, and received both from him, and his Siſter *Mary*, Lady Regent there, all kind and regal Uſage (excepting an abſolute Promiſe to reſtore *Milan*) they departed, and left the Emperor to attend his great Occaſions in thoſe Countries. Where being happy in nothing more than that his Adventure of paſſing thro' *France*, which nothing could juſtify but the Event, had ſucceeded ſo well, he compoſed the Stirs there ſhortly after.

The Paſſages of this Interview being advertiſed to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Alliance; or when that could not be done, to prevent the Conſequences. Therefore immediately upon the Departure of the Emperor from *Paris*, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to treat with *Francis* to this Effect; to offer him Aſſiſtance for Recovery of *Milan*. And for this purpoſe, that the Arrearages of the Penſions due to our King and Salt-money ſhould be remitted: Furthermore, that with all Induſtry he ſhould make him jealous of the Emperor's Ambition. And laſtly, to propoſe a ſtrict League with him, even to the Excluſion of the Pope from their Dominions, as he ſaid; he ſaid he had already contracted with the Duke of *Cleves*, and in a Manner with the Duke of *Saxe*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*,

the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *John* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Marqueſs *Joachim* Elector, and other Princes of *Germany*. The Duke coming thus to *Paris*, had Audience of *Francis*; but finding him reſolute not to break with the Emperor, if he perform'd his Part, return'd before the end of *February*.

Having thus deliver'd together the whole Buſineſs of the Interview, and Succeſs thereof, leſt the Reader ſhould be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I ſhall look back on ſome other Affairs which paſs'd this while.

Our King having found that neither the Marriage propoſed betwixt himſelf and the Ducheſs of *Milan*, was like to take effect, nor any other in *France*, conſider'd now where he might beſtow himſelf with moſt Advantage: Whereupon *Cromwell* adviſed him to a Treaty with *Cleves*; and the rather that he might oppoſe the Emperor, who did ſtill retain ſuch a Grudge againſt him for diſinheriting the Princeſs *Mary*, as it was thought he would endeavour to execute the Pope's Sentence; ſo that hereunto certain Conſiderations of State, rather than Beauty or Riches, did conduce. For as *John* Duke of *Cleves* was next Neighbour to the Emperor's Dominions in the *Low Countries*, and Father-in-law to the Duke of *Saxony*, he ſeem'd moſt proper to join with in League to this Purpoſe. But the old Duke *John* dying ſhortly after, the Treaty was renewed with Duke *William* his Son, to whom alſo the Princeſs *Mary* was propoſed, when he demanded her upon fitting Terms. But Difficulties appeared in either of theſe Affairs; for the Lady *Anne* having been demanded by the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, the old Duke of *Cleves* had in great Part accorded to it; and for the other Match, it was much croſs'd by the Emperor, who offer'd Duke *William* the Dutcheſs of *Milan*, not without ſome hope that he would releaſe *Guelders*, which the ſaid Duke claim'd by the Gift of *Charles* of *Egmond*, late Duke thereof. Howbeit, the Treaties with our King went on; but ſo as they were by the *Clevois* cunningly delayed till a Meeting with the Emperor's Deputies at *Bruſſels* had paſt, and Advice was taken with the Duke of *Saxony*: Yet were not theſe the only Impediments; for the Lady *Anne* underſtood no Language but *Dutch*; ſo that all Communication of Speech betwixt our King and her was intercluded. Yet, as our Ambaſſador, *Nicholas Wotton*, + Doctor of Law, employed in this Buſineſs, hath it, ſhe could both write and read in her own Language, and ſew very well; only for Muſick, he ſaid, it was not the Manner of the Country to learn it. But for her better Deſcription, *Hans Holbin* the King's Servant took her Picture, and her younger Siſter *Amelies*, and ſent them hither; upon whoſe excellent Repreſentation of the Lady *Anne*, the Match being reſolved on, was fully concluded at the coming over of *Frederick* Duke of *Bavaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the ſeveral Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; and ſhortly after the Lady with a brave Equipage was ſent into *England*. The other Treaty yet ſucceeded not; for the young Duke of *Cleves* finding no Diſpoſition in the Emperor to releaſe *Guelders*, concluded a Marriage with the only Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margarita* the *French* King's Siſter, the Year following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her Way as far as *Roche-*

Rocheſter, the King came diſguiſed to her on New-years Day: But the Sight ſo diſliked him, that he was glad (as his own Words were afterwards) that he had kept himſelf from making any Pact of Bond with her, and that he was woe that ever ſhe came into *England*; and that he thereupon deliberated with himſelf how to break it off; though, as he conſidered it would make a Ruffle in the World, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperor or *French* King's Hands, he ſaid, it was too far gone. The Truth of all which is ſo declared by our Records, that I make no Queſtion but if her coming had happened at any other Time than when the Emperor and *French* King were together in *France*, as is before related, he would have ſent her back. Howſoever, he thought fit to diſcover himſelf at laſt to her; who thereupon fell on her Knees, but he taking her up lovingly, kiſs'd her, without making Shew of any inward Diſcontent, which alſo he had ſo at length digeſted, that he reſolved to marry her, when the Inſurance made by her to the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son were cleared; which Buſineſs being committed to *Cromwel*'s Care, who was a ſpecial Counſellor of the Match, he ſaid, as the King afterwards charged him under his Hand, that a ſufficient Inſtrument for this Purpoſe was brought: But whether *Cromwel* did forget himſelf herein or his Maſter, it is hard out of our Records to determine; for I find in an Original written by *Cromwel*, *June* 25, to the King, out of the *Tower*, that *Oleſleger* and *Hobſtenden* (the Duke of *Cleve*'s Commiſſioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed no ſuch Inſtrument, nor any Diſcharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son; nevertheleſs, that *Oleſteger* offered to remain here as Priſoner, till a Revocation of all the aforeſaid Covenants and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him ſay, that he was not well handled in this Buſineſs.

Howſoever, all was remitted to the Council-Table, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſaid, if nothing but Sponſals had paſt betwixt them, ſuch a Renunciation as was offered would ſerve; and that then ſhe making a Proteſtation in an honourable Preſence, before certain Notaries, ſhould be a ſufficient Diſcharge in Law: And now the procuring of the ſaid Inſtrument in Writing being undertook by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, the King required the Lady to make a Proteſtation before the Lords to this Effect: Which being done, he ſaid to *Cromwel*, that there was no Remedy now, and therefore he muſt put his Neck in the Yoak (as the Words under his Hands are:) Whereupon, the next Day after he ſolemnly married her at *Greenwich*, reſolving to confederate himſelf with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to ſome moderate Accord in Doctrine. But in the Morning *Cromwel* coming to him, and demanding whether he liked her better than before, he anſwered, Nay, much worſe; for that he having found by ſome Signs that ſhe was no Maid, he had no Diſpoſition to meddle with her: Nevertheleſs, he outwardly cheriſhed her; without making any publick Demonſtration of Diſ-favour towards her, or Neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and elſewhere. All which made the greater Shew, that the King remembring what Enemies he had abroad, and diſ-

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contented Perſons at home, had renewed his Guard of fifty Penſioners, intermitted ſince the firſt Year of his Reign.

It is formerly related, how not only *James* King of *Scotland*, deſired a Marriage with *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a Touch given that our King had ſome Inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* choſe rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that leſs States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equal for the moſt Part live in Jealouſy with their Neighbours: Therefore the Match being concluded, ſhe was brought to *Scotland*, and ſoon after with Child, which being a Son, the Grandmother *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, and Siſter to our King, having chriſtened, ſhortly after died, aged about fifty Years, and was buried in the *Carthuſians* Church in *Perth*. But neither that Child, nor another born the Year following, lived long; they, though in ſeveral places, ending their Lives within ſix Hours one after the other, the ſame Day (as the *Scottiſh* Hiſtory hath it.) I find little elſe by our Records of *Scotland*, for this Year; ſave that ſome Libels and Prophecies being divulged in *Scotland* againſt our King, the Authors were puniſhed by *James*. The Year following Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Secretary, was diſpatched thither; about the Time that the Emperor and *French* King were together: For our King knew well how much it concerned him now on every Part to prevent Danger. The Inſtructions given to *Sadler* were (after preſenting the King's Love, and ſome Horſes) Firſt, To bring *David Beton* Cardinal and Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* into Suſpicion with that King, as having written to *Rome* in other Terms than he ſhould; which Letters being intercepted in *England*, were now to be ſhewn. But King *James* did not much weigh this.

Secondly, To perſuade him, for augmenting his Eſtate, to take into his Hands the Abbeys; which *James* likewiſe refuſed, ſaying, what need I take them into my Hands, when I may have any Thing I can require of them? And if there be Abuſes in them, I will reform them; for there be a great many good.

Thirdly, To diſcover his Affection, by telling him how Rumours were diſperſed, which the aforeſaid Interview made probable, that the Emperor, *French* King, and Biſhop of *Rome* would invade *England*; and that it was ſaid, King *James* would do the ſame: But he proteſted with many Oaths againſt it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how near he was to the *Engliſh* Crown; and that he ſhould eſteem his Uncle's Friendſhip above any others, deſiring again there might be an Interview; which *James* approved when the *French* King might be preſent; but afterward by a particular Meſſage excuſed it: So that ſome Jealouſies paſſed betwixt them; which alſo appeared by certain Fortifications raiſed upon the Borders by our King, and a Navy of fifteen Ships, and 2000 Men made in readineſs by *James*: who wanted not Money, his Clergy giving great Sums, only that their Houſes might not be diſſolved. What the Occaſion of theſe Preparations yet was, I cannot tell; but I gather out of our Records, that about this Time, certain *Iriſh* Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promiſing to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* ſhould come over to do him Homage. How this Offer was accepted, appears not; but the Preparatives came to nothing by the good Order which our King gave;

gave; who both by frequent and kind Meſſages ſecuring his Borders, kept his Nephew in good Intelligence. One Doubt yet remained undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, that our King took it ill, that *James* aſſumed to himſelf his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, only adding the Word *Chriſtian* unto it, as if (ſaid he) there were any other Faith.

That Beauty and Attractive which ſhould take the King's Eye in *Anne* of *Cleves*, not appearing, nor that Converſation which ſhould pleaſe his Ear; and her Brother beſides excuſing himſelf in the Performance of ſome Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly think of a Divorce; for which Purpoſe, the Precontract with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son was chiefly pretended. For though *Oliſleger*, Chancellor of *Cleves*, had according to his Promiſe, *Feb.* 26, 1540. procured an Inſtrument in Writing out of the Records of *Duſſeldorp*, dated *Feb.* 15, 1535. teſtifying the *Sponſalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, and the Lady *Anne* ſhould not take Effect. Yet this it ſeems either was not ſhewed, or did not ſatisfy our King. Howſoever it was not depoſited *in Archivis Regis*, but found among *Cromwel*'s Papers after his Apprehenſion. And now though all Scruples ſeemed the more conſiderable, in that ſo many Doubts had been already caſt concerning the King's former Marriages, yet the King determined at what Price ſoever to ſeparate himſelf from *Anne* of *Cleve*, and together to ruin *Cromwel*. For though he had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by Reaſon of his low Birth to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner*, and the Roman Catholicks, for having operated ſo much in the Diſſolution of Abbies; and that the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from burning; and laſtly, that beſides a Subſidy that the Clergy gave of four Shillings in the Pound, he had gotten in the preſent Parliament, not without much Reluctation, one Tenth, and four fifteen Parts of all Laymens Goods; he was univerſally hated: which our King conſidering, and having beſides divers Articles brought againſt him, he now judged him no longer neceſſary: Therefore he gave Way to all his Enemies Accuſations; which could not but be material, it being impoſſible that any Man, who 1540
meddled ſo much in great and publick Affairs, ſhould not in divers Kinds ſo miſtake, forget and err, as to incur the Note of a Criminal, when ſevere Inquiſition were made againſt him. And now the King having gotten ſufficient Proof againſt *Cromwel*, cauſed him to be arreſted at the Council-Table by the Duke of *Norfolk*, when he leaſt ſuſpected it: To which *Cromwel* obeyed, though judging his Perdition more certain, that the Duke was Uncle to the Lady *Katharine Howard*, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his Commitment to the Tower being divulged, the People with many Acclamations witneſſed their Joy; So impatient are they uſually of the good Fortune of Favourites ariſing from mean Place and inſolent over the ill: Whereof the King being informed, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament Buſineſs, and the Divorce; and the rather, that all former Faults being now imputed to *Cromwel*, every Body began to hope for a better Age. But *Cromwel* (if we believe ſome of our Authors) foreſaw his Fall two Years before, and

therefore provided for his Family; neither did the late Honours give him much Comfort or Security, when he thought they were conferred only to make him the greater Sacrifice. It cannot be denied yet, but the Crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the general Terms great and enormous, and such as deserved the most capital Punishment; though as some of the Accusations were concealed two Years after they were alledged, and the Particulars of some others not specified; and lastly, as he was not permitted to answer for himself, the Proceedings against him were thought rigorous; but so few pitied him, that all was easily passed over.

Nevertheless, I find by an Original, that *Cranmer* writ to the King in his Behalf boldly, considering the Times; for though (as is in his Letter) he heard Yesterday in his Grace's Council, that he is a Traitor; yet, he saith, who cannot be sorrowful, and amaz'd that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty, he whose Surety was only by your Majesty, he who loved your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; He who studied always to set forward, whatsoever was your Majesties Will and Pleasure; he that cared for no Man's Displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a Servant, in my Judgment, in Wisdom, Diligence, Faithfulness, and Experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the Beginning? If the Noble Princes of Memory, King *John*, *Henry* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, and over-thrown as those good Princes were: After which, he says again, I loved him as my Friend, for so I took him to be, but I chiefly loved him for the Love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace singularly above all others: But now, if he be a Traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved him, or trusted him, and I am very glad that his Treason is discovered in Time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's Chance herein, I know not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually Night and Day to send such a Counsellor in his Place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for his Qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much Sollicitude and Care to preserve your Grace from all Dangers, as I ever thought he had. All which, as being a Character of *Cromwel* in *Cranmer*'s Opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the Original. Not yet that I will pretend Excuses for him, whom the Laws have condemned; (though *Fox* doubts not to say, That as general Councils have sometimes been observed to err, so Princes and Parliaments may be sometimes informed by sinister Heads,) but that his Punishment may serve as a Caution for those that serve severe Princes, to procure sufficient Warrant for all that they do. The Crimes objected to *Cromwel*, seeming to be chiefly an Usurpation of Power, to set at Liberty certain Persons not capable of it, and granting certain Licences, and making certain Commissions in high Affairs, without the King's Knowledge: For which, though *Cromwel* in his Discretion might have found due Motives; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the Dan-

ger of the Law. Furthermore, he was accuſed for being an Heretick, and favouring them: (But then, that the Head of the Church's Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, ſhould be an Heretick and Favourer of them, to ſome ſeemed ſtrange, to others gave Occaſion of Merriment.) As for his ſpeaking certain high preſumptuous Words concerning the King, and ſundry of the Nobility; many thought it proceeded rather out of Miſtake and Raſhneſs, than any ill Intention. *Cromwel* thus unheard, and almoſt unpitied, being condemned while he was in the *Tower*, omitted not yet to write unto the King, whereof hereafter. The Context of my Hiſtory requiring that I come to the Proceedings of the King's Divorce.

I find by an Original, that *John Clark* Biſhop of *Bath*, was ſent to the Duke of *Cleves* at the End of *June*, to tell him, that the King never conſented heartily to the Matrimony with his Siſter; and that he never did, nor intended to conſummate the ſame; eſpecially ſince he could not but take Notice of the Pre-contract with *Lorain*: Beſides which, that there were ſecret Cauſes, which the King, without great Neceſſity would not have diſcloſed, becauſe they touch'd the Honour of the Lady; yet that all her Jewels ſhould be reſtored with an honourable Augmentation in Revenue, *&c.* And ſo that ſhe ſhould be tranſported into her Country. Beſides, that Aſſurance ſhould be given the Duke of the King's Loan, in all his Occaſions with the Emperor. After which, if the Duke ſhould remain perverſe, to tell him, that the Matter is already ſo debated by his Majeſty, and the whole Realm, (as the Reader will ſee hereafter) the Parliament now ſitting, that they be utterly reſolved to proceed to Juſtice. But theſe Inſtructions again were checked by others of *July* 3. and he commanded to perſiſt only in the Point of Pre-contract with *Lorain*, which was upon Remonſtrance of the Lords in the upper Houſe, to be debated in Parliament, ſince they found the Inſtrument for Revocation thereof was of no Value: And that certain Perſons were appointed of both Houſes, who ſhould repair to the King, to beſeech him, by way of humble Petition, that it would pleaſe him, both to grant, that the Biſhops and the Clergy of the Realm might examine the Matter, and thereupon declare their Judgment and Sentence; and alſo to abſtain from her Company, till the Caſe were decided: Whereunto his Majeſty condeſcending and agreeing, upon *Thurſday* next it ſhould be opened to the Parliament, and brought to the King, and from thence, remitted to the Biſhops and Clergy; and alſo notified to her. All which tending only to an Examination, his Majeſty could not deny, not doubting but the ſaid Duke conſidering that it is the general Motion of the whole Realm, and remembring the Effuſion of Blood which hath been in the ſame, by uncertainty of Titles, will think it reaſonable, that this laſt Matrimony, for their more Certainty, and the King's Diſcharge ſhould be examined. Theſe ſecond Inſtructions (ſigned by the King as the former were,) yet did not pleaſe: He being finally commanded to urge for his beſt Argument *Authoritatem rei judicatæ:* All which Inſtructions were ſent the Biſhop in his Way, and before he came to *Bruges*, where the Emperor was; whom he was commanded to ſalute on his Majeſty's Part, and to deliver him certain Letters. The Particulars whereof, though not extant in our Records, yet (as I gather by ſome Circumſtances) tended to a Reconciliation with the Emperor, whom the King in this Match had diſ-

obliged. Of the Delivery whereof alſo, the Biſhop (being not yet come to the Duke of *Cleves*) advertiſed our King, who this while commanded the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*, to acquaint the ſaid Lady therewith; (who, upon Pretence of better Air, was lately removed to *Richmond*.) But the News ſtruck her into a ſudden Weakneſs and Fainting, till at laſt recovering herſelf, ſhe was by little and little perſuaded, Firſt, to refer the Matter to the Clergy. Secondly, to relinquiſh her Title of Queen; inſtead whereof, the King had deviſed another which he thought might content her: And this was, as I find by our Records, that ſhe ſhould have the Name and Dignity thenceforth of his adopted Siſter; which Stile yet, afterwards, gave ſome Subject of Diſcourſe: Howſoever, ſhe accepted it, and ſubſcribed, in theſe Terms, a Letter to the King. Beſides, ſhe ſent another to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, acknowledging the Juſtice of the Proceeding; and that ſhe was untouched by the King, and that ſhe was well intreated in *England*, and therefore deſired to ſtay. Laſtly, ſhe promiſed to ſhew the King all Letters received from her Brother, Mother, or any elſe. Whereupon, the Officers which before attended her as Queen, were diſcharged, and others appointed to wait on her in the Quality of the King's adopted Siſter.

And now the Duke underſtanding by the Biſhop of *Bath*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Reſident there, that our Clergy aſſiſted by the Court of Arches had declared (upon her Teſtimony, that ſhe was untouched by our King) that the Marriage was void, and that either Part might Marry freely; and that the whole Parliament had confirmed the Sentence, and ſhe accepted it, remained much perplext, as with Tears he witneſſed; yet finding it a Buſineſs publickly reſolved, he ſaid little; eſpecially, after he heard that *Richmond* Houſe, and other fair Lands, were allotted her for Maintenance; and that ſhe ſhould have Precedence before all, ſave the Queen, and the King's Children. Howbeit, he would never conſent to the Diſannulling of the Match; ſo that the Biſhop returned, leaving the Duke no otherwiſe ſatisfied, than that his Siſter had ſped no worſe. Thus at length a Law paſſed, declaring the Marriage void, both by the Judgment of the Clergy of *England*, and alſo by her own Conſent, and that it was High Treaſon to judge or believe otherwiſe.

Another Act alſo was made, ſhewing what Marriages were lawful, and what not. Wherein is ordained, that all Marriages, without the Degrees prohibited by God's Law, made and conſummate by carnal Knowledge, ſhall be firm and good. Notwithſtanding any precontract, which hath not been ſo conſummate. But this Law was repealed, 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mar.* and 1 *Eliz.* 1.

Other Acts alſo paſſed this Seſſion of Parliament, which began *April* 12. Among which I thought fit to remember theſe:

An Act declaring in what Caſes a Man may diſpoſe all his Lands by his laſt Will in Writing; and in what, but Part thereof. And in what Caſes the King, and other Lords ſhall have their Wardſhips.

That no Perſon ſhould ſell or buy any Right or Title, or maintain it, or procure Maintenance in any Suit.

The Puniſhment alſo by Death of Prieſts married, or unmarried; and of Women offending with them by Incontinency, was repealed. For as the Clergy of theſe Times thought it (though one of

of the ſix Articles) too ſevere; the Puniſhment, upon their Remonſtrance, was laid on their Goods, Chattels, and Spiritual Promotions; and this alſo better pleaſed the King.

Sanctuaries alſo, and privileged Places were reduced to a few, and certain Rules preſcribed to them.

That Horſes feeding on Commons, not being of a lawful Height, (that is to ſay, not being fifteen Handfuls high, at two Years old) ſhould be ſeiſed on by any Man for his own Uſe.

That Foreſts, Heaths, Commons, *&c.* ſhould be driven once in the Year, and unlikely Tits in them to be killed. Nevertheleſs, that Horſes of ſmall Height might be put where Mares were not kept.

The Statutes alſo of 5 *Rich.* 2. 3. 6 *Rich.* 2. 8, 4. 4 *Hen.* 7. 10. and 23 *Hen.* 8. 7. touching Freighting in *Engliſh* Ships, were only rehearſed and confirmed, and a Rate ſet down what ſhould be paid for the Freight or Portage of the ſeveral Sorts of Merchandizes from the Port of *London* to ther Places, and from thence to *London*.

That no Alien nor Denizon ſhall ſet up any Trade in the King's Dominions, and they who are Denizons ſhould be bound by and unto all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, particularly thoſe of 14 *H.* 8. and 21 *Hen.* 8. above mentioned.

That *Trinity* Term, in Regard of Impediment of Harveſt, and Danger of Infection, ſhould be abbreviated. Certain Privileges alſo were granted to Phyſicians in *London*; as that they ſhould not keep Watch and Ward, nor be Conſtables; and that they might practiſe Chirurgery: Barbers, and Chirurgeons were alſo made one Company, and certain Privileges given them; as not to bear Armour, or to be put in any Watches or Inqueſts.

A Court alſo of the firſt Fruits and Tenths, granted to the King, was erected.

The Court of the King's Ward alſo, and the Names and ſeveral Duties and Offices thereof was erected.

It was enacted alſo, that the Lands and Goods of St. *John's* in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould be in the King's Diſpoſition; for which, theſe Reaſons chiefly were pretended: Becauſe the Knights of *Rhodes* or Saint *John*, otherwiſe called Fryers of the Religion of St. *John*, drew yearly great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom; that they maintained the uſurped Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*; that they defamed and ſlandered the King and his Subjects; that the Iſle of *Rhodes*, whence the ſaid Religion took its Name, was ſurpriſed by the *Turks*; that the Revenues might be better employed for Defence of the Realm; nevertheleſs, certain Penſions were allowed unto the Prior, and others of the ſaid Order, that were dutiful Subjects. But all their Lands, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, were granted to the King's Majeſty, to be in the Survey, Rule, and Governance of the Chancellor, and others, Officers of the Court of Augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious Order, not without much Scandal Abroad, both to the King and Government. Though yet, the envious Diſreſpect ſhewed unto the *Engliſh* being ſuch, as they never attained higher Dignity than the *Turcoplier* or Captain's Place of the Light-Horſe in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, did, in the Opinion of ſome, extenuate this Proceedings: The King, yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great Portions of the ſaid Lands to divers of our Noblemen and Cavaliers, who lately had held a ſolemn Juſts, Tourney,

ney and Barriers in *Weſtminſter*, and feaſted ſumptuouſly the King and Court.

Laſtly, a general and free Pardon was granted of all Hereſies, Treaſons, Felonies and Offences, ſome particular Perſons and Matters only excepted; in which Number *Cromwell* was not yet included. For though divers Letters and Meſſages paſſed from him to the King; and one particularly written after his Condemnation, and extant in our Records, wherein he much excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That if his Meddlings under his Majeſty were great, ſo his Majeſty's Authority was great; and that he proteſted, beſides, under many Execrations, That he was innocent in his Intentions; and laſtly, utterly deny'd all Treaſon and Hereſy, as that he was no Sacramentary, *&c.* yet he could not prevail. And thus the 28th of *July*, (being four Days after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he was brought to *Tower-hill*, where, after Profeſſion that he would die in the Catholick Faith, his Head was cut off.

And to this End came *Cromwell*, who from being but a Blackſmith's Son, found Means to travel into divers foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to ſee the Wars (being a Soulder of *Bourbon* at the Sacking of *Rome*) whence returning, he was received into the Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Service: To whom, he ſo approved himſelf, by his Fidelity and Diligence, that the King after his Fall, voluntarily took him for his Servant; in which Place he became a ſpecial Inſtrument for diſſolving the Abbies, and other Religious Houſes, and keeping down the Clergy; whom, in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he uſually termed the King's half Subjects; and for expelling the Monks, he ſaid it was no more than a reſtoring them to the firſt Inſtitution of being lay and labouring Perſons: neither did it move him, that ſo much Strictneſs and Auſterity of Life was enjoyn'd them in their ſeveral Orders, ſince he ſaid they might keep it in any Condition: But as theſe Reaſons again were not admitted by divers learned and able Perſons, ſo he got him many Enemies, who at laſt procured his Fall; but not before he had obtained ſucceſſively the Dignities of Maſter of the Rolls, Baron, Lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities, Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, *&c.* He was noted in the Exerciſe of his Places of Judicature, to have uſed much Moderation; and in his greateſt Pomp, to have taken Notice, and been thankful to mean Perſons of his old Acquaintance, and therein had a Virtue which his Maſter the Cardinal wanted: As for his other Deſcriptions, I leave them to be taken out of *Cranmer*'s Letter formerly mention'd, with ſome Deduction; for it ſeems written to the King, in more than ordinary Favour of his ancient Service.

At the ſame time with *Cromwell*, *Walter* Lord *Hungerford* ſuffered. The Crimes objected to him, were, for taking into his Houſe as Chaplain one *William Bird*, who had called the King Heretick, *&c.* That he had procured certain Perſons to conjure, to know how long the King ſhould live; alſo, that he had committed the Sin of Buggery.

Shortly after which, divers great Perſons from *Italy*, and other Places, came to ſee the King, whom he very courteouſly received, and being richly rewarded, diſmiſſed them.

The King continued yet his Rigour to thoſe that diſputed either his Authority or Articles; inſomuch, that both the Reformers and Maintainers of the Pope's Authority ſuffered ſo frequently, that

his Enemies ſaid, while he admitted neither ſide, he ſeemed to be of no Religion. Howbeit this was but Calumny, for he ſtood firmly to his own Reformation.

And now the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* contenting herſelf with the Style of the King's adopted Siſter, the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Daughter to *Edmund* the third Son of *Thomas*, firſt Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the preſent Duke, was marry'd to the King, and preſently after ſhewed publickly as Queen.

Our Hiſtorians ſay, that in *Auguſt*, 1540, there was ſo great a Drought, that the Springs failing, the Salt-water flowed above *London Bridge*.

I find alſo, that *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of *Bavaria* was in *England*, to obtain Aid of the King, for the Reſtitution of his Father-in-Law the King of *Denmark*. But as our Records do not ſet down the Time exactly, ſo I know not whether to place him in this Year, or the Year preceding. Howſoever, he found ſome Difficulty in his Buſineſs, and the rather, that he aſked ſo great a Sum as ſix hundred thouſand Ducats, when the King had ſo much Uſe of Money, for the fortifying of his Kingdom.

Let us look a while upon foreign Buſineſs: The Memory of thoſe Courteſies which were done the Emperor, being yet freſh, *Francis* thought fit to ſend the Cardinal of *Lorain* and Condeſtable *Montmorency*, to treat concerning the Reſtitution of *Milan*; but the Emperor, reſolute at what Price ſoever not to quit it, made them at length this Anſwer;

There I nothing I deſire ſo much, as the Peace and Quiet of the World, which that it may be firm and true, I am content to give unto the King, more than ever he meant to aſk, or I to grant. Of two Daughters which I have, I am willing to beſtow the Elder in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with her for Dowry, the State of *Flanders*, with the Style and Title of a King, ſo ſhall *Francis* have two Sons, both Kings and Neighbours: Beſides, if his eldeſt Son and mine die, he and my Daughter ſhall be the greateſt Princes in the World; for as they ſhall have *Spain*, and all my other Dominions. As for *Milan*, let them not think I will ever part with it, ſince it were nothing elſe than to disjoynt all my Eſtates. And let it not grieve the King; for I had it by good and lawful Succeſſion, and poſſeſs it as belonging to the Empire. Take *Milan* from me, and you take away my Paſſage between *Flanders* and *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Germany*. This is that I had to ſay to you. And if it pleaſe you not, there is no Occaſion to ſpeak more of rhe Buſineſs.

The Cardinal and *Montmorency* hereupon advertiſed this good Offer; but *Francis*, as a Man paſſionate, and affronted, returned this Anſwer, That ſince he might not have his Inheritance, he would have nothing elſe; neither would he care to ſpeak any more of Peace.

And thus the Treaty broke off; yet ſo, as it was thought that *Francis* herein ſhewed ſome Wilfulneſs; he being not further off from *Milan* for having *Flanders*, nor to be bound ſo by any Confederation, as he might not eaſily find occaſion to diſſolve it, the Cauſes both of War and Peace betwixt great Princes being perpetual. And now the Emperor, glad of this Refuſal, proſecutes his Buſineſs in *Germany*, without care of giving *Francis* any further Satisfaction.

In *France*, where all was now quiet, little paſt this Year, ſave that *Francis* being deſirous to enlarge his Borders, built a Fortreſs at *Ardres*, and made a Bridge over to the *Engliſh* Pale; which our Garriſon

riſon hearing beat down. The *French* yet re-edified it; but our Garriſons overthrew it again. Whereupon the *French* raiſing ſome Forces under Monſieur *De Brez*; our King commanded *Henry Arundel* Lord *Matrevers* (lately made Deputy of *Calais* in the Place of *Arthur Plantagenet*) to put the Town into Defence by fortifying and victualling it; and ſhortly after ſent over the Earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Edward Kerne*, who diſputed the Right of the Borders with Monſieur *De Biez*, and other Commiſſioners from *Francis*. But as no Effect follow'd hereon, and *Francis* beſides took occaſion to complain, that our King in the late Parliament had made the *French* liable to Subſidies, and other new Impoſitions, contrary to the antient Treaties; our King on the other Side, remonſtrating that thoſe Acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the ſaid Treaties; both Princes remained unſatisfy'd of the others Actions. Therefore on the *French* Party Monſieur *de Vendoſme* was commanded to raiſe Forces in *Picardy*; and from *England* were ſent *William* Earl of *Southampton*, lately made Lord Privy Seal, and *John* Lord *Ruſſel* newly conſtituted high Admiral, with a few Troops of Northern Horſe; without yet that any thing was attempted on either Side for the preſent.

I will conclude the Year 1540, with a Narration of the firſt Beginning which the *Jeſuitical Order* took from *Inigo de Loyola* of *Guipuſcoa* in *Spain*. This *Inigo* or *Ignatius* being born 1492. (that is to ſay, in the Year that the *Indies* were diſcover'd, and *Granada* taken in by *Ferdinand*) ſeems the third great Effect of that unparallel'd Aſcendent which *Spain* had at that Time: He lived yet obſcurely till he came to twenty-nine Years of Age, but then turned Soldier in the Wars of *Navarre*, 1521, where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof ſeems to have waken'd Devotion in him to a religious Life; for as ſoon as he recover'd, he went to our Lady of *Montſerrat*, to whom he offer'd his Sword and Dagger, which being done, he gave his Clothes away to a poor Man, and took upon him a Shirt and miſerable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Ruſhes: And in theſe Arms, for ſo are *Sandoval*'s Words, he watch'd one whole Night before our Lady, and ſo went to an Hoſpital three Leagues off, and there attended the ſick Perſons, whence he travell'd after to the *Holy Land*; being return'd thence, and now in his Age of thirty-three, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attain'd. And being deſirous to make further Progreſs, he went to the Univerſity of *Alcala*, and ſo to *Salaminca*, where being oppoſed and perſecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there ſtudied till he found at laſt divers others with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land* and *Jeruſalem*. Thus about 1536. going firſt to *Venice*, he ſtaid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he follow'd them; and obtain'd of *Paul* the Third, the Foundation of the *Jeſuitical Order*, 27 *Septem.* 1540.

The Decay of religious Houſes in *England*, and the Progreſs of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, authoriſing, it ſeems, their Inſtitution, who ſince have ſo dilated themſelves, as their Diſciples fear not to ſay, that for Advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to further Countries than the Apoſtles ever reached; and that God reſerved the entire Diſcoveries both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* until

the latter Times, only that thoſe holy Fathers might have the Honour of their Converſion.

Of the Devotion and Miracles which this *Ignatius* is ſaid to have exhibited in his Journeys, I affirm nothing, as contenting myſelf to have taken the more Hiſtorical Part out of *Sandoval*, who ſeems to be a great Extoller of him. Sundry Reformers on the other Side, inſtead of confeſſing him to be a good Man, or a Miracle-worker, ſaid, he was an Incendiary, and haunted with evil Spirits. Which latter Part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them *Jeſuits*) confirm; moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hoſpinian* hath it) that he died in much Fear and Trembling, and that his Face was ſtrangely black; *Haſenmullerus* beſides (once a *Jeſuite*) adds that no Bones were found in his Body, and that all the *Jeſuites* at his Burial were Witneſſes thereof.

Concerning which therefore no little Diſpute is on both Sides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers ſober Men think neither: But that we may pretermit the Contentions of Men paſſionate on the one or the other Side, as unfit to eſtabliſh that Peace in which God is beſt ſerv'd, there is little Occaſion to ſay more of the *Jeſuites* in this Place, than that they are generally held ſuch Miniſters of the King of *Spain*, that they have more advanced (by the ſecret Operations of their Confeſſions and Intelligence, which is admirable) the Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than either the Continent of *Spain*, made entire by the Union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touched) or the *Indies* themſelves. By which Means, as alſo that their Doctrine and Learning is ſo exact in all Things, ſave where they overmuch ſtudy the Pope and *Spaniards* Ends, they have made themſelves the moſt conſiderable among all the religious Orders.

[1541]. And now a cruel Time did paſs in *England*; for as few durſt protect thoſe who refus'd to ſubſcribe to the ſix Articles, ſo they ſuffered daily, whereof *Fox* hath many Examples: neither was it eaſy for any Man to eſcape (Commiſſioners being appointed in every Shire to ſearch out and examine thoſe who were refractory;) nevertheleſs theſe Puniſhments did but advance their Religion; for as they were notified abroad, and together their Conſtancy preſented, who were burnt, it was thought they had ſome Aſſiſtance from above, it being impoſſible otherwiſe that they ſhould ſo rejoice in the Midſt of their Torments, and triumph over the moſt cruel Death. Therefore not only the learned and better affected Sort, but even all Chriſtian Princes endeavoured ſome Conſent of Opinion: The Pope himſelf not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow ſome Degrees of Latitude in Religion, only when their ſeveral Authorities might be conſerved, than to hazard a general Schiſm and Diſtraction. Hereunto alſo it conduced not a little, that the *Turk* taking Notice of theſe Diviſions, prepared to invade *Germany*. Therefore the Emperor appointed a Meeting at *Worms*, where divers learned and able Men on both Sides ſhould diſpute, hoping ſo an End would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themſelves, the Buſineſs was referred to a Diet, ſhortly to be held at *Ratisbon*, whither the Pope ſent Cardinal *Gaſper Coniareni*. And here the Emperor being preſent, requires both Sides to permit the Choice of the Delegates to him, which they granted, whereupon he appointed on the one Side *Julius Pflug*, *John*. 1541

John Eccius, *John Groper*; on the other *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Piſtorius*, gravely adviſing them to handle the Buſineſs ſincerely; theſe Men, after a modeſt Excuſe, accept the Charge, deſiring only certain Aſſeſſors who might teſtify their Proceedings, whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederick*, Count Palatine, and *Nicholas Perenor*, Seigneur *De Granvile*, and ſome others; offering them further a Book to conſider ſome Paſſages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of ſome others the Proteſtants writ their Opinion apart; ſo the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he, it ſeemed, well contented therewith; nevertheleſs, becauſe the Pope interven'd not herein, this Way was oppos'd, *Contareni* alledging, that all Agreement in this Kind would be vain, unleſs the Holy See confirmed it; whereupon the Emperor referring the Proteſtants Confeſſion to him, he again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd Time, ſo the Emperor deſirous his Endeavours ſhould take ſome Effect, demands whethers thoſe Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be received, until a Council were had. The Proteſtants deſired it: but the Legate and Catholick Princes oppos'd it, ſaying, They were not the moſt material, and therefore to be pretermitted 'till the Reſt were determined, *&c.* concluding with a Deſire, that all might be deferred to the General Council now intended.

The Emperor finding all Reconciliation at this Time to be hopeleſs, and that the *Turk* ſtill approach'd, took this Way, promiſing himſelf to go to *Rome*, and ſollicit the Pope herein; adviſing the Proteſtants in the mean Time, *Firſt*, To inſiſt in the reconciled Points: *Secondly*, The *Roman* Catholick Biſhops to reform their own particular Churches, and ſo make Way for a general Reformation; taking Order withal, that religious Houſes ſhould not be thrown down, nor People drawn from one Country to another upon Pretence of converting them; yet that they who came willingly might be received; promiſing further, if a general Council could not be obtained, to procure a Provincial; or if neither, that within 18 Months another Diet ſhould be called, whither he would intreat a Legate from the Pope to come; ſuſpending, in the mean Time, that rigid Decree at *Augſburg* againſt the Proteſtants; whereupon they alſo promiſed him their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*. And thus ended the Diet; to which our King ſent *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Henry Knevet*, by whom, if we may believe *Sanders*, he held a doubtful Part; ſometimes excuſing himſelf to the Proteſtants, ſometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperor's Means, when Penance and Reſtitution ſhould not be required. But as neither our Hiſtories nor Records, nor the diligent *Sleidan* make mention hereof that I can find; ſo I leave the Credit thereof to the Reader's Diſcretion.

Francis not ſatisfied with the Anſwer formerly mentioned, nor the Negotiation of *Montmorency*, did reſent both. Againſt the Emperor he took Offence for not reſtoring *Milan* according to his Promiſe, as he alledg'd, to *Montmorency:* Againſt him again, he ſhewed no little Diſpleaſure (as ſome affirm) for diſſuading him to ſeize on the Emperor at that Time: Though I rather believe it was on Occaſion of ſome private Quarrel betwixt the Admiral *Brion* and him; in which, ill Offices were done him by the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes*, lately allied to *Brion*'s Kindred: Howſoever, *Montmorency* was confined to a private Life; neither would the

the King ever after ſee him. And now *Francis* reſolved, when Occaſion was offered, to break with the Emperor, ſends *Anthony Rincon*, a revolted *Spaniard*, in Ambaſſage to the *Turk*, and one *Cæſar Fregoſo*, a *Genoeſe*, to the *Venetians*: Both theſe meeting in *Piedmont* with Seignieur *du Bella*, the King's Lieutenant there, were advertis'd that the Marquis of *Guaſto*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Milan* laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether truſting to their Quality or Addreſs, they agreed to paſs by Water along the *Po*; ſending yet their Commiſſion and Diſpatches by another Way into *Venice*; for the Reſt hoping, betwixt changing their Habit and Diligence, to eſcape: But (as it falls out very often, that they who hide not themſelves cunningly, give but the more Occaſion to diſcover themſelves; ſo) they were prevented, and by certain Perſons with Viſors aſſaſſined upon the Water. *Francis* hearing thereof, ſaid, it was done by the Emperor, or the Marquis of *Guaſto*'s Procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other Side, diſclaimed the Fact, offering to put the ſuſpected Perſons into the Pope's Hands, to be there examined; proteſting nevertheleſs, that the killing of *Rincon* was only a Chaſtiſement due to a treacherous Subject. *Francis* hearing this, ſurpriſeth *George* of *Auſtria* (natural Son to *Maximilian*, late Emperor) in his Journey from *Spain* to *Flanders* through *France*, and commits him to Priſon. Some other Paſſages alſo happened about this Time, which increaſed the Jealouſy betwixt them: For as *Francis* had given in Marriage *Jone*, Daughter of *Navarre*, to the Duke of *Cleves*, and therein ſtrengthened himſelf againſt the Emperor: So he again by giving the Dutcheſs of *Milan* to the Son of the Duke of *Lorain*, got the ſame Advantage of Alliance againſt *Francis*.

A little Rebellion now appearing in *Yorkſhire*, in which Sir *John Nevil* was an Accomplice, the King took Order to ſuppreſs it betimes; commanding the ſaid Sir *John Nevil* to be put to Death at *York*. Shortly after which followed the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*'s Execution; which, whether occaſioned by the late Rebellion (as being thought of Cardinal *Pool*'s Inſtigation) or that ſhe gave ſome new Offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (ſet up in the *Tower*) was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but ſhe (as a Perſon of great Quality aſſured me) refuſed, ſaying, ſo ſhould Traitors do, and I am none: Neither did it ſerve that the Executioner told her it was the Faſhion; ſo turning her grey Head every Way, ſhe bid him, if he would have her Head, to get it as he could: So that he was conſtrained to fetch it off ſlovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors ſay) the laſt of the right Line of the *Plantegenets*.

And now the King reſolved to go in Progreſs to *Yorkſhire*; Not yet ſo much to extinguiſh the Relicks of the laſt Commotion, as thoſe of Superſtition, Miracles and Pilgrimages: Beſides, he was in Hope to meet his Nephew of *Scotland*, who being ſollicited again for Interview, had, it ſeems, promiſed it. Yet before he went, he cauſed two Lords and divers others to be put to Death: One was the Lord *Leonard Grey*, who having been, the Year precedent, recalled from his Deputies Place in *Ireland*, was then committed upon Suggeſtions miniſtred by the Council there, with whom, I find by our Records, he often wrangled; who furniſhed therefore divers Articles of High Treaſon againſt him: So that tho' he had, the Year 1539, repulſed *O Do-*

nel and *O Neal*, who invaded the *Engliſh* Pale, and rendred the King divers good Services heretofore in *France*, *Ireland*, and other Places, he could not eſcape: The chief Points objected againſt him, extant in our Records, were his Readineſs to join with Cardinal *Pool*, and other the King's Enemies, he having for that Purpoſe, as was alledged, left the King's Ordnance in *Galloway*; and that he conſented to the Eſcape of his Nephew *Gerald*, formerly mentioned; which, with divers others, to the Number of twenty, if *Hall* ſay true, being brought to a Jury of Knights, (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be judged by his Peers) he ſaved them the Labour of condemning him, and without more ado confeſſed all; which, whether this Lord, who was of great Courage, did out of Deſperation or Guilt, ſome Circumſtances make doubtful: and the rather, that the Articles being ſo many, he neither denied, nor extenuated any of them; though his continual fighting with the King's Enemies, where Occaſion was, pleaded much on his Part: Howſoever, he had his Head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, who ſuffered for committing a Murder in Company of ſome light Perſons, who were with him a Deer-ſteeling. All Things being ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompanied with his Queen, paſſed through *Lincolnſhire*, where the People, thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon, preſented him with divers Sums of Money; which the *Yorkſhire* Men alſo imitated. And now being come to *York*, he cauſed Proclamation to be made (as I find in our Records) that if any Man in thoſe Parts found himſelf wronged for Lack of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, by any whom his Majeſty hath put in Truſt, or other, he ſhall have free Acceſs to the King and his Council for Redreſs. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: So that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was fruſtrated. This filled our King with Indignation; yet he concealed it for the preſent; though reſolving in himſelf to reſent it in the higheſt Degree. Therefore departing from *York*, *September* 26, towards *London*, he was on the Way encountred by the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, deſiring a Licenſe for the Tranſportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great Need thereof. To which was anſwered, that if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, ſome *Engliſhmen* of our King's Appointment to adventure there for providing this Realm with Spices, he ſhould have his Requeſt. But of this although the ſaid Ambaſſador undertook to write to his Maſter, I find no further Mention. Our King being now return'd, prepared for War. Which *James* hearing, ſent Ambaſſadors hither to excuſe himſelf, and renew their former Correſpondence, which King *Henry* refuſing, *James* alſo levies Men, (as ſhall be told the Year following.)

But our King encountered after this Journey a greater Vexation; for the Queen was ſuppoſed to offend in Incontinency; ſome Particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe, rather than to make other Narration; the Family of which ſhe came, being ſo noble and Illuſtrious, and the Honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concerned therein.

The Letter ſent from divers of the Council to *William Paget*, our Ambaſſador then in *France*, was this:

After our hearty Commendations, by theſe

theſe our Letters, we be commanded to ſignify unto you, a moſt miſerable Caſe, which came lately to Revelation, to the Intent that if you ſhall hear the ſame ſpoken of, you may declare the Truth as followeth.

Where the King's Majeſty, upon the Sentence of the Invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highneſs and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, was earneſtly and humbly ſollicited by his Council, and the Nobles of this Realm, to frame his moſt noble Heart to the Love and Favour of ſome noble Perſonage to be joined with him in lawful Matrimony, by whom his Majeſty might have ſome Store of Fruit and Succeſſion, to the Comfort of this Realm; it pleaſed his Highneſs upon a notable Appearance of Honour, Cleanneſs and maidenly Behaviour, to bend his Affection towards Miſtreſs *Katherine Howard*, Daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to me the Duke of *Norfolk*, inſomuch as his Highneſs was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old Days, after ſundry Troubles of Mind, which have happened unto him by Marriages, to have obtained ſuch a Jewel for Womanhood, and very perfect Love towards him, as ſhould not only have been his Quietneſs, but alſo brought forth the deſired Fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the Semblable, and in Reſpect of the Virtue and good Behaviour which ſhe ſhewed outwardly, did her all Honour accordingly. But this Joy is turned into extreme Sorrow; for when the King's Majeſty receiving his Maker, on *Alhallows* Day laſt paſt, then gave him moſt humble and hearty Thanks for the good Life he led and truſted to lead with her, and alſo deſired the Biſhop of *Lincoln* his ghoſtly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like Thanks with him; on *All-Souls* Day, being at Maſs, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having a little before heard that the ſame Miſtreſs *Katharine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that Pureneſs and Cleanneſs that ſhe was eſteemed; but a Woman, who before ſhe was joined with the King's Majeſty, had lived moſt corruptly and ſenſually; for the Diſcharge of his Duty, opened the ſame moſt ſorrowfully to his Majeſty, and how it was brought to his Knowledge, which was in this Form following.

While the King was in his Progreſs, one *John Loſſells* came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and declar'd unto him, that he had been with a Siſter of his marry'd in *Suſſex*, which ſometimes had been Servant with the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who did alſo bring up the ſaid Miſs *Katherine*, and being with his ſaid Siſter, chanced to fall in Converſation with her about the Queen, wherein he adviſed her (becauſe ſhe was of the Queen's old Acquaintance) to ſue to be her Woman; whereunto his Siſter anſwer'd, that ſhe would not ſo do; but ſhe was very ſorry for the Queen; why quoth *Loſſels?* Marry quoth ſhe, for ſhe is light both in Living and Condition. How ſo, quoth *Loſſells?* Marry, quoth ſhe, there is one *Francis Derham*, who was Servant alſo in my Lady of *Norfolk*'s Houſe, which hath lain in Bed with her in his Doublet and Hoſe between the Sheets an hundred Nights. And there hath been ſuch puffing and blowing between them, that once in the Houſe a Maid which lay in the Houſe with her, ſaid to me; ſhe would lye no longer with her, becauſe ſhe knew not what Matrimony meant. And further ſhe ſaid unto him, that one *Mannock*, ſometimes alſo Servant to the ſaid Dutcheſs, knew

a privy Mark in her Body. When the ſaid *Loſſels* had declared this to the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he conſidering the Weight and Importance of the Matter, being greatly perplexed therewith, conſulted in the ſame with the Lord Chancellor of *England* and the Earl of *Hertford*, whom the King, going in his Progreſs left to reſide at *London*, to order his Affairs in thoſe Parts; who having weigh'd the Matter, and deeply ponder'd the Gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled and diſquieted, reſolved finally, that the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould reveal the ſame to the King; which becauſe the Matter was ſuch, as he hath ſorrowfully lamented, and alſo could not find in his Heart to expreſs the ſame to the King by Word of Mouth, he declared the Information thereof to him in Writing. When the King had read this Information thus deliver'd unto him, he being much perplexed therewith, yet nevertheleſs ſo tenderly loved the Woman, and had conceived ſuch a conſtant Opinion of her Honeſty, that he ſuppoſed it rather to be a forged Matter, than of Truth. Whereupon it pleaſed him ſecretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly*, to whom he opened the Caſe, ſaying, he could not believe it to be true. And yet ſeeing the Information was made, he could not be ſatisfy'd till the Certainty thereof was known; but he would not in any wiſe that in the Inquiſition any Spark of Scandal ſhould riſe towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majeſty reſolved that the Lord Privy Seal ſhould go ſtrait to *London*, where the ſaid *Loſſels* that gave the Information was ſecretly kept, and with all Dexterity to examine and try whether he would ſtand to his Saying: Who being ſo examined, anſwer'd, that his Siſter ſo told him; and that he had declared it for the Diſcharge of his Duty, and for none other reſpect; adding, that he knew what Danger was in it: nevertheleſs, he had rather die in Declaration of the Truth, as it came to him, ſeeing it touch'd his Majeſty ſo nearly, than live with the Concealment of the ſame: Which Aſſeveration being thus made by the ſaid *Loſſels*, and his Majeſty being informed thereof, ſent the Lord Privy Seal into *Suſſex*, to examine the Woman, making a Pretence to the Woman's Huſband of Hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and ſent the ſaid Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* to *London* at the ſame Inſtant, both to examine *Mannock*, and alſo to take the ſaid *Derham* upon a Pretence of Piracy, becauſe he had been before in *Ireland*, and hath been noted before with that Offence; making theſe Pretences to the Intent no Spark of Suſpicion ſhould riſe of theſe Examinations. The ſaid Lord Privy Seal found the Woman in her Examination conſtant in her former Sayings: And Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly* found, by the Confeſſion of *Mannock*, that he had commonly uſed to feel the Secrets and other Parts of her Body, before *Derham* was ſo familiar with her; and *Derham* confeſſed that he had known her carnally many Times, both in his Doublet and his Hoſe between the Sheets, and in naked Bed, alledging ſuch Witneſſes of three ſundry Women one after another, that had laid in the ſame Bed with them when he did the Acts, that the Matter ſeem'd moſt apparent. But what inward Sorrow his Majeſty took when he perceived the Information true, as it was the moſt woful Thing that ever came to our Hearts, to ſee it; ſo it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his Heart was ſo pierc'd with

with Penſiveneſs, that long it was before his Majeſty could ſpeak, and utter the Sorrow of his Heart unto us: And finally with Plenty of Tears (which was ſtrange in his Courage) open'd the ſame. Which done, ſhe was ſpoken withal in it by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; to whom at firſt ſhe conſtantly deny'd it, but the Matter being ſo declared unto her, that ſhe perceived it to be wholly diſcloſed, the ſame Night ſhe diſcloſed the whole to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took the Confeſſion of the ſame in Writing, ſubſcribed with her Hand; then were the reſt of the Number, being eight or nine Men and Women which knew of their Doings examined, who all agreed in one Tale.

Now may you ſee what was done before the Marriage; God knows what hath been done ſince: But ſhe had already gotten this *Derham* into her Service, and train'd him upon Occaſions, as ſending of Errands, and writing of Letters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privy Chamber. And ſhe had gotten alſo into her Privy Chamber, to be one of her Chamberers, one of the Women which had before laid in the Bed with her and *Derham:* What this pretended is eaſy to be conjectured. Thus much we know for the Beginning; whereof we thought meet to advertiſe you, to the Intent afore ſpecified: And what ſhall further ſucceed and follow of this Matter, we ſhall not fail to advertiſe you thereof accordingly.

You ſhall alſo receive herein incloſed a Packet of Letters, directed unto Sir *Henry Knevet* his Majeſty's Ambaſſador with the Emperor, which his Pleaſure is you ſhall ſee convey'd unto him by the next Poſt that paſſeth from thence into the Emperor's Court. Thus fare you right heartily well.

Your loving Friends,

Thomas Audeley, Chan.
E. Hertford,
William Southampton,
Robert Suſſex,
Stephen Winton,
Anthony Wingfield.

From the King's Palace at Weſtminſter *the* 12*th of* November.

Beſides the Perſons ſpecified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the ſame Name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the ſame Fault, which he and *Derham* at their Arraignment confeſſing, *Culpeper* had his Head cut off, and *Derham* was hang'd and quarter'd. But it reſted not here, for the Lord *William Howard* (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambaſſy in *France*) and his Wife, and the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and divers of the Queen's and the ſaid Dutcheſs Kindred and Servants, and a Butterwife were indicted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, as concealing this Fact, and condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment; yet tho' by the King's Favour ſome of them at length were releaſed. The King yet not ſatisfied thus, for more authoriſing his Proceeding, referred the Buſineſs to the Parliament ſitting the 16th of *January*, 1541. Where upon Petition of both Houſes, that he would not vex himſelf, but give his Royal Aſſent to what they ſhould do; they had Leave to proceed, and together Thanks given them that they took his Sorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the 1541

Lady

Lady *Jane Rochfort*, as alſo *Culpeper*, *Derham*, *&c.* And ſo the Queen and Lady *Jane Rochfort* (Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and noted to be a particular Inſtrument in the Death of Queen *Anne*) were brought to the Tower, and after Confeſſion of their Faults, had their Heads cut off.

An Act alſo paſt, declaring that it ſhall be lawful for any of the King's Subjects, if themſelves do perfectly know, or by vehement Preſumption do perceive any Will, Act or Condition of Lightneſs of Body in her which ſhall be the Queen of this Realm, to diſcloſe the ſame to the King, or ſome of his Council; but they ſhall not openly blow it abroad, or whiſper it, until it be divulged by the King or his Council. If the King, or any of his Succeſſors, ſhall marry a Woman which was before incontinent, if ſhe conceal the ſame, it ſhall be High Treaſon, *&c.* But this Act was repealed, 1 *Edward* VI. 12. and 1 *Mary* I.

Divers other Acts alſo paſt, whereof I have thought fit to ſet down theſe; That they who under Colour of a falſe Token or counterfeit Letter got other Men's Money into their Hands, ſhould be puniſhed at the Diſcretion of thoſe before whom they were convicted, any way but Death.

It was declared alſo, how many Stone Horſes every Man ſhould keep according to his Degree. But this was afterwards repealed; though yet of ſpecial Uſe in Defence of the Kingdom, when due Regard of the Perſons were had.

Further it was declared, who might alſo ſhoot in Guns and Crows-bows.

Moreover, that ſhooting with Bow and Arrows ſhould be uſed, and unlawful Games debarred.

The Order alſo for Puniſhment of Murder and Bloodſhed in the King's Court, with all the Ceremonies thereof, was ſet down; the Occaſion, it ſeems, was given by Sir *Edmund Knevet*, who being lately condemned to loſe his Hand for this Fault, was yet pardon'd.

The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was ſet down.

That in certain Caſes there ſhould be Trial of Treaſon in any Country where the King by Commiſſion will appoint; and this ſaved much Trouble and Charges: For as divers Things were made Treaſon in this King's Name, which yet were repealed afterwards; ſo the Lords of the Council were not only continually vex'd with theſe Buſineſſes, but the King at great Charges in remanding the Priſoners.

That none ſhould be Juſtice of Aſſize in his own Country.

The Court of Surveyors of the King's Lands, the Names of the Officers there, and their Authority was ſet down.

All Practice of Conjuration, Witchcraft and falſe Prophecy, was made Felony.

The Kings of *England* for a long Time ruled *Ireland* by no other Name than Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Style, and honour a populous and warlike Kingdom with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this Time in that Country, he gave Order to be declared King of *Ireland*; which was proclaim'd here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35 *Hen.* VIII. 3. This being notified to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of Emulation for his aſſuming the Title, or that himſelf had any Deſign on this Country (as by his laying claim to divers Parts thereof, and by former Paſſages may be ſuſpected)

is

is uncertain. Howbeit, underſtanding that *Mac-Connel* and ſome *Scots*, who held Part thereof, were not diſturbed in their Poſſeſſion, he more patiently ſuffered it. Our King on the other Side, finding none conteſted with him for the Sovereignty of the Iſland, did not ſo much regard their particular Right; tho' yet, as there were divers Commotions about this Time, he had Occaſion to hold a Hand over the diſaffected Perſons; but by the Diligence of Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly compoſed.

During this Seſſion of Parliament ſome Wrong was offered (as our Hiſtories ſay) to their ancient Privileges; a Burgeſs of theirs being arreſted: Whereof the King underſtanding, not only gave Way to their releaſing him, but Puniſhment of the Offenders: Inſomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the *Tower*, and one Delinquent to a Place call'd *Little-eaſe*, others to *Newgate*. By which Means the King (whoſe Maſter-Piece it was to make Uſe of his Parliaments) not only let foreign Princes ſee the good Intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his Devotion: Which alſo he ſo induſtriouſly procured, that rather than he would ſeem to require more at this Time than they had lately given, he borrowed divers Sums of Money of Men, above 50 *l.* yearly in his Books (which he looked on often) giving them in Lieu thereof Privy Seals as ſecurity for their Re-payment in two Years; by this Means ſuffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his Wants, than to ſupply them; which yet ſerved to prepare them for his next Occaſion. The *Iriſh* Nobility alſo being well informed of theſe Proceedings, and collecting thereby the Abſoluteneſs of the King's Power every where, the chief of them this Year ſubmitted themſelves, and acknowledged him now their King; among whom *Euſtace* the great *O Neal* preſented himſelf, and was made Earl of *Tirone*.

The Diet of *Ratiſbon* being ended, the Emperor from thence ſent to the Pope, deſiring him to permit an Interview at *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor paſſing through *Milan*, came by Land to *Genoa*, and thence taking Water to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many Things were to be determined: For firſt, the Emperor (as he had engaged himſelf to the Proteſtants of the laſt Diet) urged a Council, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was laſt indicted: But the *Venetians* oppos'd it, as fearing leſt the *Turk*, with whom they had lately made a Peace, ſhould think it was call'd to confederate all Chriſtian Princes againſt him. Thus was the Council again fruſtrated: Other Affairs being alſo interrupted by the Ambaſſador of *Francis*, who made divers Inſtances, that at leaſt the Bodies of *Rincon* and *Fergoſe* might be reſtored; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Burial. But the Emperor ſtill proteſting himſelf to be no Ways conſcious of this Fact, omitted Anſwer to the Reſt. This while the *Turk* having gotten ſome Places of Importance in *Hungary*, and overthrown the Army of *Ferdinand* (led by *Roccandolph*) the Pope endeavoured a Reconciliation of all the preſent Differences; deſiring the Emperor to give to *Francis* the Eſtate of *Milan*, and him to reſtore all he had in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperor reſolute not to leave *Milan*, broke off the Treaty; for the reſt, pre-

preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet conſiſting of 64 Galleys, 200 Ships, 100 Frigats, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, beſides Voluntiers and Seamen. Setting ſail with theſe from *Majorca*, and other Places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two Days to the Coaſt of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga*, and about 800 *Turks* (being Cavalry for the moſt Part) and about 5000 *Moors* Renegadoes. It was now *October* 23, 1541. when his Men landed without much Reſiſtance. The firſt Thing done was to require *Azan-Aga* to yield the Place, and turn Chriſtian, as being the Son of Chriſtian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he anſwered, that he deſired no more Honour than to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the Hands of ſo excellent an Emperor. But as the Seaſon of the Year was far advanced, foul Weather began; ſo that they fought neither often, nor with much Advantage on either Side. At laſt, a huge Tempeſt aroſe, which finally deſtroy'd 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, ſave ſome Horſes and a few Men: And now the Tempeſt ſtill encreaſing, the Emperor, who between Noiſe and Danger could not ſleep, demanded of ſome Seamen then with him, how long the reſt of the Fleet might live, if the Tempeſt continued? They anſwer'd, at moſt, two Hours. He demanded then what a Clock it was? they told him, half an Hour paſt Eleven: Whereupon he ſaid to them, Comfort yourſelves, at Twelve the Friars and Nuns riſe, and will pray for us: But the Tempeſt connued till far in the next Day, when the miſerable Carcaſſes of Ships and Men ſwimming in ſome Places, and drowning in others, made an hideous Spectacle; while if any got to Land the *Arabs* and *Moors* without Mercy kill'd them. And now, beſides the abovemention'd Ships, fourteen or fifteen Galleys were caſt away; by which Means not only the Artillery and Victual fail'd, but even the Deſire to continue the Siege; for one ſuch another Tempeſt would have deſtroy'd all. Yet there was much Difficulty in the embarking of the Soldiers, for the Ships did not ſuffice to carry them: Therefore they were fain to caſt overboard their moſt generous Horſes, who ſwimming from one Ship to another, were drowned at laſt, not without much Compaſſion of all, and eſpecially their Maſters. The reſt of the Navigation homewards yet was not proſperous, many Ships periſhing. At laſt, the Emperor came to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, where, thro' contrary Winds, he was conſtrain'd to paſs his *Chriſtmas*; at length fair Weather appearing, he arrived in *Spain*: And this was the third unfortunate Voyage to *Algier*, it having been twice before attempted in vain.

A Rupture with *Scotland* being now ſecretly reſolved, our King thought fit to aſſure *Francis*, ſending for this Purpoſe to Sir *William Paget* his Ambaſſador there, Inſtructions, which were chiefly to hold *Francis* to his Treaties of perpetual Peace. But *Francis* ſaying it was made upon certain Conditions, which were broken by our King, it was anſwer'd the Treaty was without Condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But *Francis* requiring then Aſſiſtance for *Milan*, as was promiſed; it was reply'd, that both by the Treaty laſt offer'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and another formerly by *Pommeray*, this was ſpoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another Condition, that he ſhould forſake the Biſhop of *Rome*, which he refuſed to do; but as

this was interrupted with ſome wrangling, ſo there was no little Debate about Ships detained on either Side, our Officers having with-held ſome, under Pretence they were Pirates, and they again ſeizing on ours by way of Repriſal; ſo that Matters were breaking forth to an open War. Which being advertiſed to our King, gave him little Hope of Amity on that Part, and conſequently made him not only deſiſt from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, promis'd formerly by *Pommeray* and now renewed, but ſeek Friends elſewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refuſing in the mean Time to enter into League with him againſt the Emperor.

Tho' the right Line of the *Plantagenets* were extinct in the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, and conſequently no Fear of Pretence to Succeſſion, on that Part, there remained yet a natural Son of *Edward* the Fourth, called Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, (created by King *Henry* the Eight, Viſcount *Liſle*) who came to his End on this Occaſion: This Lord, during his Lieutenancy in *Calais*, being ſuſpected, as conſenting to a Practice of ſome of his Servants, (whereby they conſpired to deliver that Town to the *French*) was thereupon ſent for, and committed to the Tower; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this Time, not only gave Order to releaſe him, but for his Comfort ſent him a Diamond Ring, and a gracious Meſſage; which ſo overjoyed and dilated his Spirits, that the ſame Night following he died.

The Emperor being now in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* holds a Diet at *Spire*, where he requires Aid againſt the *Turk*; whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, ſends *Francis Oliver* thither, with Charge to repreſent, Firſt, The Aſſaſſination of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe*, pretending it to be the more heinous, in that *Rincon*'s Imployment was to hinder the *Turk* from invading *Hungary*. Secondly, To diſſuade them from taking Arms againſt the *Turks*, till their own Differences were compoſed. Laſtly, to repreſent both the Levity of the *Hungarians*, and their Diſaffection to the *German* Nation: And therefore, that they ſhould fortify their ſtrong Places betwixt *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, and the other Confines, without taking much Regard to the reſt. As for Pacification in Religion, that they ſhould conform themſelves on all Sides to the Confeſſion of our Faith, left us by the *Nicene* Council. And for other Points, if they could not agree in them, they ſhould not yet be Occaſion of Hate or Diviſion. But the wiſer Sort, who believed that *Rincon*'s Diſpatches (when they were to be ſeen) would have told another Tale, did not much believe the firſt Part of his Speech: As for the ſecond, ſince it tended only to give *Hungary* into the *Turks* Hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the laſt, they regarded it little (tho' a wiſe and charitable Advice) as being reſolved already of their Religion. After him, the Biſhop of *Modena*, the Pope's Legate, tells them, that the Pope deſired Peace in *Chriſtendom*, and Proviſion for Wars againſt the *Turk*. As for the Council which had been ſuſpended hitherto by the Emperor's Conſent, to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in *Germany*, that it was Reaſon to call it. Only that *Germany* could be no fit Place for holding thereof, ſince his Holineſs reſolving to be preſent, could not indure ſo long a Journey, or ſuch a Change of Air. Beſides, he feared it would be turbulent. Nevertheleſs, for ſatisfying them, he was content the

ſame ſhould be aſſembled at *Trent*, (that is to ſay) in the Borders of *Germany*. *Ferdinand* and the Catholicks accept this Place with Thanks, (when it might not be held at *Ratiſbon* or *Colen*.) But the Proteſtants wholly diſliked it. And now the *French* Ambaſſadors finding themſelves but ſlighted, go thence diſcontented. And ſo the Diet brake up (after War had been decreed againſt the *Turk*, and Peace eſtabliſhed in the Empire.) And *May* 22. the Council was indicted to begin in *November* following.

Francis being now informed by his Ambaſſadors, that the *Germans* were ſo far from receiving his Advice, that they thought him to be a Diſturber of the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, is not yet diſcouraged. Therefore, after a Proceſſion made in *Paris* for Succeſs in his War, and a Preſent ſent to the *Turk* of 600 Marks of Silver curiouſly wrought, and 500 Veſtments for thoſe that attended him, together with a Requeſt that he would ſend his Fleet againſt the Emperor, and a publick Defiance ſent to *Charles*, he invades his Territories in five ſeveral Places; againſt them in *Brabant* he employs the Duke of *Longueville*, who was to joyn with *Martin Roſſen*, General for the Duke of *Cleves*, to invade that Part: Againſt *Artois* the Duke of *Vendoſme:* Againſt *Luxemburgh* the Duke of *Orleans:* In *Piedmont* Monſieur *du Bellay* his Lieutenant there: And againſt *Perpignan* (the chief Town of *Rouſſillon*, and the Barrier of *Spain* to the Southward) the *Dauphin*, promiſing to ſecond him in Perſon.

He began firſt in *Piedmont*, as being the immediate Way to his deſired *Milan:* In which he held theſe Places, *Tunino*, *Montcalier*, *Savillan*, *Montdevis*, *Pignarola*, &c. For the Emperor ſtood, *Aſti*, *Vercelli*, *Ulpian*, *Foſſan*, *Quieraſco*, and *Alba*; among which *Quieraſco* was firſt attempted and yielded: *Vendoſme* in *Artois* taking and raiſing *Tournehem:* The Duke of *Orleans* (aſſiſted with 500 Horſe from *Chriſtierne* the Third, King of *Denmark*) took *Luxemburg* and other Places; which yet *Rene* Prince of *Orange* and Count of *Naſſau*, recovered ſhortly after. Nevertheleſs *Roſſen* deceived him with a plain Trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Campaign Field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of *Orange*, who did not imagine he was ſo ſtrong, charged him; but the Foot riſing, they and their Horſe together defeated him. Whereupon *Roſſen* and *Longueville* being about 35000 Men, beſieged *Antwerp*; but it was ſtoutly defended not only by the Natives, but by foreign Merchants, and particularly the *Engliſh*; Whereupon, *Roſſen* raiſing Siege, and going to *Lovain*, demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovain* accorded in Part, commanding thereupon ſome Wine to be carried in Carts to the Gate. But the Scholars, unwilling both to let it go, and ſuſpecting beſides, that when the Gates were ſo embarraſſed, the Enemy behind the Hogſhead might get into the Town, cut off the Harneſs from the Horſes, and went to the Artillery planted upon the Wall, and diſcharged it upon the Enemy: whereupon *Roſſen* departing, ſpoiled the Country round about. This while, the *Dauphin* brought an Army of 40000, whereof 14000 *Switz*, and 4000 Horſe to *Perpignan*, which he beſieged, hoping *Barbaroſſa* and the *Turkiſh* Fleet would ſecond him, according to his Requeſt by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employed in thoſe Parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor beſides preparing to relieve it, he rais'd the Siege,

Siege, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope of *Francis*, proteſting, that he both diſturbed the Peace of *Chriſtendom* and the Council, and hindred him from oppoſing the *Turk*. Whereupon, the Pope deſiring to reconcile them, the Emperor anſwered, it was in vain to make Treaties with thoſe who did hold none; deſiring him therefore rather to take Arms againſt him, as a Confederate with the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*.

The Excuſe from *James*, formerly mentioned, not being held ſatisfactory, our King prepares for War; nevertheleſs, he thought not fit to diſcover himſelf, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James*'s Requeſt, he appoints Commiſſioners to examine Buſineſſes betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy Men; of which *James* being advertis'd, raiſed Forces likewiſe (as is before ſet down.) During this Treaty, ſome Inroads being made into *Scotland*, and Ports attempted, I find by *Leſleus*, twenty-eight *Scotiſh* Ships were taken. Whereupon the *Scots* entring the *Engliſh* Marches, Sir *Robert Bowes*, who reſiſted them, with divers others, were taken Priſoners; without being permitted yet to ranſom themſelves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the King's Army marched forward, but upon a ſecond Motion of Peace ſtays at *York*: And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, treats with certain *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, (who having variety of Inſtructions, which they ſhewed one after another) and finally propoſing an Interview, were thought to be ſent thither only to gain Time, Winter now coming on, and the *French* King having ſo much to do at home, as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together publiſhed a Declaration of the Cauſes of this War. Which being extant in our Records, and ſet forth at large by *Hall*, I ſhall not need inſert here, though yet for Satisfaction of the Reader, I ſhall extract ſome Particularities from thence.

The chief Cauſe I conceive, were, that *James* entertained ſome of the chief Rebels of the North. That he denied ſome Grounds, though of ſmall Value, for which good Evidences were produced. That he fruſtrated our King, after a Promiſe of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inroad while the Treaty was on foot. Beſides all which, King *Henry* claimed Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; and demand whereof he ſaid he had neglected a great while, becauſe of his Nephew's Minority, and other kind Reaſons, his Title being by lineal Succeſſion, and recognized for many Ages by the Kings of *Scotland*, to the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth: which he proved, Firſt, By Hiſtory. Secondly, By Inſtruments of Homage, by the ſeveral Kings, and divers great Perſons, ſealed with their Seals, and remaining in his Treaſury. Thirdly, by Regiſters and Records, judicially and authentically made.

I. The Hiſtorical Part, he began chiefly (that I may omit the Relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900, (being 642 Years paſt) ſhewing that *Edward* Son of *Allured* had it under his Dominion. *Athelſtane* made one *Conſtantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took Homage of *Iriſe* (or *Ericus*) King of *Scots*, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* (or *Kenneth.*) That this was interrupted yet in King *Edward* the Martyr's Time. But *Malcolm* did Homage to *Knute*, and *Edward the Confeſſor*,

feſſor, making War againſt *Malcolm*, overthrew him, and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his Son, who made him Homage and Fealty; that *Malcolm* did Homage to *William the Conqueror*, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his Duty, was depoſed; and *Edgar*, Brother to the laſt *Malcolm*, and Son to the firſt, ordained in that Eſtate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did Homage to *Henry* I. *David* did Homage to *Matild*, the Empreſs, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his Death *David*'s Son made his Homage to *Stephen*. *William* King of *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland*, made Homage to *Henry* II. his Son, with Reſervation of their Duty to his Father. This *William*, after much Rebellion and Reſiſtance, during the Abſence of *Henry* II. made his Peace and Compoſition with his Homage and Fealty; he alſo came to *Canterbury*, and there did Homage to *Richard* I. *William* did Homage to *John*, on a Hill beſide *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the Croſs of *Hubert*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander*, King of *Scots*, married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edward* I. and did his Duty: *John Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. *Robert Bruce* made War againſt the *Baliols*, which interrupted the Buſineſs of 44 Years. But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing, made Homage to *Edward* III. After this, *David Bruce*, though on the contrary Faction, made Homage to *Edward* III. *Edward Baliol*, who had the clear Title, ſurrendred the Crown to *Edward* III. at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon cauſed himſelf to be crowned, and for a Time entertained and enjoyed it as Proprietary and Owner of the Crown, both by Confiſcation and voluntary Surrender. In *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV's Times ſome Interruption happened by Reaſon of inward Diſſentions in this Kingdom; yet *Henry* V. commanded the *Scots* to attend him in his Journey to *France*. And in this Time the Realm of *Scotland* being deſcended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart*, King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windſor*. All which Homages, though interrupted ſometimes for more than 60 Years, were yet within the Memory of Man.

II. Of which therefore, Inſtruments made and ſealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; ſo that it was not for the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (as the *Scots* pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

III. As for Records and Regiſters, that he had divers which were authentical, and among others that of *Edward* I. in Diſcuſſion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challenged by twelve Competitors. And that Sentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly enjoyed the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the Superiority of the King of *England*, and enſuing their Determination, did particularly and ſeverally make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whoſoever withdrew himſelf from doing his Duty therein, ſhould be reputed as a Rebel; and ſo all made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. That during this Diſcuſſion, the Realm was ruled by Guardians deputed by him, and all Caſtles and Holds ſurrendred to him as to the Superior Lord. And in the Time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions paſſed, as in the Right of this Crown of *England*; Sheriffs alſo named and appointed, Writs and Precepts made, obeyed and executed. And that

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at this Time, the Biſhops of St. *Andrew's* and *Glaſgow* were not Archbiſhops, but recogniz'd the Archbiſhop of *York*, whoſe Authority extended over all their Country. That ſince the Time of *Henry* VI. this Kingdom was lacerated and torn by Diverſity of Titles 'till his Time. So that though *Edward* IV. after great Travels, having attained Quietneſs in this Realm, finally made Preparation of War againſt *Scotland*, yet he was prevented by Death. As for *Richard* III. that he uſurped the Kingdom 'till *Henry* VII. his Father overthrew him, (which *Henry* VII. by Reaſon of his Eſtate not fully ſetled at Home, forbare to compel the *Scots* to do their Duty.) And for his own Time, that 21 Years paſs'd of it in his Nephew's Minority, when he had more Care to bring him out of Danger to the Place of a King, than to receive of him Homage when he had full Poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The Concluſion of this Declaration yet ſeemed to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to inſiſt upon the Claim, though he ſaith, that ſuch be the Works of God ſuperiour over all, to ſuffer Occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due Superiority may be known, demanded, and required.

The *Scotiſh* Writers tell the Buſineſs otherwiſe, not denying yet but *Athelſtane* was King of the whole Iſland by the Teſtimony of divers of our *Britiſh* Writers. Nevertheleſs, that their Words were ſo to be underſtood, as the further Parts of *Scotland* were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, that it was for the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (though as there was no Inveſtiture thereof in the King of *Scots*, 'till the Time of *Henry* I. when *David* married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northumberland*, it reaches not to Homages formerly made.) Again, among thoſe who did Homage, ſome were reputed Kings of *Northumberland*, rather than *Scotland*. And for *Baliol's* reſigning the Crown, they ſay, the Nobles did not conſent to it: And many other Things, which for avoiding Prolixity I omit; deſiring the Reader to believe, that I am ſo far from undertaking to define the Point, (as in an Hiſtorical Way) I have only produced ſuch Notes as my Leiſure would ſuffer me to gather at this Time: Profeſſing, for the Reſt, That I ſhould not in any wiſe have intermedled therewith, but that *Hall*, by ſetting forth the Declaration, gave the Occaſion.

Theſe Proceedings from Time to Time being advertiſed to *Francis*, cauſed him to ſend Monſieur *de Morvilliers* to congratulate the Conſtancy of *James* in refuſing an Interview, which he attributed to his Reſolution not to forſake the *Roman* Church: Adviſing him for the reſt, to ſtand upon his Guard; and for that Purpoſe, ſending him Money and Artillery.

And now the Army being ready to march on, *William Fitz-Williams*, Earl of *Southampton*, Captain of the Foreward, died at *Newcaſtle*; a brave Lord, and ſo much eſteem'd, that for the Honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Foreward in all this Expedition. The Year thus being far ſpent, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lieutenant-General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Rutland*, and other Lords of the northern Parts; Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the King's Horſe, and Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of his Houſe, and above twenty thouſand Men, (the Earl of *Anguis* alſo being there preſent) enter *Scotland* the 21ſt of *October*, and finding

finding no Reſiſtance, burnt in eight Days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and *James Leirmouth* came on their King's Part to require Peace; but the Conditions not pleaſing, the Treaty was diſſolv'd. Nevertheleſs, our Army retreated preſently to *Berwick*, as being betwixt the Rigour of the Seaſon and Want of Victuals, conſtrain'd thereunto. So that though *Leſleus* ſaith, the *Engliſh* retired upon hearing that the *Scotiſh* Army approached; this yet by others is thought improbable, becauſe they invaded not *England* till three Weeks after the Duke of *Norfolk* was at *Berwick*, and had licenſed many of his Soldiers. About which Time therefore the *Scotiſh* Army being aſſembled, they entred *England* on the Weſt Marches with an Army of fifteen thouſand, or, as ſome ſay, a greater Number. But *Thomas* the Baſtard *Dacres* and *Muſgrave*, having firſt ſent to Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Warden of the Marches, to come to their Aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambuſh on a Hill ſide, came forwards with an hundred Light Horſe, which being charged by ſome of the *Scots*, retired towards their Stale, and to *Wharton* now appearing, who had not yet above three hundred Men, as our Writers ſay. But whatſoever the Stratagem was, the *Scots* believing, it ſeems, the Duke of *Norfolk* was there with all his Power, ſuddenly, as Men amazed, fled. The *Engliſhmen* purſued, and took the Earls of *Caſſelles*, and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Somerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Oliver Sinclare*, the King's Minion, as our Hiſtorians term him, and divers others of Note, to the Number of two huudred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner Sort, ſo that ſome had two or three Priſoners, and twenty-four Pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

The *Scotiſh* Writers tell the Buſineſs a little otherwiſe; confeſſing yet the foreſaid Priſoners to be taken, and that their Men ran away and were defeated. But ſome ſay, the Reaſon of it was, that Sir *Oliver Sinclare* being ſuddenly declared their General, when the *Engliſh* appeared, the Nobles took it ſo ill, that they cared not to fight. They ſay alſo, that the King was at *Solway*, where this Encounter happen'd, a little before, and no further off than *Carlawroch*, when the Blow was given; which, perhaps, made ſome think that he was preſent at the Fight, and received a Wound, of which preſently after he died, and not of Sorrow.

James being now return'd, had in Recompence of his Misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterwards called *Mary*; which yet, together with the many Divertiſements his Servants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented alſo, as the *Scotiſh* and other Writers ſay, by the ſudden Murder of an *Engliſh* Herald, whom our King ſent thither to ranſom Priſoners, (though yet none of his Subjects, but *Leech* a *Lincolnſhire* Rebel kill'd him;) all which made that Impreſſion in him, that he died within few Days after, and was buried near his firſt Wife *Magdalen*, in the Abby of *Holy-Rood*. He was of a Middle Stature, yet well compact and ſtrong, given much in his Youth to the Love of Women, to which his Governors gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hindered him not yet to be active in all State Affairs, and frugal in his own; Qualities rarely found in Princes ſo much addicted to their Pleaſure. No Man endured Labour, Cold, Hunger,

Hunger, better (as his many Expeditions in Perſon againſt Rebels, ſhewed.) Under Pretence of favouring the poorer Sort, he was noted to be ſevere to his Nobility, which made them leſs ready when he had Occaſion to uſe them. Inſomuch, that, as *Buchanan* hath it, he could not perſuade them to come to Battle with the Duke of *Norfolk*.

The Murder of our *Engliſh* Herald being related to our King, mightily incenſed him; and therefore he not only required *Leech*, (who yet was not demanded till after the Death of King *James*, nor executed till *May* following;) but ſent to his Ambaſſador *Paget* in *France*, both to acquaint *Francis* therewith, (whom he lately knew had ſuffered in the like Kind,) and deſire him not to aſſiſt *James*. But the Anſwer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter.

The News of the King's Death, and the Princeſs's Birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counſels; ſo that inſtead of purſuing War againſt *Scotland*, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, and match his Son *Edward* to her. To which alſo he was ſo intentive, that he ſent a Diſpatch to his Ambaſſador *Paget*, commanding him carefully to obſerve what paſt betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, as being jealous leſt *Francis* ſhould get or detain her from him. And there was Reaſon to fear it, *Francis* having by the Intervention of the Queen and Cardinal *Beton*, a great Party there. Nevertheleſs as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation, that all Cauſes of Hoſtility ſhould be taken away, and both Kingdoms united; ſo he doubted not but many, eſpecially the wiſer Sort, would not concur with him.

And now in *Scotland* two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, ſeconded by Cardinal *Beton*, who, as the *Scotiſh* Writers ſay, forged a Will, by which himſelf, aſſiſted with three of the moſt powerful Nobility, ſhould govern the State, and with him all the *French* Faction join'd. *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran* chief of the other Side, though obſerv'd to be a Lover of Quiet, was yet encouraged by his Followers to aſſume that Dignity; as being ſo near of Blood, and the Princeſs ſo young, that many Occaſions might happen, whereof he might prevail himſelf: Which Reaſons alſo inclin'd him to depend on our King.

While theſe Things paſt in *Scotland*, the Priſoners taken in the laſt Battle, were by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* conducted from *York* to *London*, whither they came *Decemb.* 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a Cognizance, a red St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, and were preſently ſent to the Tower, whence ſhortly after King *Henry* for more Oſtentation commanded Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of his Houſhold, to bring them by two and two together in new Gowns of black Damaſk, and other Apparel ſuitable, all at his Coſt, from the Tower to the Star-Chamber, where *Thomas* Lord *Audeley*, Chancellor, was to tell them, what Cauſe King *Henry* had of War againſt them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance, and keeping his Subjects without ſuffering to make Ranſom, contrary to the Law of the Marches. Nevertheleſs, that ſuch was his Benignity, that he would ſhew them Kindneſs for Unkindneſs, and Right for Wrong: And whereupon, after their Promiſe to remain true Priſoners, commanded that they ſhould be no more returned to Priſon, but brought to divers noble Houſes, there to be regaled and made much of. Thus the Archbiſhop

ſhop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Caſſelles* commended to him; the Duke of *Norfolk* the Earl of *Glencarne*; Sir *Anthony Brown* the Lord *Maxwell*; the Lord Chancellor the Lord *Somerwel*; Sir *Thomas Lee* the Lord *Oliphant*; the Duke of *Suffolk* Sir *Oliver Sinclare*; *Thomas Thurliby*, lately made firſt Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Robert Erſkin*; and many others, were with divers of our chief Nobility, where having paſt ſome Time with as much Contentment as the News of their King's Death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to expreſs how glad they would be that a Match might ſucceed betwixt our Prince and their Princeſs, promiſing alſo their Furtherance therein; which being related to our King, was taken ſo well, as they were not only diſmiſs'd upon Hoſtages to be given for their Return, when they were not able to effect this Match, but richly rewarded. After which, again being feaſted, they kept their Journey towards *Scotland*, till they came to the Duke of *Suffolk*, the King's Lieutenant in the northern Parts, being then at *Newcaſtle*, where their Hoſtages being received, they had Licence to go home; and with them alſo went the Earl of *Anguis*, and his Brother Sir *George Dowglaſs*, (now fifteen Years abſent from their Country,) who during their long Stay in theſe Parts, had a liberal Penſion beſtowed on them by our King; for which alſo they promiſed their beſt Aſſiſtance on all Occaſions. Cardinal *Beton*, who this while, by Pretext of his counterfeit Will, had made himſelf Viceroy, was now, upon Deſtruction of the Forgery, depos'd, and *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, choſen in his Place: A Nobleman followed by many, both for his Nearneſs of Blood to the Crown, and that the Cardinal's Cruelty and Ambition had made him ſo hated. Beſides, there was found after the King's Death certain Papers, in which the Names of above three hundred of the principal Nobility and Gentry, (and among them *James Hamilton*) were accuſed as Criminals: And this again made them more confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himſelf in the Controverſies of Religion, and gave Hope of a mild and temperate Diſpoſition. His firſt publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in *March* following; whereof our King being advertiſed, ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler*, his Secretary, thither, to procure the Marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetual Peace: *Scotiſh* Ambaſſadors being alſo deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir *Ralph Sadler*'s firſt Inſtructions were, appears not by our Records, more than is formerly related out of the *Scotiſh* Writers: But by a ſubſequent Diſpatch, dated *May* 6. I find that our King, in Reward of ſome Buſineſs that the Viceroy ſhould effect, had promis'd his Danghter the Lady *Elizabeth* in Marriage to his Son: And becauſe our King paſſionately deſired to have the young Princeſs into his Hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince *Edward*, and that he feared the *French* would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the Affair intimated betwixt them. Our Records alſo tell us, that *George Douglaſs*, and the other Lords, who were ſent Home, excus'd themſelves at firſt, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their Promiſes; ſo that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get ſome Holds into their Hands, where they might with more Advantage ſet forth our King's Purpoſes, they declined it; alledging, among other Difficulties a certain Fickleneſs in the Vice-

roy's Diſpoſition, and that the *French* Party was ſo great. Howbeit, upon further Debate of the Buſineſs, certain *Scotiſh* Ambaſſadors were ſent hither, being Sir *William Hamilton* and Sir *James Lermouth*; but their Negotiation not pleaſing, as being unwilling to admit other Governor than the Earl of *Arran*, during the Queen's Minority, or to deliver the Holds of *Scotland*, till ſhe had Iſſue by Prince *Edward*, or to put her into our King's Cuſtody, with ſome other Demands which were diſtaſted by them, it was thought fit to ſend the Earl of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Dowglaſs*; who, I find, ſeconded the Overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace, which the firſt made, in more plauſible Terms: Yet not ſo, but that Sir *George Dowglaſs* was diſpatched Poſt to *Scotland* to bring a more ſatisfactory Anſwer; which was obtain'd: Inſomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage ſign'd and ſeal'd was brought back by thoſe *Scotiſh* Ambaſſadors in *Auguſt*, 1543, as *Leſleus* hath it. And becauſe I find among our Records this following Treaty of *June* 29. I ſhall enquire for no other.

Firſt, that the Lords of *Scotland* ſhall have the Education of the Princeſs for a Time; yet ſo as it might be lawful for our King to ſend thither a Nobleman and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Perſons to wait on her.

That at Ten Years of Age ſhe ſhould be brought into *England*, the Contract being firſt finiſhed by a Proxy in *Scotland*.

That within two Months after the Date hereof, ſix noble *Scots* ſhould be given as Hoſtages for the Performance of the foreſaid Conditions on their Part: And that if any of them died, the Number of them ſhould be ſupplied.

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of *Scotland* (by that Name) ſhould preſerve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace ſhould be made for as long Time as was deſired, the *French* being excluded.

Nevertheleſs, the Queen, Cardinal, and all the Cergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal ſo particularly, that he was removed to a Chamber apart, or, as other have it, into a Priſon, till the main Queſtion of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hoſtages promiſed for Performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found Means to corrupt his Keeper, ſo he eſcaped; and then began again to trouble all, uſing for this Purpoſe the Help of the Queen-Mother, and the Pretext, it was unfit that the *Dowglaſſes*, being wholly devoted to the *Engliſh*, ſhould from a long Baniſhment be admitted to the ſupream Council concerning publick Affairs. Beſides, he got huge Sums of Money from the Clergy, upon Colour that there was no other Way to redeem themſelves from imminent Ruin. Furthermore, he perſuaded that the Hoſtages ſhould not be ſent into *England*; he procured alſo that our Ambaſſador ſhould be contumelioufly uſed; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Anſwer, but that the Cardinal had ſo diſcompoſed all Things, that he could give no Remedy for the preſent. The Queſtion was then, What Courſe they ſhould take about the Hoſtages left in *England*, upon condition that the late Nobles who were Priſoners ſhould return, in caſe the Marriage and Peace took no Effect. But the Cardinal anſwered, that Kindred, Friends, Children, and all ſhould be ſacrificed for the Good of their Country. Howbeit, *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Caſſelles* could not be perſuaded to ſtay; for having left two Brothers his Pledges, he ſaid he would

redeem their Lives with his own: And thereupon though many exhorted him, he went into *England*. Which generous Counsel succeeded so well, that after a large Commendation given him by our King, he was dismiss'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other Side, he was so offended with the rest, that he detain'd all the *Scotish* Shiping in his Ports, and resolved to denounce War against them. Whereupon the Cardinal and the Queen-Mother inform'd the *French* King thereof, and that the Factions were such, as there was Danger both Kingdoms should be united; desiring him further, to send over *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, as being of great Power in that Country, and noted then to be adverse to the *Hamiltons*: Besides, it added to his Reputation, that it was thought the last King, if he had died without Issue Male, would have design'd him his Heir and Successor, and gotten it confirmed by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was some secret Hope given, he might marry the Queen-Mother, and divers other Things set down by *Buchanan*. These Motives, together with the *French* King's Approbation and Promise of Assistance, made this young Lord resolve to repair to *Scotland*; whereof the Viceroy being informed, endeavours to get the young Princess out of her Mother's Hands; hoping thereby not only to govern all, but to draw the *English* on his Side; but the Design being vented to the Cardinal, a Guard was given to the young Queen.

In the mean while the Earl of *Lenox* arrives out of *France*, without discovering yet any Thing of his Intentions; only he tells his Friends in private the Promises made him, and what Help he might expect from the *French* King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his Strength, he gathered four thousand Men, and advances; whereof *Hamilton* being advertised, and finding himself inferior in Power, sent to treat of Peace, which followed, and an Agreement for the present that the Queen should be brought to *Sterling*, and four principal Persons should have Care of her Education: And the rather, that it was suspected that the Earl of *Arran* would have delivered her to the *English*. Whereupon she was conducted by *Lenox* unto the Place appointed, and committed unto the Tuition of *Grames*, *Erskin*, *Lindsey*, and *Levistion*, and shortly after crown'd. The Viceroy being thus fustrated, and for the rest, not much favour'd by the People, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he shewed himself so obsequious, as he seem'd to hold the Name rather than the Power of a Viceroy. Insomuch that the Cardinal, who a little before was in Danger of suffering for a notable Forgery, now absolutely govern'd all. Whereof our King being advertised, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the Help of the Viceroy, but resolv'd openly to demand her, upon Pretext that there was Fear of her being conveyed into *Franee*; and in Case of Refusal, to denounce War. The Message hereupon being brought, the *Scots* utterly denied him, so that Provision for War was made by our King.

All Things yet passed not so quietly in *Scotland* as was desired by that State; for as the Cardinal being of immoderate Ambition, could not endure the Earl of *Lenox*'s Power, so he endeavoured to suppress him; which he did also with much cunning. For whereas Hope had been given him of a Marriage with the Queen, he advertis'd her to entertain him fairly, till he had received an Answer

ſwer of the *French* King of a Letter, wherein, though he made honourable Mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the ſaid Earl ſhould be recall'd. It being not likely otherwiſe that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as *Lenox* was young, handſome, and genteel, and brought up in all Exerciſes of a Cavalier, he paſt his Time in Tiltings, Maſks, and other noble Sports; in which, though he had the Earl of *Bothwell* for Rival, this Lord yet appeared ſo inferior to him, as he retired home: Nevertheleſs, *Lenox* finding himſelf at laſt deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinal, to have the more Leiſure to ruin him, he proteſted he would be revenged; neither wanted there an opportunity: For 30000 Crowns being ſent by the *French* King to him, in the Diſpoſing whereof, yet he was wiſhed to uſe the Advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he diſtributed the Money amongſt his Friends; but the Cardinal alledging that the Money was ſent to himſelf, and to be employed in Wars againſt the *Engliſh*, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it againſt all Right, raiſed an Army to ſeize on him and the Money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of theſe Preparitives, he gathered in a ſhort Space an Army of 10000 Men, ſaying, he would prevent the Cardinal; who being now deſirous to gain Time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this Expence, entertain'd him with frequent Sollicitations and Meſſages; *Lenox* alſo doubting leaſt ſome of his Followers might forſake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edinburgh*, where, after a while, being advertis'd that ſome Treachery was intended, he conveys himſelf by Night to *Glaſco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton*; after which, hearing both, that the *Douglaſſes* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the Calumnies of his Adverſaries the *French* King was alienated from him, he ſeem'd much troubled, and the rather, that ſome noble Perſons who deſired to end theſe Controverſies, were ſuddenly committed. But as our King prepared now to invade *Scotland*, this Buſineſs had another End than he could eaſily imagine.

And now if juſt Cauſes of Competition to the young Queen of *Scotland*, happened, no leſs juſt Cauſes for War againſt *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief, or at leaſt the moſt recent, were theſe:

That he with-held divers our Ships, and ſeized upon Merchants Goods.

That he detained the Penſion due yearly to King *Henry*.

That he had fortified *Ardres* to the Prejudice of our *Engliſh* Pale, on which alſo he had incroached. Moreover divers ancient Unkindneſſes not ſufficiently concocted remain'd in our King's Breaſt: As that he had given his Daughter *Magdalen* to *James*, and afterwards the Daughter of *Guiſe*, contrary to his Promiſe and Treaty.

That he had not deſerted the Biſhop of *Rome*, and conſented to a Reformation, as he once promiſed.

That whereas with much Freedom and Confidence he had revealed divers Secrets to him, they had been diſcloſed again unto the Emperor, while he was at *Aignes Mortes*, and after at *Paris*. Beſides which there was a common Quarrel taken betwixt the Emperor and our King, for having confederated himſelf with the *Turk*, &c. as is in the following Treaty. But to theſe *Francis* anſwered, that our King had failed alſo in not aſſiſting him againſt the Emperor. Our King replied,

That *Francis* had violated the Treaty firſt. Beſides, he could not be ignorant of the Wars againſt his Rebels at that Time; howſoever theſe Buſineſſes were ſo roughly conteſted, that the Ambaſſadors were ſtaid on both Sides, though at length diſmiſſed, and an open Rupture reſolved. The Conſequence whereof having a good while ſince been preſaged by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament.

The League with the Emperor was to this Effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there ſhould be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourſe.

III. A perpetual Peace.

IV. That they ſhould aid or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives ſhould not be harboured, but upon Warning given to be gone, if they obeyed not, to be baniſhed and proſcrib'd.

VI. He ſhall be taken for a common Enemy who ſhall invade *England*, *Guiſnes*, *Calais*, *Berwick*, *Wight*, *Jerſey*, *Garnſey*, *Man*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Limburgh*, *Luxenburgh*, *Namours*, *Friſe*, *Overyſſell*, *Utrech*, *Mechlin*.

VII. And if he invade with 10000 Men, the Prince invaded ſhall require Aid of the other, who ſhall ſend him within forty Days, at his own Charges, in this Proportion, *viz.*

That if the Enemy fall on *Calais*, or the Caſtle and County of *Guiſnes*, the Emperor ſhall ſend at leaſt as many Soldiers, Horſe and Foot, as may be paid for 7000 Crowns the Day, each Crown valued at forty-five Sols *Tournois*.

If on *Wight*, *Jerſey*, *Garnſey*, *Man*, or *England*, the Emperor ſhall ſend for Aid, ſuch a Number of Foot as can be paid for 700 Crowns a Day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his Countries above-mentioned, the King of *England* ſhall ſend him for Aid, ſuch a Number of Foot at leaſt, whoſe pay, conſidering their Cloaths, Diet, and Weapons, comes to 700 Crowns a Day, each Crown worth fourty Sols *Tournois*.

And it is in the Choice of him who demanded Aid, whether he will have Men or Money, which Money ſhall be paid by the Month, conſiſting of twenty-eight Days.

And whether Men or Money be required, the Prince of whom it is demanded is not bound to be at this Charge above four Months in one Year. But if the Prince in whoſe Aid they are ſent, will retain them longer, he may at his own Charge.

Neither Prince is bound to Aid the other in divers Places at once: And if both ſhall be invaded at the ſame Time by the King of *France*, the one ſhall not be bound to aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a falſe Rumour, and the Enemy ſhall neither beſiege any City or Fort, nor make Spoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the ſaid Demandant is to repay the Money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, it is agreed, they ſhall Aid one another by ſending Horſe and Foot, or Ships at the Coſt of the Demandant: And concerning theſe two Kingdoms, the Number and Coſts of the Aid ſhall be as the Time, and Occaſion, and Strength of the Prince, of who it was demanded will ſuffer: Which Thing ſhall be referred to the Conſcience of the Prince ſo call'd upon.

And

And for the Pay of the Soldiers, it ſhall be rated acccording to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they ſhall be puniſhed and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Marque ſhall be given without due Warning, to the End that Loſſes and Wrongs may be otherwiſe repaired by the Prince.

X. That becauſe many ſcandalous and heretical Books are ſpread abroad by Tranſlations, it is agreed that no Books written in *Engliſh* ſhall be printed or ſold in *Germany*, or the Emperor's Dominions: Nor any Book written in *Dutch*, in *England*, under Pain of Impriſonment to the Sellers and Printers, and burning of the ſaid Books.

XI. That there ſhall be Intercourſe of Traffick according to the Treaty made 1520, and confirm'd and order'd in the Treaty of *Cambray*, *Auguſt* 5, 1529.

XII. That if there be any Damnification of the Subjects on either Side, the wronged Party upon requiſition, may have the Cauſe heard, and due Reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invaſion, as aforeſaid, War is denounced, no Truce ſhall be made by either Prince, without the Conſent of the other, except there be Danger of Siege from the Enemy: In which Caſe there may be Truce made (apart) for two Months, within which Time he is to give Notice to the other.

XIV. That no Peace ſhall be made, nor any Treaty ſeverally kept with the *French* King, or any other to the Prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty, but by common Conſent; as alſo no Enemy to either, nor in whoſe Dominions the other hath any Pretence.

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the two Princes, under their princely Word and Oath, and under pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and Man, and under Pledge of their Goods, ſo that it ſhall be lawful to invade the Realm and Dominions of the Infracter, to take Perſons and Goods and carry them away, till Satisfaction be made: Provided, that they come not to this Extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been required, and Juſtice denyed or delayed.

XVII. This Treaty to be underſtood according to the ſimple or plain Tenor of the Words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwiſe.

XVIII. It is alſo covenanted and agreed, that, as ſoon as may be, the two Princes ſhall by their Ambaſſadors declare to the King of *France* (requiring his Anſwer thereto,) *viz.*

1. They ſhall complain, that the *Turk* (Enemy to Chriſtian Faith) hath taken Boldneſs by his Friendſhip to invade Chriſtendom.

2. That he renounce his Correſpondence with the ſaid *Turk*, recalling his Orators that are now reſident with him.

3. That he ſatisfy for the Loſs and Prejudice done by the *Turk*, through his Occaſion and Procurement to Chriſtendom, *viz.* *Firſt*, That he reſtore the Town of *Maram* to the King of the *Romans*. And *Secondly*, That he content the Emperor for the Coſts and Damages ſuſtained in the Loſs of *Caſtle Nuovo*, which the *Turk*, with the Aid of twelve Galleys of the King of *France*, took.

4. That he ceaſe from War with the Emperor, that he may more commodi-

ouſly

ouſly and ſafely take upon him the Defence of the Chriſtian Common-Wealth.

5. That he repay to the *Germans* the Loſs by them ſuſtained, in defending themſelves againſt the *Turk*.

6. That he pay the King of *England* all Arrearages, and that he give him ſome Lands and Poſſeſſions to ſecure the Satisfaction of the perpetual Penſion. And if there be any Thing elſe which each of theſe two Princes will require from the *French* King, it ſhall be lawful for him to do it, ſo that he declare his Intent therein in open and plain Terms, before the Ratification of the preſent Treaty.

XIX. If the *French* King either for Terror of Conſcience, or Fear of Re-Revenge, ſhall deſire to come to Agreement for Peace; neither of theſe two Princes may treat with him apart, until the King of *France* hath given them Satisfaction: *viz.* 'Till he hath paid the King of *England* all that is in Arrear due to him by Bargain. Alſo, for Security of the Payment of the Annual Penſion due for ever, he ſhall ſurrender into the Poſſeſſion of the King of *England* the whole Country of *Ponthieu*, with the Town of *Bologne*, and Territories of *Monſtrueil*, *Therouenne*, and *Arde*, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoining, as far as the Borders of the ſaid County of *Ponthieu*, &c. On Condition, that the King of *England* and his Succeſſors ſhall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feud. On this Condition yet, that they hold themſelves fully ſatisfied with the Profits ariſing out of theſe Lands for the annual and perpetual Penſion. To the Emperor he ſhall reſtore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

XX. If the King of *France* will not accept Peace on theſe Conditions, or delay it forty Days after Propoſition, the two Princes ſhall denounce War againſt him. Wherein

The King of *England* ſhall challenge to himſelf the Kingdom of *France*, Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Guienne*. The Emperor, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Cities and Towns of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Corby*, *Bray*, *Peronne*, *Hannere*, and St. *Quintin*, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes ſhall deſiſt from Hoſtility, but by Conſent of the other, and for the good of Chriſtendom.

XXI. They ſhall have each a Fleet at Sea to ſecure Traffick: Which Ships bearing two thouſand, or (if need be) three thouſand Soldiers, ſhall be ſet to Sea within a Month after War denounced to the *French* King, and ſhall remain there on the Coaſts of *France*, infeſting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor ſhall they licence their Soldiers, or diminiſh the Number of Ships or Men, but by Conſent. And if there be any Loſs by Tempeſt or Fight, they ſhall ſupply it. For the Deſigns, they ſhall be ruled by the Admirals and the Council of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforeſaid, denounced by common Conſent, in Time and Place agreed on, (ſo it exceed not the Space of two Years) the two Princes ſhall either in Perſon, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of *France* with a compleat Army; that is to ſay, twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, or leſs; nor ſhall deſiſt within four Months, unleſs he be beaten, or receive ſome Diſaſter, except by mutual Conſent.

XXIII. When King *Henry* ſhall with twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe invade the Dominions of the *French*

French King, the Emperor ſhall at his own Coſts lend him 2000 Lanſquenets, and 2000 of able Horſemen, to ſerve under him, 'till he licenſe his Troops.

XXIV. When the King of *England* ſhall paſs the Sea to invade *France*, and paſs through any of the Dominions of *Charles*, the ſaid Emperor ſhall give him free Paſſage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals, and Ammunition, ſo he pay for them at a fair and reaſonable Price.

XXV. This Treaty to be ratified and ſworn by both Princes within fifteen Days after Requiſition.

Commiſſioners for our King were *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſly*, Principal Secretary: For the Emperor *Euſtachius Chappuis*, Doctor of both Laws, Counſellor and Maſter of Requeſts to the Emperor, and his Lieger Ambaſſador here in *England*.

This League minuted and agreed in *February* $15\frac{42}{43}$, was ſworn to by *Charles*, *April* 8, at *Molin del Rey* near *Barcelona*, in the Preſence of *Edward Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, our King's Ambaſſador, and publiſhed in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the Expences thereof.

In this Parliament, a Book intituled *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian Man*, receiving its Approbation, was in *May* following printed and publiſhed in *Engliſh* by the King's Command; wherein he departs not from his Articles ſet forth *Anno* 1536, except in admitting ſeven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious Manner: For here at large out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments and the Decalogue, the Lords Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and good Works: *Laſtly*, Adds Prayer for the Dead; all with much Moderation, as chuſing rather to reſolve high and obſcure Queſtions in general Terms, than by any peremptory and particular Determination to make his People obnoxious; a Fault noted by ſome Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*, both which about theſe Times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without Explication or Proof, under the greateſt Penalties. But King *Henry* having laboured firſt to make Tenants underſtood, order'd in the next Place to have them obſerved on theſe Conditions. Therefore among other Laws enacted in this Seſſion, beginning the 22d of *January* $15\frac{42}{43}$, and laſting 'till the 12th of *May* following, this is the firſt:

Recourſe muſt be had to the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church for the Deciſion of Controverſies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, being of *Tindal*'s falſe Tranſlation, or compriſing any Matter of Chriſtian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine ſet forth, *Anno Domini* 1540, or to be ſet forth by the King ſhall be aboliſhed. No Printer or Bookſeller ſhall utter any of the aforeſaid Books: No Perſons ſhall play in Interludes, ſing or rhime contrary to the ſaid Doctrine: No Perſons ſhall retain any *Engliſh* Books or Writings concerning Matter againſt the Holy and Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the Maintenance of Anabaptiſts, or other Books aboliſhed by the King's Proclamation. There ſhall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New-Teſtaments in *Engliſh*. The Bible ſhall not be read in *Engliſh* in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-

Journeymen, Serving-Men, of the Degrees of Yeomen, or under Husbandmen, nor Labourers, shall read the New Testament in *English*. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's Instructions. And if any spiritual Person preach, teach, or maintain any Thing contrary to the King's Instructions or Determinations made or to made, and shall be thereof convicted, he shall for his first Offence recant; for his second abjure and bear a Faggot; and for his third, shall be judged an Heretick, and be burned, and lose all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a Qualification of the six Articles, which imposed Death upon the first Offence in this Kind: And as the King was now in good Terms with the Emperor, he might the better moderate them.

That the Lords authorised by the Statute of 28 *Hen.* VIII. 14. to set the Prices of Wine in Gross, may lessen or raise by Retaile, as Time and Occasion shall require. Which Act tho' expired before our Times, had yet this Use, that Vintners then were very much restrained from cosening; and the extraordinary Number of them diminished.

That any Person being no common Chirurgeon, may prescribe outward Medicines.

That Bishops new erected, shall pay their Tenths into the Courts of the First-Fruits.

That Pensions, *&c.* granted out of Abbeys, *&c.* should be paid still as they were before.

That Laws especially should be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Council in the Principality of *Wales* and Marches was confirmed; and divers other Orders established, too long to be recited here. Only I must not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore used in *Wales*, did so divide and subdivide the Lands of the antient Nobles and Gentry there, that at last every Man's Part came to a very little; and so disabled them to keep the Dignity of their Houses) was here taken away and extinguished.

In this Parliament, also, a Subsidy was granted to the King, to be paid in three Years, after this Rate; they who were in Goods worth twenty Shillings and upwards to five Pound, paid four Pence of every Pound; from five Pound to ten Pound, eight Pence; from ten Pound to twenty Pound, sixteen Pence; from twenty and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum; Strangers, not Inhabitants, that were Sixteen Years old and upwards; paid four Pence for every Head or Poll. As for Lands, Fees, and Annuities, every Native paid eight Pence in the Pound for twenty Shillings to five Pounds; from five Pounds to ten Pounds, sixteen Pence; from ten Pounds to twenty Pounds, two Shillings; from twenty Pounds and upwards, three Shillings. Strangers still after these Rates doubling the Sum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid of their Benefices in Perpetuity, in three Years following; and every Priest having no Perpetuity, but an annual Stipend, paid yearly, during the said three Years, six Shillings and eight Pence. Besides which, I find upon Occasion of a Dearth of Victuals, a sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, as also the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houses were limitted to a certain Number of Dishes: They were forbidden also to buy certain Kinds of Fowl. Nevertheless, in Regard of the great

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ber of People in this Parliament Time, and the Scarcity of Fiſh, the King by Proclamation, diſpenſed eating of Whitemeats in Lent, forbidding yet the Eating of Fleſh ſo ſtrictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen were impriſoned for offending herein.

And now the *Iriſh* finding by *O Neale*, that the Uſe our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their ſeveral Merits and Services; *O-Brian*, *Mac William-a-Burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick*, came hither, and upon Notice taken of their Deſert, *O Brian* was created Earl of *Thomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanriccard*; ſome others alſo had Honours given them, and received therein an Obligation to continue firm to the *Engliſh* Crown: Of which likewiſe the Succeſſors of the aforeſaid Lords have given ample Teſtimony.

The Separation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* now ſtanding uncontroverted, and Queen *Katharine* beheaded, our King bethought himſelf of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found ſome Difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mentioned, it was declared Death for any one whom the King ſhould Marry, to conceal her Incontinency in former Time, ſo few durſt hazard to venture into thoſe Bonds with a King, who had, as they thought, ſo much Facility in diſſolving them: Therefore they ſtood off, as knowing in what a ſlippery Eſtate they were, if the King, after his receiving them to Bed, ſhould, through any Miſtake, declare them no Maids: So that now he fixed upon the Lady *Katharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who, as ſhe was eſteemed ever a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and ſome Maturity of Years, ſo the King after Marriage, lived apparently well with her for the moſt Part. The publiſhing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperor, and denouncing War to *Francis*: For which purpoſe, two Kings of Arms on the Emperor and on our King's Part, were diſpatched to him; while for more authoriſing their Meſſage, they were to require Performance of certain Conditions before mentioned. But *Francis* not ſuffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they returned; and both Princes, without more Ceremony, prepar'd for War: The Beginning and Progreſs whereof, that it may be the better underſtood, I ſhall look a while upon Foreign Hiſtory.

Guillaume de Bellay, Seigneur *de Langey*, one of the compleateſt Gentlemen of his Time, to whom the Charge of all Affairs in *Piedmont* was chiefly committed, finding himſelf declining in Health, deſires leave to return home, but too late; for being intercepted by Death in his Way, he deſired the King his Maſter to accept thereof as a Teſtimony that he had ſerved his Majeſty to the uttermoſt of his Force; whoſe Loſs, I find, happened the more unſeaſonably, in that *Francis* had now need of his beſt Strength againſt two ſo puiſſant Princes, as reſolved to invade his Dominions in Perſon. The Emperor ſet out firſt, as having divers Buſineſſes to determine by the Way; leaving for Governor of *Spain* his Son *Philip*, aſſiſted by *Ferdinand de Toledo Duc de Alva* as Captain General, and *Franceſco de les Covos* for other Diſpatches during his Abſence. His chief Deſign was to draw the Pope from the *French* King: To which, though the Pope was ſufficiently diſpos'd, yet he durſt not, ſaith *Sandoval*, leſt *Francis* ſhould renounce his Autho-

rity, as our King had done, and give Ear to the *Lutherans*. Which being certified to the Emperor by his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, made him withdraw ſome Revenues which he had given with *Margaret* his natural Daughter to *Ottavio Farneſe* the Pope's Grand-child. And now the Emperor having all Things ready for his Voyage, arrives from *Barcelona* and *Genoua* about the End of *May*, 1543, as our Records ſay, or *June*, according to *Sondoval*. His Neceſſities yet were great; inſomuch, that as he was forced before his leaving *Spain* to pawn the *Moluccas* to *Juan* King of *Portugal*, (and the rather, becauſe ſome Revolt happening in the *Weſt-Indies* about this Time, he was diſfurniſh'd of the Revenues uſually received from thence:) ſo in *Italy* he was conſtrain'd to ſell the Fortreſſes of *Florence* and *Ligorna* to *Coſmo de Medices* Duke of *Florence* for 150000 Ducats; though yet he wanted not ſo many Reaſons to retain theſe Places, as (unleſs a moſt urgent Neceſſity did excuſe him) it cannot but ſeem moſt ſtrange, both as he loſt ſo principal an Acceſs to *Italy* by Sea, and ſuch a puiſſant Means of conſerving the *Florentines* at his Devotion: Nevertheleſs, I find he would not part with *Siena*, though as being an inland Town, and without Means to be eaſily relieved, it could not ſo aptly ſerve for to make good his Authority in thoſe Parts. To which yet I find *Diego de Mendoza* Governour thereof ſo encouraged him, as he ſeemed rather to invite an Attempt againſt *Rome*. The Emperor repoſing a while at *Genoua*, was deſired by the Pope to permit an Interview: which at laſt was accorded at *Buſſetto*, between *Parma* and *Cremona*, where the Pope and Emperor did meet, *June* 21. Their different Ends yet did not permit them to ſpeak principally of a Council, nor at all, till their other Buſineſſes were determined: For the Emperor, deſirous to incite him againſt the *French* King, and however to get Money of him, bent his chief Diſcourſes that Way.

The Pope, on the other Side, ambitious to get *Milan* for his Grand-child *Ottavio Farneſe*, who had married *Margaret*, natural Daughter to the Emperor, as is before recited, intended little elſe; offering for this Purpoſe, to make what Cardinals the Emperor deſired, to give 150000 Crowns for ſome Years towards his War againſt *France*, and yet to leave the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* in his Hands. Others ſay, the Pope would neatly have bought *Milan* for his Grand-child, when the Emperor could give him good Aſſurance for his Purchaſe, and that the Emperor would not part with the Fortreſs of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But to leave theſe Things to the ſeveral Authors, I find, that the Emperor requiring more Money, the Buſineſs was ſuſpended, and the Concluſion referred to Commiſſioners, who ſhould treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his Journey through *Germany*: who, for all Advantage and Satisfaction in this Interview, had no Account to give at his coming thither, but that he could proteſt, he had made ſome Overture of a Council. The Pope finding thus no certain Reſolution given to his Requeſt, inclined to *Francis*; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperor being publiſhed, he was highly incenſed againſt him, as having joyned himſelf in League with one who was ſo lately excommunicated, anathematized, curſed, deprived, and made incapable of all Conſideration: Which yet ſo little moved the Emperor; as when it was repreſented that the Pope's Proceeding here

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was paſſionate, and from his proper Intereſt only, and that Religion ſtood upon firmer Principles, than that it could be perſonated in any one Man, he did relinquiſh his former Intention: for more Confirmation whereof alſo, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his aſſiſting of *Francis*; ſaying, he might with much more Reaſon prevail himſelf of our King's Aſſiſtance, than *Francis* could do of the *Turks*.

The Emperor being now come into the *Low Countries*, reſolves to chaſtiſe the Duke of *Cleve*; the chief Places of whoſe Country he took in Fifteen Days. Nevertheleſs, upon his Submiſſion, he reſtored all but *Gueldre* and *Zutphen*; of which yet he gave him ſome Hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

This being advertiſed to *Francis*, made him detain *Jone* of *Navarre*; but for her the Emperor afterwards gave the Duke in Marriage (the Pope diſpenſing with the former Contract) *Mary* Daughter of *Ferdinand*. This proſperous Exploit yet was checked by the Succeſs of *Francis*, who this while had taken *Landrecy*, *Bapaumes*, and *Maubege*, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houſes, which yet are not ſo bound to any Vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in Effect an Academy for their Sex.) Afterwards he took almoſt all *Luxembourg*: Therefore the Emperor prepared Forces to withſtand him, and recover the ſaid Places. To which Purpoſe Sir *John Wallop*, with ſix thouſand Men being ſent by our King (who failed not to aſſiſt the Emperor) landed at *Calais*, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, did much Spoil upon the *French*, 'till he joined with the Emperor's Forces before *Landrecy*, which the Emperor beſieged: Whereof *Francis* being advertiſed, reſolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two great Armies being near each other, it was thought a Blow would follow. The Emperor, who deſired much to fight, put his Men in Order; which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, ſhewing withal the Imperial Standard, which one *Quixada* carried, ſaying, if this ſhould fall, and my ſelf too, I charge you to take it up before me. *Francis* alſo drew out into the Field, not omitting in the mean Time to ſend Men, Victuals and Ammunition into the Town: The two Armies thus confronting one another, Night came on, through the Benefit whereof *Francis*, diſlodging ſecretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialiſts finding this, follow: But as *Francis* had laid an Ambuſcado, he took divers of the more forward, among whom, it was the Fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other *Engliſh* to be taken Priſoners. The Emperor yet continued his Siege for ſome four or five Days: But as it was now towards the midſt of *November*, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, perſuading the Inhabitants that the *French* had a Deſign upon them, he counſelled them to build a Cittadel; which they approving, he found Means to poſſeſs himſelf thereof. He alſo ſent *Hernando Gonzago* and *Juan Baptiſta Gaſtaldo* to our King, to treat further of War againſt *France* the next Year; he omitted not alſo to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with Deſire (as much as ſafely he might) to oblige the Proteſtants to him; and the rather, that the *Turks* had at this Time not only taken *Strigonium* and other Places in *Hungary*, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, in this Manner: *Antoine Polin*

(afterwards Baron *de la Garde*) had now made two Voyages from *Francis* to *Soly-man* the *Turk*, to ſolicite him to ſend his Sea-forces againſt the Emperor. Where-upon *Barbaroſſa* was diſpatched with Commiſſion to join with him: He taking freſh Water at *Oſtia*, within five Leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm, that the Inhabitants began to fly; but *Polin* aſſured them by his Letters: From thence coming to *Marſeilles*, *Francois de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien* encountred them, having charge to command the Naval Army of the King, which was two and twenty Galleys, and eighteen other Ships: Whereupon they beſieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Caſtle, which being ſtronger than that it could be won eaſily, they carrying ſome of the Inhabitants with them, retired to their Shipping; and the rather, that they heard the Marquis *De Guaſto* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them; who, I find, recovered it ſhortly after. And thus ended the two Years Negotiation of *Polin* with the *Turk*, with ſmall preſent Effect, and no Conſequence but the carrying away of a few Slaves by *Barbaroſſa*, who winter'd at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marſeilles*. Howſoever, I find by *Sandoval*, that it was ſo heinouſly taken in *Rome*, that ſome Cardinals in a publick Conſiſtory, moved to deprive *Francis* from the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimo*.

I ſhall draw this Year to a Concluſion, with a Beginning given to the Council of *Trent*, now appearing in ſome Rudiments. Many Years had paſt without any manifeſt Neceſſity of calling a Council. Thoſe few Separatiſts which remained of the *Waldeſians*, *Picards* and *Huſſites*, being diſarmed, illiterate, and obſcure; and theſe latter not much differing from the *Roman* Church, but in the Uſe of the Cup in the Euchariſt: But *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and divers others of late appearing, though not ſufficiently united among themſelves, gave yet the *Roman* Catholicks ſo little Cauſe to glory therein, that their greateſt Diſſention ſeemed to be who ſhould be furtheſt off from them: Every Reformer in his turn pretended both to diſcover new Errors, and to ſhew himſelf more averſe. This made the Pope reſolve at laſt on a Council; and the rather, that all Chriſtian Princes deſired upon any reaſonable Terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concerned them to ſettle that Affair: Neither did they think there would be much Difficulty, when all Sides came prepared thereunto, moſt of the Points in Difference being to be reconciled in middle and indifferent Terms, or to be rejected as doubtful (upon the Grounds taken on either Side) or at leaſt not tending to much Edification. The Meeting was (as is above ſhewed) deſigned at *Mantua* firſt, by Pope *Clement* the Seventh 1533, then by *Paulus* the third, 1537, but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there ſuſpended during his Pleaſure, at laſt it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of *Germany*; which alſo was haſtened by the Pope, as fearing the Conſequence of a national Council in *Germany*, whereof the Emperor had lately given Hope; ſo that he was (at what Price ſoever) determined to prevent it; as knowing well what Prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the Defection of *Francis*; who knowing he ſhould loſe the Pope in his Buſineſs of *Milan* and elſe-where, if he trifled any longer with the Proteſtants, had made ſevere Edicts againſt them. Whereupon on *May* 22, 1542, Bulls alſo were diſpatched every where abroad, notifying the ſaid Convention to begin *November* 1, following:

ng: Which yet was in ſuch Terms as ſcandalized the Emperor, ſuppoſing that *Francis* was uſed therein with more Reſpect than he deſerved; ſince, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having ſecretly offered his Aſſiſtance both to the Proteſtant and *Roman* Catholick Party in *Germany*, he had declared his Intentions were only to foment Diviſion; and beſides, had colleagued himſelf with the *Turk*. But for compoſing theſe Differences, the Pope in *Auguſt* having appointed Cardinal *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sandolet* to *Francis*; *Contareni* dying in the Way, he employed Cardinal *Viſeo* in his Place, one ſo openly diſaffected by the Emperor, that it was thought no good Effect would follow. Howſoever, to make it appear that this univerſally-deſired Council was not retarded by him, he ſent at the ſame Time unto *Trent* the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Pariſio*, a good Canoniſt, *Giovanni Morone*, an expert Stateſman, and *Reginald Pool*, oppoſite to our King, and ſo eminent as might give more Authority to all Proceedings againſt him. Their ſecret Inſtructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambaſſadors and Prelates which ſhould be there aſſembled, than to treat of any Thing material without further Direction. The Emperor ſent hither *Diego de Mendoza*, his Ambaſſador reſident at *Venice*, and *Nicholas Perenot*, Seigneur *de Granville*, together with *Antonio*, Biſhop of *Arras*, his Son, and ſome few Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who, together, with ſome few Prelates, of the moſt affected to the Pope, being commanded to be preſent, were all that could give Name and Reputation to this general Council; ſo far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. Howſoever, on *November* 1. the Imperial Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, Notice was given that the Council ſhould open, and a Beginning be made, at leaſt, to a Reformation in Diſcipline. But the Papal Legates interpoſed a Delay, ſaying, It was not convenient to begin an univerſal Council, with ſo little a Number: Whereupon the Buſineſs came to Proteſts on both Sides; and ſo the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon the Imperialiſts departed, whom alſo the *Neopolitan* Biſhops followed, and finally the Legates themſelves, after having been there ſeven Months without more than this Oſtentation of a Council.

Little elſe happened this Year of Foreign Affair, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*, though very young, had given him in Marriage *Donna Maria*, Infanta of *Portugal*, by *John* III. and *Donna Catalina*, Siſter to the Emperor.

Information being made to our King, that divers this Year were burnt for Religion at *Windſor*, it appears by our Hiſtories, that he was not pleaſed; which yet, whether it proceeded from ſome better Impreſſion he might have taken of the Proteſtant Reformation; or that he grew weary of the too many ſevere Executions, which had made his Government thonght in Foreign Countries to be rigorous, cannot eaſily be determined. Howſoever he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore tho' ſome of his Courtiers, as Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the Danger of the ſix Articles, he voluntarily gave them his Pardon; and together withdrew much of his Favour from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was reported more than any to perſecute them, and ſuſpected to diſlike ſecretly the King's Proceedings: Which was made more probable, when

not long after his Secretary *German Gardiner* was executed for denying the King's Supremacy. And perhaps King *Henry* intended ſhortly to go in Perſon to the Wars in *France*, the many Puniſhments he had inflicted on others might have begot ſome Apprehenſions in him: Yet not ſuch as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great Preparations of Soldiers and Habiliments of War, and particularly of Iron Pieces and + Granades, which I find this Year were firſt caſt in *Eugland:* while for the more contenting the Queen in his Abſence, he conferred certain Honours on *William* Lord *Parr*, her Brother, who was made Earl of *Eſſex:* and her Uncle Sir *William Parr*, who was made Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen.

All which yet ſeem'd nothing to him, unleſs he parted in good Terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his moſt loyal Spouſe; and not without Reaſon, ſince there was nothing I know deſired by him, which they performed not. This Seſſion, (being the third) began the 14th of *January*, in the thirty-fifth Year of his Reign, and continued till the 29th of *March* 1544.

1544 The firſt Act was concerning the Succeſſion: And herein, as I find, he endeavoured to cloſe with the Emperor, in giving the Princeſs *Mary* a poſſibility of Succeſſion; ſo he ſettled that Buſineſs among his Children in ſuch Sort, that all Cauſe of Competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

The Beginning of the Act is a Recital of a former, 28 *Hen.* 8. touching the Succeſſion; to which Reference muſt be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this Effect, (as I conceive it.)

Foraſmuch as his Majeſty ſince the Death of Queen *Jane*, hath taken to Wife the Lady *Katharine*, late Wife of *John Nevil*, Knight, Lord *Latimer*, deceaſed, by whom as yet his Majeſty hath none Iſſue, but may have full well, when it ſhall pleaſe God: And foraſmuch as our ſaid moſt dread Sovereign intendeth, by God's Grace, to make a Voyage Royal in his moſt Royal Perſon into the Realm of *France*, againſt the *French* King; his Highneſs moſt prudently conſidering how this Realm ſtandeth at this Time in the Caſe of Succeſſion: And albeit, for Default of ſuch Heirs as be inheritable by the ſaid Act, he might by the Authority of the ſaid Act, give and diſpoſe the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſſes by his Letters Patent under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in Writing, ſigned with his Hand, to any Perſon or Perſons of ſuch Eſtate therein as ſhould pleaſe his Highneſs to limit and appoint: Yet, to the Intent his Majeſty's Diſpoſition and Mind ſhould be openly declared to the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the Intent that their Aſſent and Conſent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majeſty's Declaration in this Behalf; his Majeſty therefore thinketh convenient, before his Departure beyond Seas, that it be enacted by his Highneſs and Parliament: And therefore be it enacted, that in Caſe the King's Majeſty and his only Son Prince *Edward* ſhould deceaſe without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, ſo that there be no ſuch Heir Male or Female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other his Dominions, according and in ſuch Manner and Form as in the aforeſaid Act, and now in this is declared, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown, and all other the Premiſſes ſhall be to the Lady *Mary*,

Mary, the King's Highneſs Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with ſuch Conditions as by his Highneſs ſhall be limited by his Letters Patent under his Great Seal, or by his Majeſty's laſt Will in Writing, ſigned with his Hand. And for Default of ſuch Iſſue, the ſaid Imperial Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall be to the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's ſecond Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with ſuch Conditions as is aforeſaid. Any Thing in the Act made 28 *Hen.* 8. to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Povided nevertheleſs, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch Conditions as the King ſhall declare and limit in manner aforeſaid; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeveral Bodies of the King's Majeſty and Prince *Edward*, the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſſes ſhall be and come to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in ſuch like Manner and Form, as tho' the ſaid Lady *Mary* were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten.

And be it further enacted, That if the ſaid Lady *Mary* do keep and perform ſuch Conditions which the King's Majeſty ſhall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforeſaid; and that the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* for her Part do not keep and perform ſuch Conditions which the King's Majeſty ſhall declare and limit, in Form aforeſaid, That then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeveral Bodies of the King's Majeſty, and the ſaid Lord Prince, and the ſaid Lady *Mary*, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſſes ſhall be and come to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the King's Highneſs, in Form aforeſaid, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided, That if the Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform ſuch Conditions which ſhall be limited and appointed as aforeſaid, and the ſaid *Elizabeth* being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the ſeveral Bodies of the King's Majeſty, and the ſaid Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown and other the Premiſſes ſhall become, and remain to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the King's Majeſty by his Letters Patents, ſealed under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in Writing, ſign'd with his Hand, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe the King's Majeſty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or his laſt Will, in Form as is aforeſaid, any Conditions to the Eſtates and Intereſts aforelimited to the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, nor to the Eſtate or Intereſt of any of them; that then every ſuch of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, to whoſe Eſtate or Intereſt no Condition ſhall be limited by the King's Majeſty in Form aforeſaid, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch Intereſt, Eſtate and Remainder in the ſaid Imperial Crown and other the Premiſſes, as is before limited by this Act, without any Manner of Condition. Any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

And for as much as it ſtandeth in the only Pleaſure and Will of Almighty God, whether the King's Majeſty ſhall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highneſs and his moſt entirely

tirely beloved Wife Queen *Catherine*, or by any other his lawful Wife; or whether the ſaid Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other, ſhall have any Iſſue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if ſuch Heirs ſhould fail, and no Proviſion made, this Realm after the King's tranſitory Life ſhould be deſtitute of a lawful Governor, to order and rule the ſame: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the King's Highneſs ſhall have full Power and Authority to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſign, declare, and limit by his gracious Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his Highneſs laſt Will made in Writing, and ſign'd with his moſt gracious Hand, at his only Pleaſure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premiſſes, to be, remain, ſucceed and come after his Deceaſe, and for lack of lawful Heirs of either of the Bodies of the King's Highneſs and Prince *Edward* begotten, and alſo for lack of lawful Heirs of the Bodies of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to ſuch Perſon and Perſons in Remainder or Reverſion, as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs, and according to ſuch Eſtate, and after ſuch Manner and Form, Faſhion or Condition as ſhall be expreſſed, declared, named and limited in his Highneſs Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will in Writing, ſign'd with his moſt gracious Hand (as is aforeſaid.) Any thing contain'd in this preſent Act, or in the ſaid former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

There followeth alſo in the ſaid Act a new Form of Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Penalty on thoſe who refuſed to take the Oath, or did interrupt this Act, or any Eſtate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom, Treaſons committed out of the Realm ſhould be try'd. That the King's Style alſo, *of King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *in Earth the ſupreme Head*, ſhall be united and annexed for ever unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm of *England*.

That no Perſon ſhould be put to his Trial upon an Accuſation concerning any of the Offences compriſed in the Statute of the ſix Articles, 31 *Hen.* 8. but only upon ſuch as ſhall be made by the Oath of twelve Men before Commiſſioners authoriſed; and the Preſentment ſhall be made within one Year after the Offence committed.

That no Perſon ſhall be arreſted or committed to Ward for any ſuch Offence before he be indicted.

That if any Preacher or Reader ſhall ſpeak any Thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any Matter contained in the ſix Articles, he ſhall be accuſed or indicted within forty Days, or elſe ſhall be diſcharged of the ſaid Offence. And this alſo qualify'd a little the Puniſhment of the ſix Articles.

That the Lords and Commons ſhall remit unto the King all ſuch Sums of Money as he had borrow'd of them ſince the firſt of *January*, in the thirty third Year of his Reign.

That certain Tenures ſhall be reſerved (at the King's Pleaſure) upon Houſes and Lands, being ſometimes Abbey Lands, under forty Shillings a Year.

That all Perſons which have any Houſes, Lands, Gardens, and other Grounds

Grounds in the Town of *Cambridge*, adjoyning upon every Highway, Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, *&c.* ſhall cauſe the ſame to be paved with paving Stone unto the Middle of the ſame Ways, and in length as their Grounds do extend, and ſo ſhall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit Six-pence for every Yard ſquare not ſufficiently paved, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of *England*, it would have been much to the Beauty of them, and the Commodity of Paſſengers.

That the King ſhall have Authority during his Life to name two and thirty Perſons, *viz.* ſixteen Spiritual and ſixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances provincial and ſynodal, and to eſtabliſh all ſuch Laws eccleſiaſtical as ſhall be thought by the King and them convenient to be uſed in all ſpiritual Courts. But this (it ſeems) expired with the King's Life.

An Ordinance alſo (never ſufficiently commended) was made for Preſervation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearſe, I ſhall deſire the Reader to peruſe in its Place: There being no Law either more uſeful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navy and otherwiſe) or whereof the Infraction can with more Difficulty be repaired; ſo many Years, if not Ages, being required before they can come to that Growth, which any raſh Hand may cut down in a very ſhort Space.

Some other Acts alſo paſſed, which the Reader may ſee in their Place.

And now the Parliament ending *March* 29, 1544, that War which was denounced by our King againſt *Scotland* for the Treaty broken in ſome Particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the *1544* Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* was ſhortly after conſtituted by our King Lieutenant General of the North, and ſent thither with a well furniſhed Army: For as it was only a Quarrel of Unkindneſs with the *Scots* for their not admitting readily the loving Offer he made of marrying his Son Prince *Edward* with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compoſe the Buſineſs, than the Prince's Uncle. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* (whoſe Service he had heretofore uſed in thoſe Parts) was appointed to attend him in his Journey to *France*. And now Conſultation being had which Way to invade *Scotland*, it was reſolved by Sea; yet ſo, as the King's Land Army might make a Diverſion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail) Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* (newly made Admiral of *England*) was appointed to conduct it; who ſetting ſail, ſhortly afterwards came to *Newcaſtle*, where the Earl of *Hertford*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and other principal Perſons with the King's Army attend him. Theſe being ſpeedily ſhipped, came to *Grantham-Crag* near *Leith*, the 4th of *May*, where ſpending ſome three or four Days in landing their Men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of St. *Andrews* made proviſion to receive them: Our Army marched in three Bodies, whereof the Lord Admiral had the Van, the Earl of *Hertford* the Middle, the Earl of *Shrewſbury* the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountred ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides many Foot, led (as our Hiſtories have it) by the Cardinal and divers noble Perſons; but as they judg'd themſelves too weak, and conſequently

offered not much Reſiſtance, they were quickly diſcomfited, and their Ordnance taken. Whereupon our Men entring *Leith*, found more Riches there (they ſaid) than they could have eaſily imagined. Marching thence to *Edinburgh*, the Townſ-men offered to yield themſelves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepared for Defence. Nevertheleſs, our Men both forced the Town, and burnt it for three Days together. At which Time *William* Lord *Ever*, Warden of the Eaſt Marches, and Governor of *Berwick*, making his Way by Land, did (notwithſtanding all Oppoſition) joyn his Forces with the reſt. The Army thus greatned, burnt and ſpoiled all Places about *Edinburgh* in a crueller Manner, than became ſuch as would obtain the Favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Nevertheleſs, as they could not take the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, they retired to *Leith*, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they ſhipp'd their great Artillery, and among them ſome fair Pieces gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships alſo were taken by them. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of *Leith*, and the Peer of the Haven; and ſo on the 15th of *May* the Fleet ſet Sail, while the Land Army, deſirous to commit further Spoil, marched to *Seton*, and ſo to *Hadington* and *Dunbar*, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait, (which our Hiſtorians call the *Peaſe*) and a great Miſt happening, they made a Halt, being advertis'd that the *Scottiſh* Army would fall on them: But the Miſt breaking up, they marched on without Reſiſtance, and ſo came to *Runton*, within eight Miles of the *Engliſh* Borders, which having ruined and burnt, they upon the 18th of *May* entered *Berwick*, without having loſt in all this Journey above 40 Perſons. Our Navy in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the *Scottiſh* Coaſts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

The Expedition thus gloriouſly ended, the King found his Buſineſs nothing advanced; he had done more than became a Suitor for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conqueſt. Neither had this Invaſion other Event, than a general Deteſtation of a Marriage fought for in ſuch rough and unuſual Terms: But our King, who underſtood the Buſineſs otherwiſe, ſaid, that ſince he could not obtain, he would ſtrive to chaſtiſe. Howbeit, he omitted not to adviſe how he might raiſe a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himſelf. And becauſe the Earl of *Lenox* now deſerted by the *French*, ſeem'd moſt proper for this Purpoſe, he reſolved to admit a Treaty with him: Which Affair alſo upon his Misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of *Glencarne* and his Brother at *Carliſle*, *May* 17, 1544. (as I find in our Records:) which again was ſeconded in that Manner, that our Army now returning, he came by Sea to *Weſtcheſter*, and ſo to the Court, where he was well received by our King: And at laſt this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the Name of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Thomas Wriotheſly*, (lately made Baron and Chancellor upon *Audley's* Death) the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *William Paget*, by Way of Indenture, *June* 26, 1544. It is to this Effect.

That for the Security of the ſaid Earl of *Lenox* againſt the Power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of *Arran*, and the Safety of the Realm of *Scotland*, it is agreed, that the ſaid Earl will obſerve

the Articles agreed on his Behalf by the Earl of *Glencarne* and others at *Carliſle*, *May* 17, 1544.

That he will be the King's Servant and Subject, and ſerve him againſt all that ſhall impugn his Grace's Title and Authority in *Scotland*, or elſewhere.

That he will ſurrender into his Majeſty's Hand the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*, as alſo the Iſle of *Bute*, and help him to win the Caſtle of *Roſs* therein.

That when the King, having the Direction of the Realm, ſhall have made him Governour, the ſaid Earl ſhall never call Parliament, nor do any Matter of great Moment without the King's Advice.

That he ſhall foreſee that the King's Pronept be not conveyed out of *Scotland*, but ſtrive to get her Perſon into his Cuſtody, and to deliver her into the King's Hands.

That becauſe the King hath upon his earneſt Suit given him leave to marry his Graces Niece the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, the ſaid Earl bindeth himſelf to endow her with the yearly Value of 500 Marks Sterling.

That the King, in Conſideration of the Loſs which the ſaid Earl ſhall ſuſtain in *France* by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs, Poſſeſſions in *England* of 1700 Marks Sterling.

That the King will aid the ſaid Earl in *Scotland* for two or three Months with 500 Men; beſides ſuch Men as his Grace will ſend to take and keep *Dumbritton*.

That the King having obtain'd Direction of that Kingdom, will conſtitute the ſaid Earl Governor.

In which Treaty, though our King beſtowed the Lady *Margaret Douglas* upon him, and that there wanted not ſome, who thought it beſt ſhe ſhould be reſerved upon all Events, when the young Queen through any Accident ſhould die, he choſe rather yet to gratify this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetual Obligation upon him, and enabled him to be the Anceſtor of that happy Off-ſpring which hath followed ſince.

The Earl now poſſeſſed of his Lady, was ſent ſhortly after into *Scotland* with 12 or 14 Ships, and about 600 Men, under the Command of certain *Engliſh* Knights: Theſe coming to the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*, were received with great Joy, and feaſted by *Striveling*, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when *Lenox* had privately told him that the Caſtle was promiſed our King, he ſeemed ſuſpended between Affection and Duty. Tho' at laſt, conſidering that it neither ſtood with his Honour, nor the Safety of the Country, to ſurrender into any forieng Hands, he took Arms, and forced *Lenox* and a few of the *Engliſh*, who were with him, to their Ships, whence they ſet Sail for the Iſle of *Arran*, and burnt all the Houſes there; and after to the Iſle of *Bute*. Some ſay yet that *Striveling* would have ſeized on the Perſon of *Lenox*, had he not foreſeen the Danger, and eſcap'd; and that he landed in the Earl of *Argyle*'s Country, near the Caſtle of *Dunvin*, and afterwards burnt it; and took *Caintyr* and ſpoiled it; and all this with the Help only of one Hundred and forty Men more he had out of his own Country: Concerning which Exploits, he advertiſed our King then at *Boulogne*, himſelf returning in the mean Time to *Briſtol* (whence he had his Ships) and ſtaying there till the King's Arrival in *England*, who ſoon after commanded him, with ſome Ships, to ſcour the *Scottiſh* Coaſt.

Among the King's Preparatives for

War, that of Money was the moſt difficult: For though he had much enrich'd himſelf with the Revenues of the ſuppreſt Abbeys; and beſides, received great Subſidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Proviſions had exhauſted his Treaſure. Beſides, he found the Money of his Kingdom much drained away by his crafty Neighbours, while they cried it up in their Country. For Remedy of which Inconveniences he both enhanced our Gold from 45 *s.* to 48 *s.* the Ounce; and Silver from 3 *s.* and 9 *d.* to 4 *s.* And together cauſed certain baſe Money, newly coined, to be made current; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cried down in *Edward* VIth's Time, and call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*. Howſoever it ſerved for the preſent to exchange both for Commodities at Home and Abroad. Though about two Years after our Records mention, that the *Low-Countrymen* finding the Allays, it ſeems, rejected it.

Men and Money being now provided, there remained yet not a few Difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the King's Abſence. Among which, becauſe the greateſt was the Difference in Religion, he endeavoured to quiet all Parts, as finding it impoſſible to unite them. That of the *Roman* Catholicks he had already ſo curb'd, as they could hardly make Head again: And for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them Contentment, as being at this Time ſcarce more than Pretenders. Therefore he cauſed a Litany or Proceſſion to be ſet forth in *Engliſh*, which much ſatisfied them, as hoping the reſt of Divine Service might follow in the ſame Tongue. And indeed, our Records tell us, that another *Engliſh* Proceſſion for Feſtival Days was afterwards added.

As for the Civil Adminiſtration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus: The Queen was conſtituted General Regent of the Realm: Not yet ſo much, that her ſoft Sex was thought leſs capable of Ambition, as that the *Roman* Catholicks, whom he thought only could ſtir, would take no Dependance from her; ſhe being obſerved to incline a little to the reformed. To direct her Counſels yet, the King appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurleby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *William Peter*, Doctor of Law, one of the principal Secretaries, to be joined in Commiſſion for thoſe Affairs, and on ſome Occaſions *William* Lord *Parre* of *Horton* to be called to them. It being provided further, if Occaſion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* ſhould be the King's Lieutenant or principal Captain. Beſides which general Order for Affairs in his Abſence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who ſhould ſtay there and obſerve all Motions: And for this Purpoſe, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs in every County, for the moſt Part, and ſix or ſeven other Noblemen or Juſtices of the Peace were nominated; *Francis Talbot*, alſo Earl of *Shrewſbury*, was made Lieutenant of the North. And now Aſſurance being given that the Imperial Forces were in Readineſs, he commanded his Army, which conſiſting of 30,000 Men, was divided into three Battles, to paſs the Seas. The Van-guard apparelled in blue Coats, guarded with red, with Caps and Hoſe party-coloured, and ſuitable, their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull, were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like Habit, by the Lord *Ruſſel*, lately made Lord Privy-Seal, with whom went *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*. Marſhal of

the Field, *John Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Brian*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others, not a few *Welch* and *Iriſh* filling up the Numbers. Theſe landing at *Calais* about *Whitſontide*, marched directly to *Montreuil*, where the Count *de Bures*, Admiral of *Flanders*, with 10,000 Foot, and about 3 or 4000 Horſe joining with them, they laid Siege to the Town, which Monſieur *de Biez*, Marſhal of *France* defended; while, at the ſame Time, the Battle, apparelled in the like Bizarre Faſhion, the Colours yet being red and yellow, paſſing over under the Conduct of *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, the King's Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*, Marſhal of the Field, *William Pawlet*, Lord *St. John*, *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the King's Horſe, and others, expected the King's Coming, a ſpeedy Advertiſement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and ſee what the Emperor did.

The Emperor's Ambaſſadors formerly mentioned, being returned from our King with good Satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in Perſon did meet: The Emperor's chief Buſineſs was to require Aid againſt the *Turk* and *French* their Confederate: Which *Francis* alſo ſuſpecting, ſent an Herald to require a ſafe Conduct for his Ambaſſadors to come thither: But he was rejected with ill Words. And now the Emperor endeavouring to divide the Proteſtants, propoſed ſo fair and advantagious a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtained of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approved by the Reſt of the Confederates, yet they all at laſt condeſcended to a Contribution by Poll throughout all *Germany*, for a War againſt the *Turk*, and half a Year's Pay for 4000 Horſe, and 24000 Foot againſt the *French*. In Regard whereof, the Emperor promiſed to commit the Buſineſs of Religion to certain good learned Men, who ſhould write ſome pious Reformation; wiſhing the Princes alſo to do the ſame: To the End, that upon Compariſon of them on all Sides, ſome Agreement might be made by common Conſent, which ſhould be obſerved 'till a General Council was held in *Germany*, or at leaſt a National: And that Peace ſhould be kept in the mean while on all Parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augſbourg* ſuſpended, and the Anabaptiſts puniſhed. There was an Agreement alſo to meet again, which followed at *Worms*, and ſo the Diet ended *June* 10, 1545.

The Pope being advertiſed of theſe Paſſages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being reſolved to tolerate no Reformation whereof himſelf was not Author. Therefore he wrote a ſharp Letter to the Emperor, dated *Auguſt* 25. wherein he remonſtrateth the Inconveniences would follow, if any Thing were eſtabliſh'd in Religion without his Intervention; excluding further the Proteſtants wholly from having any Voice therein.

This while the *French*, under the Conduct of *Francois de Bourbon*, *Duc d'Anguien*, obtain'd at *Seriſoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory againſt the *Spaniard*, commanded by the Marquiſs of *Guaſto*; wherein, as the *Spaniards* conceived, was ſome Fatality; their Writers obſerving, that the Battle of *Ravenna* and *Gelves* were loſt upon the ſame Day. Howſoever, the *French* were not a little glori-

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cus; yet, as *Francis* knew the League betwixt our King and the Emperor, was directed chiefly againſt him, he prepared for Defence: And the rather, that he had heard of a ſecond Treaty, which was at *Gonzaga*'s coming over into *England*, as I take it, wherein both Princes had agreed to march ſtrait on to *Paris*, without beſieging any Town, or ſtaying by the Way. Beſides, the Emperor had now recovered *Luxembourg*. This made *Francis* reſort to the extreme Remedy, in caſe of Invaſion, called the *Ban* and *Arrereban*, by which all Men holding under certain Tenures, are bound for a certain Time, at their own Coſt and Charges, to ſerve in Perſon, or at leaſt to provide, according to their Degree, Horſe and Foot againſt the Enemy: Which *Francis* yet converted to a Foot only, and thus he got together an Army of about 40,000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe. As this yet could not ſecure him againſt two ſuch puiſſant Adverſaries, he diſpatched ſeveral Ambaſſadors to both Princes, with Power to offer great and advantagious Conditions of Peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the Emperor, who promiſed our King to march directly to *Paris* with a great Army, had taken divers Towns in *Champagne*, as the Way unto it, though loſing unfortunately *Rene*, Prince of *Orange*, at St. *Diſier*, who was the ſecond of that Family that had died in his Quarrel, his Mother's Brother, *Philibert de Chaalon*, having been ſlain at the Siege of *Florence*. And now both Armies marching ſo, as the Imperialiſts held the one Side, and the *French* the other Side of the River of *Marne*, News was brought to either Camp, that our Army was landed in *France*, and had beſieged *Bologne*. The Particulars whereof, out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

Our King, who paſs'd the Seas in a Ship with Sails of Cloth of Gold, arrived at *Calais* the 14th of *July*, with a Royal Train. The next Day the Emperor's High-Admiral attended him, and gave Account in what State and Forwardneſs his Maſter's Army and Affairs were about that Time: He adviſed the King alſo to proceed to *Paris* without amuſing himſelf about any Thing by the Way. But he who knew well what Towns the Emperor had taken in his Way, would not be diſſuaded from the ſame Liberty: Therefore he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with Forces to inveſt *Bologne*, in which Monſieur *de Verven*, a young Gentleman, but aſſiſted by *Philip Corſe*, a brave and old Soldier, commanded. His Forces conſiſted of a Gariſon of about 2500 paid, and as many more able Townſmen.

The Duke in a ſhort Space took, notwithſtanding Reſiſtance, the lower Town, lying on the River of *Pont-de-bricq*, and the Watch-Tower before *Bologne*, (call'd the *Old Man*, or the *Tour d'ordre*, thought to be built by *Julius Cæſar*;) This haſtened the King's coming; ſo that diſpatching the Emperor's Admiral, he marched forward in this Equipage, *July* 25. Firſt, the Drums, Viſleurs, Trumpeters and Officers at Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-Herald next before the King's Banner, after which followed *Don Bertran de la Cueva*, Duke of *Alburquerque*, Commander of the Emperor's Auxiliary Forces; next whom came the King's Majeſty armed at all Pieces, upon a great Courſer; then the Lord *Herbert* bearing the King's Head-piece and Spear, followed by the Henchmen bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of *Calais* with a princely Train, an hundred Horſe

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of *Alburquerque*'s Company (whereof ſix were barded with Cloth of Gold) met him: Alſo the Earl of *Eſſex*, chief Captain of the Men at Arms, and Sir *Thomas Darcy* with many other Horſemen, who ſet themſelves in Parade, ſo that the Light-Horſe and Demy-Lance went firſt, then the Guard on Foot, after them the Pike-men, among whom the King rode before the Men at Arms; for the Wings, fifty Archers on Horſeback, and as many Harquebuſiers were appointed; and ſo they came to *Marquiſe*, where the Army then encamped that Night. The next Day, being the 26th, marching towards *Bologne*, the Duke of *Suffolk* met the King, who took his Quarter on the North Side of the Town, near the Sea; divers Skirmiſhes paſſing in the mean Time.

The 28th, *John* Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, the Lord *Clinton* and about 900 Men, who had ſcowred the Seas towards *Scotland*, landed in the Haven at *Bologne*.

The 29th Sir *Thomas Poynings* came to give the King Account of all that paſs'd at *Monſtruel*, and in his Return took *Hardelot* Caſtle.

The 3d of *Auguſt* our Battery began on the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, two Batteries more being afterwards planted againſt it.

The 6th of *Auguſt*, Monſieur *de Bures* came from *Monſtreul*; to whom our King gave a brave Courſer richly furniſh'd.

The 13th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Hertford* came to the Camp; and divers Companies of *Almaines* and *Flemings* joined with our Men: Many Sallies and Skirmiſhes (in which the *French* had ſtill the worſe) paſſing in the mean while. Certain *French* Troops alſo endeavouring early in the Morning to get into the Town, were defeated and kill'd; ſome nevertheleſs eſcaping into it. Certain Troops of *German* Horſe came now alſo to the Camp, who were muſtered before the King the next Day.

The 24th of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Norfolk* from before *Monſtreul* came and advertiſed the King how the Affairs paſs'd there.

The 27th Alarm was given upon diſcovering of ſome *French* Troops.

The 29th and 30th, our Men approaching ſtill to the Walls, ſhort Skirmiſhes paſt.

Septemb. 1. our Men got the Bray, not yet without Loſs of brave Men on both Sides.

The 2d of *September*, ſome of our Men giving a falſe Alarm to the Caſtle, at the Breach which our Cannon had made, other of our Men brake up certain Doors into the Caſtle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, we retired with Loſs.

The 3d, Sir *Chriſtopher Morris* Maſter of the Ordnance, and chief Director of the Batteries, was hurt with a Shot from the Caſtle. Whilſt Things paſs'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy of Victuals (being ſent from St. *Omer* to the Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Imperialiſts kill'd. Nevertheleſs, our *Engliſh* ſaved and reſcued ſome Part.

The 4th of *September* the Pioneers having brought their Work to the Countermure of the Caſtle, two Mines were ſprung, which ſhivered the Wall; but made no great Overture.

The 5th, our Men ſapping the Walls, the *French* kill'd certain Pioneers.

The 6th, another Sally was made, and ſome Workmen were kill'd.

The 9th, the Town being brought almoſt to Terms of yielding, certain Ambaſſadors from *Francis*, being *John* Cardinal *du Bellay*, *Pietre Raymond*, firſt Preſident of *Roüen*, and others, demanded

ed Audience, their Buſineſs being to treat of a general Accord; concerning which the Earl of *Hertford*, the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Sir *William Paget*, and Sir *Richard Rich*, were appointed to negotiate with them at *Hardelot* Caſtle: Our King not doubting in the mean Time to carry the Town.

September 11. Fire was given to the Mine under the Caſtle, the Effect whereof the King went to ſee, not without ſome Danger, the Stones flying very far off; whereupon our Men preſently giving on, many were ſlain on both Sides.

The 13th, *Monſieur de S. Blimont*, and Monſieur *de Aix* came out of the Town, and treated of ſurrendring it.

The 14th, it was yielded upon Condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Victuals and Artillery behind them. It was thought yet the Place might have held out longer, but that *Philip Corſe* was kill'd, with whom, it ſeemed, both their Courage and good Fortune ended. And ſo, about two thouſand Soldiers, and as many others going out of the Town, paſſed towards *Monſtreul* in our King's Sight, beſides divers that eſcaped another Way. And thus *Bologne* was taken, without any Mention in our Diary of Cannon of Wood coloured like Braſs, which ſhould be planted againſt the Caſtle, as Tradition hath it. And now an horrible Tempeſt ariſing, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and ſhipwreck'd ſome Part of our Navy in the Haven. Nevertheleſs, the *French* Ambaſſadors came to the Camp that Night; but as their Tents were blown down likewiſe over their Heads, the King courteouſly permitted them to lodge in the Town.

September 18. the King, attended by *Alburquerque*, entred *Bologne* triumphantly, the Duke of *Suffolk* (the Great Maſter who was ſent before to take Poſſeſſion thereof) meeting him at the Gate, and preſenting the Keys of the Town, where, after he had viewed the Places that needed Fortification, he gave Audience to the *French* Ambaſſadors: But they hearing the Emperor had condeſcended to a Peace, (which was publiſhed about this Time) did leſs inſiſt upon a Treaty with us, and ſo returned by the Way of *Heſdin*, *September* 25. Some of the *Spaniſh* Writers yet uſe much Art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they ſay, that our King failed in his not going to *Paris*, as was agreed. Never conſidering in the mean while, that the Emperor, though having a much clearer Way, had taken divers Towns in his Paſſage: Beſides they alledged, that our King would keep *Bologne* for himſelf, not regarding the common Intereſt. All yet were but Pretexts; whereas the real Cauſes were.

Firſt, That *Charles* had by this means taken off *Francis* from his League with the *Turk*.

Secondly, That he had engaged our King in a War again *France*, and thereby made himſelf the freer to purſue his own Deſigns in *Germany*, where he knew the Proteſtants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War elſewhere.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of *Germany*, which he now intended, he thought the *French* King could more hurt him, than our King do him good.

Beſides the Articles of Peace between *Charles* and *Francis*, I find by ſome, That it was agreed they ſhould defend the antient Religion, and reform the Court at *Rome:* Whereof the Pope being advertiſed, was not yet much troubled;

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as knowing their Intereſts ſo diverſe, that they could not long concur. Nevertheleſs, he haſtened the intended Council at *Trent*, both as the Emperor deſired it, and as he thought it ſafer to reform himſelf, than to be reformed. Therefore, having underſtood that both the Empeperor had commanded the Divines of *Lovain* to reduce Religion into ſome Method and Articles; and *Francis* alſo had enjoyn'd the like to the *Sorboniſts*; he without more Delay appointed the Council to begin *March* 15, 1545, and his Legates there to be *Giovanni Maria di Monte*, Biſhop-Cardinal *di Paleſtina*, *Marcello Cervino*, Prieſt-Cardinal *di Santa Croce*, *Reginald Pool*, Deacon-Cardinal, *di Santa Maria*, (all faithful to him, but *Marcello* moſt vers'd in Affairs,) with Inſtructions at firſt only to obſerve the Emperor's Motions, and govern themſelves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at *Worms* would ſhortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous leſt the Emperor, *French* King and Proteſtants, ſhould agree upon ſome Form of ſettling Religion among themſelves, and not a little fearful alſo leſt our King ſhould intervene: Beſides, it troubled him much how to comport himſelf with the Aſſembly at *Worms*, as doubting, that if he ſent a Legate thither, he might be neglected: Wherefore he commanded the Cardinal *Alexander Parneſe* (his Grand-child) to take that Place as in his Way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio reſident with *Ferdinand*, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to ſhew he proceeded really in calling a Council, he gives his Legates Order to repair to *Trent*, with Authority (according to a Bull framed for that Purpoſe) to propoſe, determine, and conclude all that was neceſſary for Extirpation of Hereſy, to reform the Church, to ſettle Peace among Chriſtian Princes, *&c.* by the Conſent of the Council. Beſides which, he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transfer, or diſſolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrament: Nor made he Difficulty to begin it with a few *Italian* Biſhops only of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepared when the reſt came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he ſent to *Spain* to be reſolved by the Prince and his Council, which of the two Marriages were moſt convenient. But all came to nothing by the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, within eight Months following: Howbeit, ſome Places taken on either Side were reſtored, and the Emperor's auxillary Forces before *Monſtreul* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went ſhortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Siſter the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expoſtulating the Matter with the Emperor; he for excuſing himſelf, as well as ſatisfying our King, pretended to make ſome Overture concerning the receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet ſo, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the *Grmans* being now departed (but not the Duke of *Alburquerque* and ſome *Spaniards*, who (againſt the Emperor's Will remained in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had made Inroads into the Country with good Succeſs, to raiſe the Siege from before *Monſtreul*, and retire to him. And now finding the Seaſon to be far advanced, and little elſe to be done, our King (after he had knighted certain Perſons of Worth)

prepared to be gone, leaving the Lord *Liſle* to command *Boulogne* with ſufficient Forces, and Directions what to do upon all Occaſions. And thus the 30th of *September*, he took Shipping at *Boulogne* and returned: The News whereof being brought the *Dauphin*, who a good while ſince had raiſed a puiſſant Army, made him to advance. But the Vant-Coureurs were no ſooner deſcried near the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord Privy Seal, who were left behind with the Army, made ready to fight, ſending firſt yet ſome to offer Skirmiſh; but the *Frenchmen* fled. Our Army hereupon marching in good Order to *Calais*, where Shipping attended them, the *Dauphin* ſix Days after attempted between Force and Stratagem to ſurpriſe *Boulogne*. For, being advertis'd by a Spy that our Approaches were not yet ſlighted or levelled, nor any of the three Breaches in the upper Town repaired, and that the lower Town in many Places lay open, he doubted not but to take it, and in it a great Part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there. Thus coming near with all his Forces about Midnight, he commanded *Fonqueſolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, *d'Andelot*, *Noailles*, and certain *French* and *Italian* Troops under *P. de Maria* and others, in ſufficient Number, to give on. Theſe with their Shirts over their Armour, coming ſuddenly near the lower Town ſent ſome before, who (as if in Favour of us they would have given the Alarm) cry'd *Bowes*, *Bowes*: Hoping thus, that our Men, ſuſpecting nothing, would open the Gates, and thereby give them Means to ſeize on it till the Reſt did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handſomely purſued, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the *Italians* entering the lower Town in greater Number than that they could be ſuppoſed People in their Shirts, that roſe to give their Fellows warning, Alarm was given. Nevertheleſs, they ſo ſurpriſed our Sentinels, as they killed all they met, and rifled the Houſes without much Oppoſition, becauſe the Pioneers, chiefly, and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themſelves) were quartered there; our Soldiers ſcarce ſufficient to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our Men eſcaping, ran to the Gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themſelves; which therefore were caſt to them over the Walls in ſuch Quantity, as now taking Courage, they fell on the *French* and *Italians* with that Fury, as they kill'd Monſieur *de Fouqueſolles*, and divers others who reſiſted, and chaſed the reſt, wounding Monſieur *de Tais*, and taking divers Priſoners: And this was the Succeſs of the Attempt on the upper Parts of low *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook, not without Hope, it ſeems, to fire ſome of our Ships, the *French* proſpered as little, as being killed and taken in great Numbers: Only for *Monluc* himſelf, it may be doubted where he was in either of theſe Fights, ſince he makes no particular Mention of them, nor gives any good Account of his Perſon. For though he ſaith, he came to the *Italians*, that made a Stand near the Church, it muſt be before our Men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that ſome of the *Engliſh* ran away, they were no other than ſome Part of the *Corps de Gard*, which went to advertiſe the reſt; and for his telling the Colours of our Pioneers Clothes (for Teſtimony that he ſaw them in the Dark) it makes little for him, ſince with more Honour he might have told the Colours

of

our Soldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he ſeen them. Howſoever, he might ſtay ſafely in the lower Town after the Slaughter committed by *Tais* and the *Italians*, till our Men (as is before mentioned) returning with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the Chaſe; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not thoſe of the upper Town ſallied forth of their Breaches at laſt, to ſecond them. A little before which Time, *Monluc*, ſuſpecting, it ſeems, that the *Engliſh*, upon the Alarm given, would fall on him, deſired, as he confeſſed himſelf, the *Italians* to make good their Stand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*. But our *Engliſh* now charging *Monluc*, went further than it or the Town. Howbeit, to ſhew his Care, he ſaith that he ſent an Horſeman back, to know what was become of the *Italians*. But he returning Anſwer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and ſome other *French* provided for themſelves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings* with a freſh Troop of *Engliſh* out of the upper Town had charged them. *D' Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were adviſed by *Monluc* to ſave themſelves; as alſo certain Enſigns, who following his Counſel, got up the Hill towards their Army, while himſelf and a few with him, paſſed a ſhallow Water, and ſo eſcaped by a longer, but a ſafer Way. And thus the *Dauphin*, who prepared to ſend Succours, meeting the Run-aways, deſiſted, and the Town was ſaved. But *Monluc* to defend himſelf, ſaith, that for all the Fear he kept his Wits ſtill about him, or elſe he had been in Danger never to have been Marſhal of *France*. And to commend, it ſeems, his Direction in running away, he ſhews how neceſſary it is for a Man in Danger not to be afraid; and ſays, that all the Enſigns had been loſt, had he not adviſed them to be gone; and that his Council preſerved all: And ſuch Rodomontades as theſe did this *Gaſcon* uſe, who, it ſeems, was a braver Man by Day than by Night. All which I have more particularly obſerved out of our Hiſtories and Records, becauſe, notwithſtanding his ſhameful Flight, he ſtrives ſo much to vilify our Nation. But how he behaved himſelf in this Action may appear by the *Dauphin*'s jearing him at his Return, as himſelf confeſſeth; it being certain, that though he came in later than his Fellows, it was not becauſe he ſtayed longer there, but that he went a further Way about. But *Monluc* to excuſe himſelf, ſaid, it was the *Dauphin*'s Fault, that he came not in with his whole Army: And therein he ſpoke rationally; for had the firſt Attempt been well ſeconded, he muſt have carried the Town in all likelihood, our Breaches being open, and Men ſurprized. Nor had he better Fortune at *Guiſnes*, and other Places which the *French* hoped to take in; for being beaten thence, he was conſtrained with his Army to retire, without doing more for this Year. Nevertheleſs, *Francis* had Recourſe to thoſe wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms, he always advantaged himſelf: Therefore he deſired that his Ambaſſadors and the Emperor's might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which Offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *William Paget* were ſent thither: But their Deſire being, that *Boulogne* might be reſtored, the Earl of *Hertford* replyed, he had no ſuch Commiſſion, and ſo broke off the Treaty: The Imperialiſts ſeeming nothing ſcandalized, that it had no better Effect.

While Affairs paſſed thus in *France*, *Barbaroſſa* did much Spoil on the Coaſts of *Italy*; taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seignior at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſoon after died of a Calenture, being above 80 Years old: A great Age for ſuch a Pirate as ſpent almoſt all his Time in fighting either with Men, or the fierceſt Elements. There happened alſo in *July*, this Year, upon the Coaſts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the *Spaniſh* and *French*, in which the *Spaniard*, under the Command of Don *Alvaro Bazan* (Father of the famous Marquis *De Santa Cruz*) was ſuperior, 3000 *French* (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

The Emperor now in his wonted Neceſſity for Money, was adviſed by his Council to ſeize on the Revenues of the Church: For which alſo he obtained a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as he would hear what the religious Perſons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who ſaid, the Right of the Church-Goods was rather divine than humane; that the Church was Chriſt's Spouſe, and ſhould be decked glorioufly; that antient *Rome* was Miſtreſs of the World heretofore, by St. *Auguſtine*'s Confeſſion, becauſe the People were ſo devout to their Gods, and ſo much honoured Religion: Which Reaſons yet, it was thought, would not have prevailed, had he not found other Ways to have ſupplied his Wants. Nevertheleſs, his Son *Philip* II. ſeiſed on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be reſtored.

The glorious Return of our King from *Bologne* gave much Satisfaction to his Subjects; yet, as he had drawn a puiſſant Enemy againſt him, he was reſolv'd to fortify his Kingdom. And becauſe the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be ſecured, he cauſed ſome Fortifications to be raiſed at *Graveſend*, as alſo at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portſmouth*, and many other Places: He took alſo an exact Account of all his Ordnance, which he diſtributed in the moſt neceſſary Places, leſt upon an Invaſion, his Magazine being in the *Tower* of *London* only, the Remedy ſhould come too late. I find alſo by our Records, that there were certain ſmall Pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, for Defence of his Waggons, of his own Invention, as alſo certain Forms of *Bulwarks*; for he was a great Soldier, and beſides, of a ſingular Capacity in apprehending all the new Devices in which theſe kinds now daily appeared: The Piſtol, among others, coming this Year firſt in Requeſt among the *French* Horſe; but not the *Spaniſh*, whoſe Manner is, not to leave their antient Forms eaſily, when yet it were for their Advantage.

Let us look a-while on *Scotland*.

About the Time that *Lenox*, on our King's Part, invaded the Weſt of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our Men on the other Side entred the Country, and took *Jedburgh*, *Kelſo*, and other Places, and then *Coldingham*; which being told to the Governor and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about 8000, and ſome Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governor ſuſpecting, as it was thought, ſome Treachery among his Men, poſted away ſuddenly: Which cauſed ſuch a Conſternation in the *Scots*, that they likewiſe were ready to diſband, and leave the Artillery then planted in Battery againſt the Steeple, had not the Earl of *Angus* ſtaid ſome, and with their Help conducted it ſafe to *Dunbar*. This News was brought to our King at his Return from *Bologna*; at what Time alſo the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and

and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland:* Whereupon, the ſaid Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were diſpatched thither with competent Forces. For, though at the Requeſt of the *Scots* by Sir *George Meldre*, ſent to him when he was before *Bologne*, King *Henry* had granted Truce for a Time; yet being newly provoked, he reſolved a War. Theſe entring *Scotland* on the Weſt Border took *Dunfriſe*, and brought Home great Spoils; conſtraining alſo the People of thoſe Parts to condeſcend to a Treaty, and give Hoſtages for the obſerving thereof. Our Men puffed up with this good Succeſs, reſolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralph Evers*, now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the Eaſt-Marches, and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter ſpoiling *Tiviot-Dale*, and other Places, and afterwards returning to *London*, required a Reward for their Service: Which, by the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Advice, being as much Ground as they could win from the *Scots*, they entred the next Spring, 1545, but were defeated, and ſlain in great Numbers at *Ancram*; and among them *Evers* himſelf, a brave Lord: Divers alſo were taken Priſoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not ſeem ſtrange, I have thought fit to tell the Occaſion: Our King, for Supply of his Wants, having appointed certain Commiſſioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; among whom, *Read* refuſing to pay his Share, was ſent in this Expedition, with ſo ill Succeſs to it and himſelf, as at laſt, he paid more than the Money impoſed on him in a Ranſom. As for others, they excuſed themſelves by their Penury, in Regard the King had taken up ſo much Corn from them for his Uſe this Year, without repaying the Price as yet; ſo that in Effect this Benevolence paſſed with much Grudging.

The *Dauphin* and *French* Army being retired, as is formerly related, Monſieur *De Biez* Marſhal of *France*, having gathered 14000 Men together, encamped the 26th of *January* 154$\frac{4}{5}$, near *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a Mile from *Bologne*; yet as he had the River of *Pont De Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not eaſy to diſlodge him. His Deſign was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Bologne* in Subjection: Which the Earl of *Hertford* underſtanding, aſſembled 4000 Foot and 700 Horſe out of the Gariſons adjoining, and with theſe conſtrained *Biez* to retire to *Hardelot*, by the Way charging him often with that Fury, as he killed many, took two braſs Pieces, and five Iron, and much Baggage, and with it ſome of Monſieur *De Biez*, his Armour. And now *Francis* finding that theſe Enterpriſes ſucceeded not, makes huge Preparations to recover the Town; hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulſe the *Engliſh* from thoſe Parts. Therefore he ſent to *Scotland* Monſieur *De la Broſſe*, and afterwards the Seignior *De Lorges*, with an Army to join with the *Scots* for invading our Northern Parts. On the other Side, that he might ſhew how ſtrong he was by Sea, he commanded a great Fleet to be equipped; for which Purpoſe *Paulin* (his old Negotiator in *Turkey*) brought with him five and twenty Gallies from the *Levant:* The Pope not omitting alſo to furniſh Part: So that he had in all 150 great Ships, and 60 of the leſſer Sorts, beſides Gallies; his Deſign being to keep *Bologne* from being relieved by Sea, while his Land-Forces beſieged it. He thought

fit

fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Bologne*, which being to be finiſhed (as was promiſed him) by Monſieur *De Biez*, before the Middle of *Auguſt*, he meant with a puiſſant Army to entrench himſelf before the Town: Having for this Purpoſe ſent to leavy 12000 Lanſkeneets, and 6000 *Italians*; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the Places we held in *France*. *Laſtly*, For the more encouraging his Men, he reſolved in Perſon to be in, or at leaſt, not far from his Army. Coming thus to *Havre De Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to ſet Sail, his faireſt Ship, being of 800 Ton, taking Fire ſuddenly, was burnt; yet the Reſt went on, under the Command of Monſieur *D'Annebault*, Admiral of *France*. Coming thus to St. *Hellens*'s Point, on our Coaſt, *Paulin*, with four Gallies was ſent to diſcover the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Countenance of our Men: Whereupon, 60 of our Ships coming out of the Haven of *Portſmouth* in good Order, exchanged ſome Shot with the *French*, 'till Night parted them. The next Day, the Ship which carried their Money ſunk, the Money being hardly ſaved. But one of our Ships through Accident was loſt. Our King this while being come to *Portſmouth*, as knowing of what Conſequence the Place was, aſſembles Men from all Parts under the Command of his Lieutenant the Duke of *Suffolk*: The *French* yet landed in three ſeveral Places in the Iſle of *Wight*; but were as ſoon repuls'd: Whereupon, *D'Annebault* having the Wind fair, adviſed concerning Fighting with us in the Haven at *Portſmouth*: But the Channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great Number, they conſulted of taking the Iſle of *Wight*: But as it was requiſite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both Men and Time would be wanting. Howſoever, they reſolved to take in freſh Water; which the Chevalier *D'Auxe* with ſome Men attempting, was killed, and they routed; as alſo ſome others who landed afterwards in *Suſſex*. Theſe bad Succeſſes made the *French* croſs over to *Portet* near *Bologne*, where they landed 4000 Soldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortify thoſe Places they ſhould have taken in *England*. And now the Wind blowing from the Land, they ſet Sail again for our Coaſt; which our King underſtanding, commanded his Fleet, being 100 Sail, to offer Battle to them; which the *French* alſo had Charge to accept; their King, not fearing to loſe his hired Ships, as long as he had Money to procure others: The only Difficulty was, in Regard of the Currents, how to uſe both Ships and Gallies together; for in Calms, when the Gallies made Way, the Ships could not ſtir; and without them they durſt not encounter us. And now the *French* Fleet having gotten a ſmall Wind, and their Gallies coming on, made towards: But the Wind ſlackening again, their Gallies fell off; wherewith the Wind coming about, and our Fleet inveſting them, an hot Battle of two Hours paſſed betwixt them: But the Night parting them, the *French* retired ſuddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appeared no more. Our Admiral yet went to *Treport* in *Normandy*, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took divers Barks out of the Haven, and ſo returned. *D'Annebault*, as ſoon as he came on Shore, went to the King at *Arques* the 16th of *Auguſt*, expecting the Fort ſhould be finiſhed before *Bologne*; but it was begun eight Days only before, and in another Place, call'd *Outreau*, near low *Bologne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but

not command the Entry into the Haven. But Monſieur *De Biez* aſſuring the King yet it would be put in Defence within eight Days more, the *French* Army marched on, being 34000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, who ſhortly after encamped upon Mount *Lambert*, being ſo near *Bologne*, as they could ſhoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor nearer than the Abby of *Forreſt Monſtier*, which was 11 Leagues off, whither his Son, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, coming, died, as is before touched, of a Peſtilent Fever. This made him ſend ſhortly after *Claude D'Annebault*, and others, to the Emperor, to renew his Alliance ſome other Way. But the Emperor, who had now engaged our King and *Francis* to a War, and therein reveng'd himſelf on both, thought it ſafer to be Neuter, than to declare himſelf either Way: Howbeit, he told the *French* Ambaſſadors, that he would not begin with their Maſter. In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Gariſon in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, making continual Inrodes, kill'd Monſieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his Men; which, together with the dry Anſwer received from the Emperor, made *Francis* to retire to an Abbey near *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Bologne*, without adventuring to lay cloſe Siege unto it. Only, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the *French* Court came thither, divers Skirmiſhes paſſed; in one of which *Francis*, Duke *D'Aumale*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, received a Blow with a Lance between the Eye and the Noſe, which entred, as the *French* Writers have it, half a Foot into his Head, and there broke: Nevertheleſs, he coming off, endured the taking it out, and was recovered; divers others of their principal Perſons yet being killed.

And now our King reſolving to diſlodge them, ſent into *Germany* to levy 10000 Lanſkneets, and 400 Horſe: who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the Country of *Liege*, required their Pay, as was promiſed; but it not coming at the Time appointed, they ſeiſed on our Commiſſioners, and returned, without permitting them to depart till they were ſatisfied. This while Monſieur *de Biez*, being commanded to enter *Terre d' Oye*, took a little Piece of fortified Ground; which our Men coming to recover, were encountered by his Horſe, and defeated: yet ſo, as (though far leſs in Number) they killed many of their Enemies.

The Garriſon of *Bologne* finding the *French* Army thus departed, enterprized the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with ſome Loſs conſtrained to retire. The *French* Army alſo, through the much Rain that fell, was forced to leave *Terre d' Oyre*, being a marſh Ground, and full of deep Ditches: Beſides, our Men gathered towards them. And now this puiſſant Army returning towards *Bologne*, did not think fit to beſiege it: Which may ſeem the ſtranger, in that we neither had Forces in a Readineſs to fight with them, nor ſo ſtrong a Place to defend, but that half their Army, according to Reaſon of War, might have carry'd it in a ſhort Space: Therefore they encamped themſelves only before *Portet*, until the Fortification were finiſhed. This Slackneſs made our Men ſo adventrous, that an Enterprize of theirs ſucceeded ill, as ſhall be told the Year following.

Monſieur *de Lorges*, formerly mentioned, having brought his auxiliary Forces, being 5000 Men, *July* 2, 1545, into *Scotland*, many Incurſions were made. Their Army yet incamped no nearer on the *Engliſh* Side than *Twede*; yet as they

paſſed

paſſed it often, much Harm was done. Whereupon the King ſent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve Thouſand Men to *Scotland*; who deſtroying all the Towns on the Middle Marches, paſſed thence to the Weſt, and committed great Spoils: In Requital whereof, the *Scots* ſhortly after attempted to enter *England* on the Eaſt Borders; but were defeated and many made Priſoners, and among them the Lord *Humes*'s Son, and a *French* Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwel*'s Son: But they had their Revenge, for 500 *Engliſh* attempting the Weſt Borders of *Scotland*, for the moſt Part were taken or ſlain.

While our King was thus in War with *France* and *Scotland*, he and the Emperor were not in very good Terms; Ships being arreſted on either Side; upon Occaſion (as I gather) that a *Spaniſh* Ship coming from St. *Dominigo* in the *Weſt-Indies*, was taken by the *Engliſh*. But we had likewiſe our Complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; alſo about taking certain Impoſts raiſed by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more than to get Money. Which the Proteſtants underſtanding, and fearing he would make Uſe thereof to invade them, did eaſily accept an intimate Requeſt from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they ſent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Bambach* and *John Sleiden* the Hiſtorian, who at length obtaining that Commiſſioners on both Sides ſhould meet near *Ardres*, two Months were ſpent in unuſeful Propoſitions; ſo that they returned without effecting any Thing. Our King, beſides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Penſion, being neither willing to reſtore *Boulogne*, nor ſuffer the *Scots* to be comprehended in the Treaty.

And now the Emperor fearing leſt a Peace ſhould be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at leaſt in Appearance) an Accord, on this Occaſion; King *Henry* having ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter*, and Sir *Edward Carne*, to clear ſome Articles of the Treaty of 1543, with *Charles*, *Francis* about the ſame Time had ſent the Admiral *d' Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he propoſed a general Treaty, tho' faintly, and in ſuch Terms that it took no Effect.

This while Archbiſhop *Cranmer* making his Advantage of *Wincheſter*'s Abſence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which alſo our King once condeſcended to, and gave Order for in great Part: But before it was brought into Act, the King received Letters from him, that the League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he ſuffered any Innovation; and ſo nothing was done. Little more happened this Year worth Relation (for what Events) beſides the Parliament Buſineſs (whereof hereafter) but the Death of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, great Maſter of the King's Houſhold, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Hiſtorians term him;) yet withal ſo diſcreet and affable, as he was beloved of all Sorts, and his Death much lamented. Our King, for his more Honour, cauſing him, at his own Charge, to be honourably buried at *Windſor*.

I ſhall return now to declare the Proceedings in Matters of Religion among the Germans, *and in the Council of* Trent.

The Emperor with much Induſtry and Cunning

Cunning having procured a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himſelf attended wholly his Occaſions in *Germany*; his Deſigns there being much facilitated by the Receſſion of the *Turk*, who leaving the Purſuit of his Conqueſts in theſe Northern Parts, meant to dilate himſelf in the warmer Climes of *Aſia*: So that the Emperor having no more Buſineſs, accounted this the moſt quiet of many that had preceeded: though yet he were not exempt from ſundry Cares, ſome Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compoſe the Differences of Religion, many Offices were paſſed with the Pope for advancing the Council; which had its Beginning and Progreſs after this Manner:

The thirteenth of *March*, 1545, the the Cardinal *del Monte* and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being received by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick Entry into the City, but no Prelate being yet come, they ſent to *Rome*, to deſire that their Reſtriction in the Bull (to the Conſent of the Council) might be taken away, and abſolute Power given to propoſe, determine, *&c.* as is before recited: which the Pope granted. The Place choſen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 Perſons. Ten Days after, *Diego de Mendoza* the Emperor's Ambaſſador in *Venice* came, and ſhewed his Inſtructions; being, *Firſt*, To promiſe that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops ſhould ſhortly be preſent: *Secondly*, To procure that Reformation in Diſcipline and Manners ſhould be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legates hereupon ſent to the Pope to have publick Diſpatches (when Occaſion were) to ſhew *Mendoza*, and other private Letters to follow. The 8th of *April*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſadors came, the Number of Biſhops yet being very few. The firſt Controverſy was concerning the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: But the Buſineſs was ordered ſo as no Advantage appeared: This Preparative for a Council being divulged, produced divers and contrary Effects; ſome reſolving to believe all they ſaid, others little or nothing, others again intending to diſtinguiſh thoſe Parts that pleaſed them, from the reſt. Howſoever, the Proteſtants in the Diet of *Worms* proteſted againſt it, as partial and factious: While *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceeded with Arms againſt the few *Waldenſes* that remained in his Kingdom, in that violent Manner, as without other Warning or Inſtruction, he permitted his Souldiers (having firſt committed all Inſolence in the mountain Parts where they dwelt, toward *Provence* and *Languedoc*) to deſtroy more than 4000 Perſons which made no Reſiſtance. In the mean Time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more Security of the City, deſired a Garriſon from the Pope: but was anſwered, that the Council could not then ſeem free; which more imported him, than the Safety of the City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanced, Cardinal *Pool* came, and Speech was had of opening the Council. But as the Pope's Deſigns tended another Way, he ſend the Cardinal *Aleſſandro Farneſe*, his Grand-child to the Emperor now at *Worms*, to offer a large Contribution of Men and Money for ſuppreſſing of Hereticks; promiſing alſo to procure help from other *Italian* Princes; and to proceed with Spiritual and Temporal Arms. He repreſented alſo how ill the Pope took the late Speech of a National Council, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promiſed another for the ſettling of

Religion, in caſe the Council of *Trent* took no Order therein; in the mean while proteſting, that he would ſooner yield up his Keys to Saint *Peter*, than ſuffer ſuch an Affront. Beſides which, he had private Inſtructions to procure that the Right of Inheritance of *Parma* and *Piacenza* might be inveſted in his Brother *Ottavio*, Son to *Pietro Aloyſio Farneſe* (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the ſaid *Ottavio* had married *Marguerite*, natural Daughter to the Emperor: Which at laſt alſo, upon the Exchange of *Camerino*, was granted. And now towards the End of *May*, there were twenty Biſhops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor *de la Ruota* aſſembled; yet as the Council began not, the Pope being deſirous firſt to ſee the Succeſs of the Diet at *Worms*, the Biſhops deſired to be gone, but were not permitted. Nevertheleſs, *Mendoza* returned to his former Ambaſſage at *Venice*, deſiring nothing might be done in his Abſence. The Biſhops alſo weary of their Stay, or Expence, reſolved at laſt to depart: Which the Pope taking Notice of, diſtributed ſome Money among them. This while *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, having made a private Reformation of Religion in his Dominions, by the Means of *Martin Bucer* and *Philip Melanchon*, his Clergy oppugning it, complained to the Emperor, who cited the Archbiſhop: With which, though the Pope was offended, yet he did not ſo much expoſtulate the Matter with the Emperor, as deſire to conſerve his own Authority: Therefore he cited the Archbiſhop too.

And now in the Diet at *Worms* the Emperor required Aid againſt the *Turk*; which the Proteſtants refuſed (as fearing it would be employed againſt them) unleſs firſt good Security were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Council at *Trent* ſhould be no Prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor anſwered, That he could not exempt them from the Authority of the Council, (eſpecially, being call'd for their Sakes;) yet if they had any juſt Objections againſt it, that they ſhould come and produce them openly in the Council, and they ſhould have an equal Hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except againſt it, proteſted thoſe were not to judge of their Cauſe, who had already condemned it: Therefore, if a Council were had, they ſhould make one Part, and Pope and Roman Catholicks the other: And as for the Manner and Order, that the Emperor and Princes ſhould be Judges; but for the Merit of the Cauſe, that it ſhould be determined only by the Word of God. The Emperor finding thus no Likelihood of Peace, diſſembled his Diſpleaſure till he had made Peace with the *Turk*, (which he did by the Means of *Francis*, this Year, in *October*.) And ſo the Diet ended the 4th of *Auguſt*, with a Decree to hold another at *Ratiſbonne* in *January* following. For which Purpoſe there ſhould be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either Part, in *December*, to prepare Matters of Religion againſt that Time. And now the Proteſtants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Council, ſaying, it was not aſſembled in *Germany*, as was promiſed, but in *Trent*, and by the Pope's Power and Command, without other Pretext that it could be thought to be in *Germany*, than becauſe the Biſhop of *Trent* was a Prince of the Empire: Beſides, that the Pope, being a Party, ſhould not precide in it. Therefore, that the Form and Manner of holding a Council ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, and whence

it had its Authority. But this Reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it diſpleaſed the Pope and his Legates, ſince the Council was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controverſies; ſo it made the Biſhops again take leave to be gone; and in Effect, by the End of *September*, few remained. The Pope finding theſe Difficulties, knew not well what to reſolve; yet when Motion was made for holding it in *Germany*, he refuſed, but ſent to the Emperor to adviſe with him concerning the opening the Council, or ſuſpending it, or transferring it to *Italy*. The Emperor, as Affairs then ſtood, not much approving any of theſe Propoſitions, at laſt, in *October*, gave Conſent the Council ſhould open: Yet ſo, as they ſhould treat of Matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Proteſtants. This again gave the Pope no little Jealouſy, leſt the Emperor would make his eccleſiaſtical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference.

Howbeit, he commanded the Council ſhould begin the 13th of *December*: The *French* Prelates, being but three, having written to their King moſt of theſe Paſſages, were ſent for home; yet, at the Interceſſion of the other Biſhops, two remained. The 13th of *December* being come, the Legates, after a ſolemn Faſt and Proceſſion, meeting in the Cathedral, opened the Council, declaring, that it was aſſembled for three Cauſes: 1. Deſtroying Hereſy. 2. Reforming Dicipline. 3. Settling Peace: Exhorting the Biſhops to labour ſeriouſly herein. After which, the Emperor's Inſtructions to *Mendoza*, formerly mentioned, being again exhibited, the Legates ſaid, they would adviſe thereof: And ſo appointing the next Seſſion to be held the 7th of *January* following, they aroſe, and preſently ſent to the Pope, declaring what was done, and deſiring to know how they ſhould begin; whether with Hereſies, and if ſo, whether they ſhould touch the Hereſies, or Perſons, or both? Whether they ſhould ſend forth a Declaration that the Council was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? Whether they ſhould haſten or delay their Proceedings? In what Manner the Suffrages were to be collected? *&c.* The 18th of *December* they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, *&c.* The Pope hearing thus the Council was opened, writes, That concerning the Matters to be handled, he is not yet reſolved; in the mean while that theey ſhould inſiſt on the uſual Preambles: That they ſhould follow in their Manner of Suffrages, the laſt *Lateran* Council: That they ſhould invite no Prince or Prelate, ſince the Indiction of the Council was ſufficient: As for the Charges of the Biſhops, ſome Exemption from Payment of Tenths was granted, and ſome other Benefits, and Money given to the poorer Sort: All which I have ſet down with more Particularity, that it may appear, both what a ſlow and uncertain Beginning this great Council had, and what a different End it took, from that it now ſeem'd to promiſe.

I will conclude this Year with the Buſineſs of our Parliament; which began the 23d of *November*, 1545. Which, as it was the laſt the King call'd; ſo, Supply of Money being the principal Affair, it ſeem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at leaſt of other Mens; neither was there other Excuſe than the King's Neceſſities, which every Man muſt think violent, when they trenched upon the reverend Foundation of Colleges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hoſpi-

tals, Fraternities, Guilds, and ſtipendiary Prieſts which had Continuance in Perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands, and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the King's Diſpoſe, and that they ſhould be in the Order and Survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet ſaved, and divers Proviſions made. For Motive whereof, the King's great Charges in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland* were alledged; as alſo the Abuſes of the Rulers and Governors of the ſaid College, *&c.* Upon which therefore, and his ſolemn Promiſe to the Parliament, that all ſhould be done to the Glory of God, and common Profit of the Realm, the Act paſſed.

In another Act it was declared, how Offenders in Uſury ſhould be puniſhed; and a certain Proportion of Ten in the Hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy Way of thriving being more oppoſite than any thing elſe to that Induſtry by which all Kingdoms ſubſiſt and flouriſh.

The Doctors of the Civil Law, altho' Laymen, whether married or unmarried, might exerciſe all Manner of eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to which they ſhall be deputed.

That two Churches, being not above a Mile diſtant, and one of them not above the yearly Value of ſix Pounds, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a *Tales* might be granted *de Circumſtantibus*: And this was much for the Expedition of Juſtice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Preſident of the King's Council, Lord Privy Seal, and the two Chief Juſtices, or five, or four, or three of them ſhould have Power by their Diſcretions to ſet the Prizes of all Kind of Wines, as by the Act 28 *Hen.* VIII. 14. appeareth: The Time was now ſpecified to be betwixt the 20th of *November*, and laſt of *December*: And that if any Wine-ſeller ſhould ſell his Wine in groſs at any other Price, that the Mayor, Bailiffs, Aldermen, *&c.* may enter into his Houſe, and ſell it according to the Rate ſet down.

A Subſidy alſo was granted by the Spirituality of ſix Shillings the Pound, and by the Temporality of two Shillings Eight-pence the Pound in Goods, and four Shillings the Pound in Lands, to be paid all within two Years. And ſo the 24th of *December* the Parliament was prorogued: At which Time, the Speaker of the Lower-Houſe making an eloquent Oration, the King in Perſon made his enſuing Anſwer; being the more memorable, for that it was both full of good Intention and Advice, and the laſt he ever ſpake in that Place.

ALthough my Chancellor for the Time being hath before this Time uſed very eloquently and ſubſtantially to make Anſwer to ſuch Orations as have been ſet forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my Mind and Meaning, and the Secrets of my Heart, in ſo plain and ample Manner, as I myſelf am, and can do.

Wherefore, I taking upon me to anſwer your eloquent Oration (Mr *Speaker*) ſay, that where you, in the Name of our wel-beloved Commons, have both prais'd and extolled me for the notable Qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I moſt heartily thank you all, that you have

have put me in Remembrance of my Duty, which is to endeavour my ſelf to obtain and get ſuch excellent Qualities, and neceſſary Virtues, as a Prince or Governour ſhould or ought to have; of which Gifts I recognize myſelf both bare and barren: But of ſuch ſmall Qualities as God hath indued me withal. I render to his Goodneſs my moſt humble Thanks, intending with all my Wit and Diligence, to get and acquire to me ſuch notable Virtues and princely Qualities, as you have alledged to be incorporated in my Perſon. Theſe Thanks for your loving Admonition and good Counſel firſt remembred; I eftſoons thank you again, becauſe that you conſidering our great Charge, not for our Pleaſure, but for your Defence; not for our Gain, but to our great Coſt which we have lately ſuſtained, as well in Defence againſt our and your Enemies, as for the Conqueſts of that Fortreſs which was to this Realm moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be (by God's Grace) hereafter to our Nation moſt profitable and pleaſant,) have freely of your own Minds granted to us a certain Subſidy, here in an Act ſpecified, which verily we took in good Part, regarding more your Kindneſs, than the Profit thereof, as he that ſetteth more by your loving Hearts than by your Subſtance. Beſides this hearty Kindneſs, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I conſider the perfect Truſt and Confidence which you have put in me, as Men having undoubted Hope, and unfeigned Belief in my good Doing and juſt Proceedings for you, without my Deſire or Requeſt, have committed to mine Order and Diſpoſition all Chanteries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Places ſpecified in a certain Act, firmly truſting that I will order them to the Glory of God, and to the Profit of the Common-wealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your Expectation) ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is ſo great a Jewel) to be diminiſhed, or poor and miſerable People to go unrelieved, you might ſay, that I being put into ſo ſpecial a Truſt as I am, in this Caſe, were no truſty Friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Chriſtian, neither a Lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom Account muſt be rendered of all our Doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your Expectation ſhall be ſerved more godly and goodly, than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceive. Now ſince I find ſuch Kindneſs in your Part towards me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you; affirming, that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects, than I do you; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do; for whoſe Defence my Treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor (if Neceſſity require) my Perſon ſhall not be unadventured. Yet although I wiſh you, and you wiſh me to be in this perfect Love and Concord; this friendly Amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lord's Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects ſtudy and take Pains to amend one Thing, which ſurely is amiſs, and far out of Order; to the which I moſt heartily require you: which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongſt you, but Diſcord and Diſſention beareth Rule in every Place; Saint *Paul* ſaith to the *Corinthians*, the thirteenth Chapter, *Charity is gentle*, *Charity is not envious*, *Charity is not proud*, and ſo forth, in the ſaid Chapter. Behold then, What Love and Charity is amongſt you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptiſt; and he called him again Papiſt, Hypocrite and Phariſee? Be theſe Tokens of

Charity

Charity amongſt you? Are theſe Signs of fraternal Love betwixt you? No, no, I aſſure you, that this Lack of Charity among yourſelves, will be the Hindrance and Aſſwaging of the fervent Love betwixt us, as I ſaid before, except this Wound be ſalved and clearly made whole. I muſt needs judge the Fault and Occaſion of this Diſcord to be partly by the Negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spiritualty: For if I know a Man which liveth in Adultery, I muſt judge him a lecherous and carnal Perſon: If I ſee a Man boaſt and brag himſelf, I cannot but deem him a proud Man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one againſt another, without Charity or Diſcretion; ſome be too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, others be too buſy and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*: Thus all Men, almoſt, be in Variety and Diſcord, and few or none preach truly and ſincerely the Word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable Perſons doing this? No, no, I cannot ſo do: Alas, how can the poor Souls live in Concord, when you Preachers ſow amongſt them, in your Sermons, Debate and Diſcord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to Darkneſs. Amend theſe Crimes, I exhort you, and ſet forth God's Word both by true Preaching and good Example-giving: Or elſe I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Miniſter here, will ſee theſe Diviſions extinct, and theſe Enormities corrected according to my very Duty, or elſe I am an unprofittable Servant, and untrue Officer.

Although, I ſay, the ſpiritual Men be in ſome Fault that Charity is not kept amongſt them: Yet the Temporality be not clear and unſpotted of Malice and Envy. For you rail on Biſhops, ſpeak ſlanderouſly of Prieſts, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good Order and Chriſtian Fraternity. If you know ſurely that a Biſhop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverſe Doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our Council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order ſuch Cauſes and Behaviours: And be not Judges of yourſelves, of your phantaſtical Opinions and vain Expoſitions. In ſuch high Cauſes you may lightly err; and although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you muſt underſtand, that it is licenſed you ſo to do, only to inform your own Conſciences, and to inſtruct your Children and Families; and not to diſpute, and make Scripture a railing and taunting Stock againſt Prieſts and Preachers, as many light Perſons do. I am very ſorry to know and hear, how unreverently that moſt precious Jewel, the Word of God is diſputed, rhimed, ſung, and jangled in every Alehouſe and Tavern, contrary to the true Meaning and Doctrine of the ſame: And yet I am even as much ſorry, that the Readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly, and ſo coldly.

For of this I am ſure, that Charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and vertuous and godly Living was never leſs uſed, nor God himſelf among Chriſtians was never leſs reverenced, honoured or ſerved. Therefore, as I ſaid before, be in Charity one with another, like Brother and Brother; love, dread and ſerve God, to the which, I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: And then I doubt not but that Love and League that I ſpake of in the Beginning, ſhall never be diſſolved or broken betwixt us.

To the making of Laws, which you have

have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in Execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the ſame; or elſe your Labour ſhall be in vain, and your Common-wealth nothing relieved. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Aſſent to be given to ſuch Acts as have paſſed both Houſes, they ſhall be read openly, that you may hear them. And ſo they being read, the King aſſented, and roſe.

The Parliament thus ended, and Notice given to both Univerſities that the Colleges were at the King's Diſpoſal, that of *Cambridge* firſt implored his Favour, beſeeching him to defend their Poſſeſſions from the covetous and greedy Minds of thoſe who knew not Learning. That of *Oxford* alſo petitioned to this Purpoſe; and Dr. *Richard Cox*, Dean of *Oxford*, the Prince's Tutor, writ to Secretary *Paget*, to repreſent the Want of Schools, Preachers, Houſes and Livings for Orphans. And ſince the Diſpoſitions of Chantries, *&c.* was in the King's Hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honeſtly, leſt Beggary ſhould drive them to Flattery, Superſtition and old Idolatry: Which, ſaith he, I ſpeak not, as if I diſtruſted the King's Goodneſs, but becauſe there are ſuch a Number of importune Wolves, as are able to devour Chantries, Cathedral Churches, Univerſities, and a thouſand Times as much: Adding in Concluſion, that Poſterity will wonder at us. Which Particulars being in an Original from *Cox*, I have the rather inſerted, that it may be gathered what he was, to whom the Tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much Intreaty needed not for the Univerſities; for in our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Univerſities did humbly thank his Highneſs for the Continuance of their Houſes with their Lands; which though, I believe, the King never meant to take away, yet I find two of the Profeſſions were in Danger of being removed, the King having adviſed once of placing all the Civilians in *Oxford* in one College, and the Phyſicians and Surgeons in another. Howſoever, nothing was ſtirred or altered, that I can find; the King being ſo far from diminiſhing thoſe famous Nurſeries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increaſe and augment them. Though yet foreign Parts were aſtoniſhed not a little, why our Parliament ſhould put them in this Hazard, they being uſeful on any Part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without ſingular Prejudice to their Founders; who having ſeparated them for the Service of God, and publick Education, laid heavy Imprecations on any which ſhould divert them from that Uſe; as appears in the antient Charters.

The Earl of *Surrey*, who now commanded in *Bologne*, hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at *Oultreau*, reſolves to intercept it: But as the *Rhingrave*, with 4000 Lanſkeneets, together with many *French* under the Marſhal *De Biez*, ſtood firm, our Men, not able to break them, were diſcomfitted, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, with divers brave Gentlemen ſlain; the Earl himſelf alſo being conſtrained to ſave himſelf as he could. Nevertheleſs, by a Letter of his to the King, *Jan.* 8, 1546, it appears there were many kil'd on the other Side; which yet did ſo little ſatisfy our King, who loved no Noiſe but of Victory, that he ever after diſaffected him: For which Cauſe alſo he was ſhortly removed, and the Earl of *Hertford* appointed to ſucceed. Whereupon

Sir

Sir *William Paget* omitted not by Letter to admoniſh him to ſeek ſome eminent Place in the Army, under the ſaid Earl's Command, leſt, as he ſaid, he ſhould be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl deſirous in the mean Time to regain his former Favour with the King, ſkirmiſhes with the *French*, and puts them to the worſt: But when together he certified that the *French* had made Canon of a greater Calivre than had yet been ſeen, wherewith they hoped to beat the Town to Powder, and that it was worthy Conſideration, whether low *Bologne* ſhould ſtand, as being not defenſible, the King's Council wiſhed him to repair Home, that he might be further heard concerning theſe Points. Whereupon the Earl of *Hertford* and Lord Admiral were ſent over with an Army of 9300 Men; whereof 1500 were *Spaniards*, 200 were *Italians*, 300 *Clevois*, and 3000 Lanſkeneets, under *Conrad Pfenning*; a greater Number of foreign Soldiers certainly then ſtood with exact Reaſon of War, where there is no aſſured Ground of a vertuous Emulation. With theſe the Earl encamped at *Hambleteuſe*, betwixt *Calaiſe* and *Bologne:* For as the *French* intended to intercept all Intercourſe betwixt both Places, they would have fortified there; but our Men got it two Days only before they came, and built two Forts on that Coaſt.

Some Fights paſs'd at Sea this while, whereof one is memorable, of ſeven or eight *Engliſh* in a ſmall Veſſel, who being maſter'd by a far greater Number of *French*, enter'd their Ship, as pretending to ſave themſelves out of their own Barque, which now began to ſink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by caſting Water on them, raiſed ſuch a Smoak, as, through their continual throwing of them, blinded the *French*, and at laſt made them run under Hatches, where at length being ſhut up, their Ship was brought away. Much Fighting alſo paſſed betwixt our Ships, and the *French* Galleys, in Calms, while through the Benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleaſed. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take Head, the Lanſkeneets mutinied, not without Shew of falling on the *Engliſh*; but the *Spaniards* ſtanding firm to our Side, all was compoſed.

The 21ſt of *May* the *French* Army came and encamped beyond *Bologne*, near the Church on the Hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of *Hertford* come up and ſkirmiſh with them. The 23d he fought again, and took divers Priſoners of Note. And now each Side attending his Advantage to fight, a Surſeance of War for five or ſix Days was concluded, and after it a Peace: Which, that it may ſeem leſs ſtrange, I ſhall not ſo much alledge, for Reaſon, that our King's Treaſure was exhauſted, which the *French* pretend, as that the Conſideration of the imminent Council gave all Chriſtian Princes Occaſion to deſire good Intelligence among themſelves, and our King particularly; who was told, that Cardinal *Poole* and others would labour to procure a Decree againſt him and his Poſterity: Which, though our King regarded not otherwiſe than became a Prince of his Courage; yet he thought it more conſiderable than the Pope's ſingle Bull; therefore he endeavoured to get him Friends: And becauſe he was in good Terms already with the Emperor, who for the ſettling of Religion each-where mediated a general Peace, he thought fit alſo to take in *Francis*; and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, *Francis* had promiſed his Aſſiſtance

Aſſiſtance on all Occaſions; and thus the Peace took Effect. Which I find was ſo politickly handled by our King, that had his Predeceſſors obſerved the Rule he now held, the *French* Writers could never have ſo much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight Years next enſuing, he got the preſent Advantage; which as the eternal Maxim in Matter of Treaties, to frame Counſels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; ſince by the Practice thereof only, I dare ſay, the *French* have uſurped and won ſo much upon us; as knowing it impoſſible, but that betwixt Neighbouring Princes, in a little Space, thoſe Occaſions may be found or urged, which will help them to come off whenſoever they are diſpoſed. There will be no Danger therefore to retort this Maxim: Not yet that I approve a Facility in diſſolving Leagues, which ſhould be inviolably kept, eſpecially while the Cauſes remain; but that they being diſſolved, we may prevail ourſelves of the preſent Occaſion; not omitting yet any Circumſtance, to which in Point of Oath and Honour we are obliged. This preſent Treaty, concluded the 7th of *June*, 1546, at *Campe*, a Place betwixt *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, was of this Tenor:

I. That all Injuries and Affronts ſince the Beginning of the laſt War ſhould be forgotten, and Peace and Friendſhip reeſtabliſhed.

II. That neither ſhould invade, nor procure, nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions or Lands, or Cities, which are now in the Hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one ſhall have free Commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free Paſſage without ſafe Conduct, ſo they exceed not the Number of an hundred armed Perſons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impoſitions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other, within twenty Years laſt paſt, ſhall be releaſed, and no new ones impoſed.

V. VI. That Rebels and Traitors ſhall not be entertain'd or protected, but delivered to their Sovereign within 20 Days after Requiſition.

VII. That no Letters of Repriſals or Marque, or Counter-Marque, ſhould be granted but upon and againſt the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in Caſe of open Denial of Juſtice; which ſhall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requiſition. And if any Thing during this Peace ſhall be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the Offenders to be puniſhed, and the Peace to remain.

VIII. That the Chriſtian King ſhall pay the King of *England* all Penſions due to him during his Life, and alſo to his Succeſſors for ever, according to the Treaty at *More* the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1525. As alſo that Penſion of Salt agreed on the 30th of *April*, 1527, and afterwards reduced to a certain Sum of Money, *viz.* 10,000 Crowns, which is to be paid yearly at two Payments, during the natural Life of *Henry* VIII. If the ſaid Payment appear not to be perpetual: But if it be found to be perpetual, then the *French* King and his Heirs and Succeſſors ſhall continue the ſaid Penſion for ever.

IX. The *French* King ſhall pay to the King of *England* on the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, or within ten Days after that Day, which ſhall be *Anno Domini* 1554, for Arrearages, as well of Penſions not paid, as for his Charges in Fortifications with-

in the Town and County of *Bologne*, ſince the Beginning of the laſt War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this Time and the ſaid 1554, the Sum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; upon the Payment whereof the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be free from all former Arrearages whatſoever.

X. Becauſe the King of *England*, by Vertue of certain Letters of the *French* King, dated the 29th of *Jan.* 1529, claims as due unto him the Sum of 500022 Crowns *de Soleil*, 22 Sols and 6 Deniers: It is agreed that there ſhall be Commiſſioners appointed on both Sides, within three Months hence, to hear and end that Cauſe; which Sum the King of *France*, if it be ſo adjudg'd, ſhall pay when he pays the two Millions aforeſaid. But if the Commiſſioners conclude nothing, the Matter ſhall be devolved to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be choſen by them, and that ſhall ſtand which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of *France* ſhall ſuffer the King of *England* quietly to enjoy the Town of *Bologne*, and the Caſtles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: *viz.* the Haven of *Bologne*, with the farther Shore, as far as the higheſt Water comes; and the Land in Length as far as *Pont de Bricque*, which ſhall be the Limit on that Part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within theſe Bounds the King of *England* ſhall quietly poſſeſs, until the King of *France* hath fully paid the aforeſaid two Millions, as alſo the Sums expreſſed in Article X, in the Time, Place and Manner limited.

XII. That when the ſaid Sums are paid, at the ſame Time the King of *England* ſhall ſurrender *Bologne*, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him ſince the taking thereof, ſo that no Fortification ſhall be impair'd. Neither ſhall the King of *England* be bound hereby in the reſtoring of the ſaid Places, to leave behind him any Moveables.

XIII. That from the Date hereof, to the Day of St. *Michael*, 1554, neither of the two Princes ſhall raiſe any new Fortification within the County of *Bologne*, but thoſe that have been begun already they may perfect.

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by Force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The *Scots* are comprehended in this Treaty, againſt whom the King of *England* ſhall not declare War, unleſs new Occaſion be given; in which Caſe this preſent Comprehenſion of the *Scots* ſhall receive that Interpretation which is contained in the Treaty of the Date of *April* the 5th, 1515, with this Alteration, that although by the ſaid Treaty of 1515, fifteen Days only were preſcribed to the *French* King to intimate the ſaid Comprehenſion to the *Scots*, yet now, by Reaſon of the Diſtance of Place, there is allowed the Space of thirty Days, next following the Concluſion hereof.

XVI. This Treaty ſhall be ratified within forty Days after the Date hereof.

Commiſſioners for our King were:

John Viſcount *Liſle*, Admiral;
Sir *William Paget*, Secretary; and
Dr. *Nich. Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*.

And on Francis's *Part.*

Clade de Annebault, Mareſchal and Admiral of *France*;

Pierre Raymond, premier Preſident de Rouen; and

Guillaume Bouchecel, Secretary.

This

This Peace being proclaimed in *London* upon the thirteenth of *June*, a general Proceſſion was there made, and all the richeſt Silver Croſſes out of the ſeveral Pariſh Churches carried, and the braveſt Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity: But our Hiſtorians note it as fatal, it being the laſt Time they were publickly uſed, ſince our King called them in ſhortly after, together with the Church Plate, into his Treaſury and Wardrobe, without that other Cauſe appeared thereof, than that he ſuſpected the War would break out again, betwixt him and *Francis*, of which alſo this Overture was given.

The Earl of *Hertford* being certified (during the Treaty) that the Clauſe of not making any new Fortification, would be prejudicial, was commanded by our King immediately to raiſe a Fort according to a Plot given; but ſuch was the Prevention of this diligent Earl, that he had already begun it about the thirteenth of *May*. Our King in the mean while proteſting that he liked not the Article. But the *French* as little liking our Fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to reſtore *Bologne*) ſome Difficulty was interpoſed. Though as our King anſwered, he could not ſo much as hope to keep the Town, for the Term agreed, unleſs he had Means to ſecure it, the Treaty held in the Manner above-mentioned, and both Armies, were diſſolved; the *French* yet firſt, as our King required, retiring. And ſo he remained in quiet Poſſeſſion thereof, after the Expence (as in our Records) of 586718 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{11}{24}$. in the winning thereof. The Charges in keeping thereof being 755833 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{11}{24}$. In all 1342552 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. An exceſſive Su m, eſpecially to reap no Benefit thence, but a Landing Place in *France*, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This Peace was ſeconded by a kind Invitation of *Francis* to our King to Chriſten the *Dauphin*'s Daughter, which being as lovingly accepted, Sir *Thomas Cheney* was ſent over, and the Child called *Elizabeth*. The two Admirals alſo were ſent by their ſeveral Kings, to receive the Oaths required for Obſervance of this Treaty; and being richly rewarded, returned. Howbeit this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceived it lawful to finiſh the Fort he had begun before the Treaty, the *French* wanted not Pretexts for the like; Therefore, when upon their erecting a Fort at *Portet*, near the Entry to the Haven (which they called *Chaſtillons Garden*) our Men took Exceptions thereat, the *French* for their beſt Title alledged that Monſieur *de Biez* had formerly begun it by entrenching his Men there; yet as this did not ſatisfy our King, who knew well the Difference betwixt a *Trench* and *Fortification*, he commanded Sir *William Paget* to write thus to *William* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, who now commanded in *Bologne*.

AFTER our moſt hearty Commenda-Commendations to your good Lordſhip, this ſhall be to ſignify unto the ſame, that the King's Majeſty being informed that the Frenchmen *begin to fortify at* Portet, *which by their Treaty with his Majeſty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordſhip to ſpeak to the Doers of the ſaid Works, and to tell them it ſhall be beſt for them to ſtay working any further, until they ſhall hear from their Maſter; which without Doubt, is like to be very ſhortly; for that his Majeſty's Ambaſſador hath Charge to ſpeak with him in the ſame immediately. And in Caſe they ſhall anſwer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working*

without the Knowledge of Monſieur de Biez, *or (peradventure) of ſuch other whom they ſhall name to have the Charge of the Works; and ſo go forwards ſtill in their Works: Then his Majeſty pleaſeth, that if you ſhall find yourſelves able enough for the Feat, you ſhall in the Night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in Caſe you ſhall find yourſelves not able enough for the ſame Enterprize; then to forbear the doing of it until ſuch Time as a ſtronger Force come to you from hence, which ſhall be ſent over with all Diligence poſſible.*

This 5th of *Septemb.* 1546.

This alſo was ſigned by the King. Nevertheleſs, upon better Advice, the King thought fit to ſend Sir *Thomas Palmer* with Meſſage to the Lord *Grey*, commanding him immediately to demoliſh the Fort; who thereupon made that Haſte, as before the Letters came, he arrived at *Bologne*, being the very Day of his Diſpatch; and preſently, by the Aſſiſtance of the Lord *Grey*, Mr. *Poynings* and ſome others, the *Frenchmens* Work was levelled; and ſo *Palmer* return'd to certify what was done. And now the King's Letters being delivered, the Lord *Grey* writes, that before the Receipt of his Letters, he had (upon ſuch Relation of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, as was made by Sir *Thomas Palmer*) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore deſires his Majeſty's Pardon. Which Paſſage I have related more particularly out of our Records, that I might correct the Error of ſome of our Hiſtorians, who would have our King deliver *Palmer* a Meſſage and Letter contradictory: Whereas it appears by our Records, that the Meſſage was firſt delivered, and the Buſineſs done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny but the Lords of the Council, knowing the Letter was ſent, but not (perchance any Thing of the Meſſage) might have Occaſion to think the Lord *Grey* more forward, than that he could well juſtify it. Howſoever, Monſieur *de Biez* complains hereof to the Lord *Grey*, and deſires to know whether it were done by his Majeſty's Command. What he anſwered, I find not: But it appears by the Inſtructions given to *Nicholas Wotton* the King's Ambaſſador with *Francis*, that he had Charge to palliate the Buſineſs as handſomly as he could; which alſo ſo prevailed, that no new Fortification was erected by the *French*, during our King's Time. Beſides, our Records tell us, Hope was now given, that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom: Which, though much entertained at firſt by our King, and judged the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Council, was not yet ſo thoroughly embraced, leſt (perchance) by Confiſcations, Suppreſſions, *&c. Francis* might grow greater than ſtood with the Intereſt of State or Neighbourhood: And for *Paget*, he ſaid openly, it was but a Trick to get *Bologne* again; *Francis* being not able to give any Security for Performance of this Offer, which might countervail the immediate ſurrendring of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earneſt, both as he treated of a Confederation with the Proteſtants at this Time; who yet (as I find by our Records) rejected it, unleſs he relinquiſhed the Papal Authority: And as he lived in ſuch Jealouſy of State with the Emperor; which together with the Apprehenſion of the Aſſembly at *Trent*, now daily encreaſing, might for more than one Reaſon diſpoſe him to ſeek Friends elſe

elſewhere, as well for defending himſelf againſt his Enemies, as eſtabliſhing an abſolute Power and Juriſdiction at home. And with this concurs that which *Fox* relates: That during the Stay of *d' Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Maſs in their Realms unto a Communion: And that both were ſo throughly and firmly reſolved therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or elſe to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* (as himſelf confeſſed) to pen a Form to be ſent to the *French* King to conſider of. But through the Death of both Princes ſucceſſively not long after, theſe and all other their Deſigns ended: Tho' yet for the Time which remained, their former Love and Correſpondence was ſo revived, as *Francis* is ſaid (by the *French* Writers) never to have rejoiced heartily after the News of our King's Death was brought him. But I leave the Cenſure of theſe Paſſages free to the Reader's Judgment, without delivering any Opinion, otherwiſe than as the Collections out of our Records ſeem to infer.

Let us now ſee what was done by the Emperor and the Council of Trent.

THE Emperor in the latter End of 1545. being in *Flanders*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter* (formerly mentioned) reſided with him on our King's Part: And becauſe one of the Buſineſſes of the *French* about this Time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Wincheſter* to hinder it, and propoſe the Lady *Elizabeth*. Alſo Speech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand*'s Daughters: But becauſe neither of theſe took Effect, I ſhall mention them no otherwiſe. Yet the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* returned not home, as being employed by our King into *Germany*, to give Intelligence of that which paſſed. For now in *January* 1546. the Proteſtants met at *Frankfort:* And as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they conſulted concerning their mutual Defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword ſhould be drawn againſt them.

This while the Aſſembly at *Trent* holding, the *Breve* for exempting the Biſhops from Payment of their Tenths came: Yet as this did rather accommodate than ſecure them, 300 Foot and ſome Horſe, being gathered out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they paſs'd to Church, being now, beſides the Legates and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Archbiſhops, twenty-eight Biſhops, three Abbots, and four Generals (in all forty-three;) among which was *Richard Pace*, heretofore Ambaſſador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him ſtiled Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Robert Venant* titular Archbiſhop of *Armagh*; together with *Olaus Magnus* Archbiſhop of *Upſaile*; all which had been ſome Years entertained with Penſions from the Pope: Beſides, there were about twenty Divines, which though they had no Seat in the Council, were admitted to ſtand there; as alſo ten Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent*'s Election: And moreover a Seat was particularly appointed for the Ambaſſadors which ſhould aſſiſt there. And now queſtion being of the Style of the Council, the few *French* which were there

there required, that to *Sancro-ſancta Synodus*, ſhould be added *Univerſalem Eccleſium repreſentans:* But this was rejected, both to exclude the Proteſtants Admittance under this Title, as alſo all Laicks; and as it might be thought in ſome Sort prejudicial to the Pope's ſupream Authority. And ſo, *Jan.* 7. (being the ſecond Seſſion) they decreed an Exhortation to the Prieſts and People to ſerve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, *&c.* The thirteenth of *January* it was moved that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Hereſy, Reformation of Diſcipline, and eſtabliſhing of Peace. And concerning this, there were four Opinions.

The Imperialiſts ſaid, before they touched Matter of Doctrine, it was neceſſary to take away thoſe Tranſgreſſions whence Hereſies have ſprung.

The ſecond Opinion was, to begin with Doctrine, ſince Faith being the Baſis of Religion, it was a greater Sin to err therein, than in Manners: And therefore that the Pope had placed it firſt in his Bull.

The third was, that the two Points of Reformation and Faith ſhould not be diſ-joined, there being no Doctrine which hath not its Abuſe, nor Abuſe that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of ſome Doctrine. And that this was the beſt Way to give a ſpeedy and happy Concluſion to the Council, which they ſhould chiefly endeavour; there being no Advantage likely to enſue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth Sort (and among them the *French* particularly) would have had the Point of Peace firſt treated of, and that other Princes might be required to ſend their Ambaſſadors and Prelates thither; and that the *Lutherans* might be invited to come and unite themſelves to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

The Legates having heard their Opinions, and commended their Wiſdom, ſaid, that becauſe the Hour was late, the Deliberation important, and the Opinions various, they would think upon it. Order alſo was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on *Mondays* and *Fridays*. The Legates hereupon advertiſed the Pope of that which paſſed, deſiring his Advice, and that he would take Order for ſupporting of the poorer Biſhops; it being better they ſhould not be there than ill ſatisfied. Howbeit, the Pope delayed his Reply, as having his Mind wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farneſe* had with the Emperor the Year preceding. This much perplex'd the Legates, as not knowing how to proceed: Nevertheleſs, upon private Conference among themſelves, they agreed to treat of Matter of Faith and Reformation together: but withal, entertain'd the Time, upon Pretence that many Prelates were on their Way. Cardinal *Poole* propoſed, that ſince in all ancient Councils ſome Symbol of Faith was publiſhed, they ſhould do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of Faith there was ſome Difficulty; ſince to recite the old, would not convince the *Lutherans*, who believ'd it as well as the Catholicks: Beſides, that it were to confeſs, that they durſt not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further Diſpute hereof, it was reſolved by the major Part for the Affirmative; and in the third Seſſion, *Feb.* 4. the Creed was barely recited: The Cardinal *de Monte* diſliking that any Point ſhould be added afterwards, leſt ſome

ſome Inconvenience ſhould follow. The next Seſſion was adjourn'd to the 8th of *April*, upon the aforeſaid Pretence, that many Prelates were on their Journey.

The Court of *Rome*, who now underſtood of that which paſſed, (though heretofore much ſtartled at the Name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally liked this late Decree, as being worthy the Proceeding of a general Council: Others yet approving it only as it was Dilatory, while there wanted not ſome, who took Occaſion to libel it.

This while the Emperor, being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratiſbon*, and as the Council of *Trent* did hold: Yet, leſt he ſhould alarm the Proteſtants, he took with him only his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horſe. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propoſitions being made on the Emperor's Part, the Affair inſiſted on was Matter of Religion; where the Point of Juſtification being brought in Queſtion, took up much Time, without having other Concluſion, yet, then perplex'd and abrupt: Inſomuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recalled his Divines, and *Martin Bucer* returned to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; which, whether it were that the Proteſtants foreſaw the Emperor's Intention was to amuſe them with Conferences, while himſelf prepared for War; or that otherwiſe they found no Hope of coming to an Agreement, is uncertain: Howſoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, ſeemed much offended at their Departure; though, as during theſe Conferences *Martin Luther* died in the LXIII Year of his Age, he doubted not more eaſily to appeaſe Controverſies, as believing *Luther* to be of ſo violent a Spirit, as he would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an Affront, in caſe the Proteſtants ſhould come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made Preparations for War; which yet he could not keep ſo ſecret, but the Proteſtants underſtood it, and fortified themſelves. Whereupon alſo *Philip*, Count Palatine, Nephew to *Frederic*, the Elector, was diſpatched into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had beſides his private Buſineſs; which, as our Records tells us, was to obtain the Princeſs *Mary*, our King's Daughter. Neither did our King ſeem averſe, when *Frederic*, the Elector, would perform certain Conditions required of him: But as this took no Effect, I ſhall come to the particular of his publick Buſineſs, treated chiefly by *John Bruno*; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Proteſtants. The Conditions propoſed by our King were to this Effect:

That if the ſaid Princes would ſend ſome wiſe and diſcreet Agents fully inſtructed, and with them the Names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what Caſes, and whether they will ſtand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majeſty ſhall enter the League; his Majeſty would be pleaſed to enter a League with them defenſive againſt all Men, and for all Cauſes, and will be bound to ſuch a Rate of Aid, as may befit his Honour and Quality: So that he may have the firſt Place in the League, which for more Honour, ſhould be called the *League Chriſten*: With ſuch Conditions likewiſe, that no other ſhould be admitted to this League, but ſuch as are already entered into the ſame, without his Majeſty's Conſent. And becauſe they would look for a greater Aid at his Majeſty's

Majeſty's Hands than of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majeſty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voices to two of any other Prince. Concerning the Union of the ſaid Princes together, and of his Majeſty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majeſty thanketh them that they are content to follow the Advice of his Majeſty, upon ſuch Conſiderations and Conferences as their learned Men and his ſhall have together in his Majeſty's Preſence, following the holy Scripture, or the Determination of the primitive Church, or general Councils had before five or ſix hundred Years: For which Purpoſe his Majeſty promiſeth to take Pains to be preſent himſelf, and truſteth (ſuch Men being ſent from them as be learned, and Men of upright Judgments, without Affection, and of good Conformity) to be the Cauſer of ſuch a Conjunction in Religion in all Chriſtendom, as ſhall tend to the Glory of God. For the which Purpoſe his Majeſty requireth them now when they ſhall ſend Commiſſioners to conclude the League defenſive, to ſend alſo the Names of ten or twelve Men, to the Intent his Majeſty may chuſe four, five or ſix out of the ſame; which his Majeſty requireth to have ſent hither according to the Promiſe already made the 27th of *March*, as ſoon as may be. To which the Proteſtants finally anſwered, that if our King would depoſite an hundred thouſand Crowns in ſome Part of *Germany*, where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would prefer his Friendſhip before the *French*, who now treated with them. But this again was rejected by our King, ſince for a bold Demand they offered nothing equivalent; yet he continued his Treaty with the Palatine, ſo far forth as he might detain the Proteſtants from ſuffering the *French* to gather Men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Bologne*, and from ſubmitting themſelves to the Council of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he ſaid, was the true Rule. But the *Germans*, who knew at what Diſtance our King lived, did not much regard any Advices which were not ſeconded with Money: Therefore they truſted to themſelves, and our King (as aboveſaid) made Peace with the *French*.

On the other Side, as the Emperor's Preſence operated much in *Germany*, ſo the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little ſtrengthen his Party. Beſides the Pope offered him twelve thouſand Foot, eight hundred Horſe, and 300,000 Ducats in Money, (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him Aſſiſtance from others, without omitting particularly to promiſe his beſt Aſſiſtance in a Spiritual Way; while, to make the Proteſtants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he ſent to his Legates in the Council of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new Difficulties) in Matter of Faith: And to make no Haſte in Point of Reformation, though urged by the Emperor. Hereupon the Legates commanded certain Friars and Divines to extract thoſe Articles out of the *Lutherans* Books, which ſeemed contrary to their Faith.

Where, among others, the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was firſt examined. And here their Divines differed; ſome affirming they were all one, the Scripture itſelf being derived

derived unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, St. *Auguſtine*'s Words were urged, *That he ſhould not believe the Scriptures, but for the Authority of the Church.* Which therefore ſhould firſt be ſettled, and then uſed for deciding of Controverſies, and convincing the *Lutherans.* But then the Queſtion was, which, and what was the Church? and whether the Hierarchy, and more properly the Council whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought ſafe to call theſe Things into Doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to paſs, that it being all taught, ſome Part was not put in Writing: Some holding, that the Church had its Perfection before any of the Apoſtles writ, and would have continued ſo, if nothing had been ſet down in Writing. But that this Queſtion and the like being not formerly propoſed by the *Lutherans*, might well be omitted for Peace ſake; which Clauſe was checked by Cardinal *Pool*, who ſaid, it was fitter for a Conference in *Germany*, than a Council: Adding that one of two Things was to be done, that is, either the *Lutherans* brought to receive all the *Roman* Doctrine; or when they would not, that all their Errors ſhould be diſcovered, to ſhew the World how impoſſible it was to come to an Agreement.

Then it was reſolved, that a Catalogue of the canonical Books of the Scripture ſhould be made, as they are accepted by the *Roman* Church, without regarding whether the *Jews* received them or not. But here ſome Difficulties were urged; ſome of thoſe Scriptures having been always received, others (though doubtful) having by Uſe yet obtained canonical Authority: that is to ſay, the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, that of St. *James*, and the ſecond of St. *Peter*, and the ſecond and third of St. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Apocalypſe*, and ſome Particles of the Evangeliſts. Beſides which, there were in the Old Teſtament Seven Books never averred, and ſome Chapters of *Daniel* and *Heſter*, and eſpecially the Book of *Baruch*, as wanting his Beginning; tho' ſome eſteemed it a Part of *Jeremiah.* At length, all the Books uſually put in the *Latin* Bible were judged canonical, and Traditions to be of equal Authority with the Scripture.

The Decrees being now printed and publiſhed in *Germany*, gave much Occaſion of Diſcourſe and Diſatisfaction. The Emperor himſelf not liking that in the Buſineſs of Reformation, the ſmaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controverſies in Matter of Faith had been thus ſtirred. And now the Cardinal of *Trent* having abſolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants, and thoſe which refuſed the Council of *Trent*; all Sides prepar'd for War: The Pope alſo ſending Men and Money in that Proportion which is above-mentioned, or, as ſome will have it, beſides the twelve thouſand Foot, only five Hundred Horſe, to be maintained for ſix Months at his Charge, and 200000 Crowns in money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the preſent Year) the Half of all the Revenues of the Churches of *Spain*, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monaſteries of theſe Kingdoms, to the Value of 500000 Crowns, upon Condition that during the ſaid ſix Months, the Emperor might make no Accord with the Proteſtants without him; and that of all which was gotten, he ſhould have a cer-

tain Portion: And that when the Time was expired, if the War did continue, they ſhould treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor, in the mean while, to try all fair Means for reducing the Proteſtants to ſubmit to this Council; for which End alſo he treated with them, profeſſing that he did not undertake this War for Cauſe of Religion, but Reſpects of State, and becauſe ſome denied to obey his Laws, and had confederated themſelves mutually with Strangers againſt him, and uſurped other Men's Poſſeſſions, and chiefly eccleſiaſtical, procuring to make Biſhopricks and Abbeys hereditary to their Families; and that having divers Ways endeavoured to reduce them, they were ſtill more inſolent. The Proteſtants, on the other Side, did ſtrive to clear themſelves unto the World from Imputation of Rebellion, ſhewing that Religion was the only Cauſe of this War, which the Pope and Council of *Trent* had kindled againſt them: Requiring from the Emperor, Performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his Dignity in *Frankfort*, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of War. They ſent alſo to *England* and *France*, being newly reconciled, to borrow Money. But our King anſwered, that the Courſe of Things being now altered, he could not reſolve on any Thing without better Information. Nevertheleſs, that upon their ſtanding firm together, he might furniſh ſome Money upon fitting Conditions. This cauſed the Proteſtants to make new Levies at home: And the rather, that the Pope had about this Time, by Bull publiſhed, that the War was for Religion.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, who commanded the Proteſtant Army, being compoſed of ſeventy or eighty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, and 100 Cannon, thought it unjuſt to begin the War till they had ſent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that Name; but as a Pretender to be Emperor. He on the other ſide little regarding the Language, endeavoured one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole Paſſage whereof may be ſeen in *Luys d' Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Naſſau*, did recommend the Book to me, more than once, as a Maſter-piece in its Kind.

The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Proteſtants, expoſtulated the Matter with him. But the King denied he intended any Aid to the Proteſtants; ſaying yet, that if he ſought Friendſhip abroad he was not to be blamed; ſince the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Biſhop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on thoſe that refuſed the Biſhop's Authority, and the Council of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly named, yet that he was taken for a *Lutheran*. Nevertheleſs, that he treated not with the Proteſtants, and therefore wiſh'd the Emperor to have a better Opinion of him, ſince if he would have given Credit to his Advice, he needed not to have entered thoſe Dangers he was in. And now the Pope hearing how Things paſſed, commanded the Cardinal *Farneſe* to return. For tho' the Emperor by ſecret fomenting the Emulation for Command which paſſed between the Duke of *Saxe* and *Landtgrave*, was in a good Way to compaſs his Ends; yet becauſe he made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recalled the Cardinal, and permitted ſome of the *Italian* Gentry to come with him.

him. Nevertherleſs, about the midſt of *October*, the two Armies met ſo near together about *Giengen* in *Suabia*, that only a little River parted them. Where alſo the Proteſtants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialiſts; ſome Blows yet paſt, and *Donawert* was regained by *Ottavio Farneſe:* Shortly after which, the Duke of *Saxe* was conſtrained to retire to his own Country, for the Defence thereof, againſt *Ferdinand* and *Maurice*, who invaded it; and the *Landtgrave* to his. Of which our King was particularly advertis'd by *Somerſet* his Herald, who accompanying *Bruno*, now returning from *England* to the Proteſtant Army, obſerved all Occurrences. The Proteſtant Forces not being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor, when they might have ſome honeſt Caution for the exerciſing of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by Writing, though otherwiſe Promiſe was made by the imperial Miniſters, that they ſhould not be moleſted. And thus the Emperor recovered much great Ordnance, and huge Sums of Money from ſome Cities, by Way of Reparation for their Faults, and reſted abſolute Sovereign of the upper and greater Part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the reſt, and to conſtrain *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologn* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawful Council in *Germany*) to ſurrender his Archbiſhoprick. Which State of Things being advertis'd hither, our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this Purpoſe alſo acquainting him with ſome Paſſages, which might give him juſt Occaſion to be jealous of *Francis*. For though, by the Advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, to make his Authority at home more entire, he had lately condemned to the fire certain Citizens of *Meaulx*, who combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet he treated with the Proteſtants at this Time.

The Pope alſo hearing of that which paſs'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduced to the Emperor's Obedience: Inſomuch, that though his Forces were much diminiſhed, (between thoſe that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that ran away) he yet recalled the reſt about the Middle of *December*, upon Pretence that they had ſtayed the ſix Months which he had promiſed; alledging for further excuſe, that he was not able to ſuſtain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, ſince the Heads of the Rebellion, as he termed them, were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Juſtification, reply'd, that he was not made Partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the Prejudice of the Catholick Faith, in tolerating Hereſy, which might have been exterminated. Beſides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he ſhould have participated of the Profits and Spoils of the War. And not content herewith, he denied the Emperor the further Revenues of the *Spaniſh* Clergy. So that tho' the imperial Miniſters at *Rome* told him, he had done nothing unleſs he perfected his Work, they could not prevail. For further Teſtimony alſo of his Diſpleaſure to the Emperor, raiſing a Faction in *Genoa* againſt the *Dorcaes*, being the Emperors Friend's.

Neither did he, as ſome have it, fear that the Emperor, having ſo much to do in *Germany*, could haſtily invade him, or

trouble him; otherwiſe than by according with the Proteſtants, and cauſing them to repair to the Council of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to diſſolve, though ſeven Months had paſt, without publiſhing any Thing treated therein. So that notwithſtanding he knew that the Emperor would be diſcontented at his rigid Proceedings in Matters of Doctrine, he uſed the *Florentine* Motto, *Coſa fatta capo ha:* and thereupon writ to the Legates, that they ſhould hold a Seſſion, and publiſh the Decrees already made; which alſo was done, the Proteſtants yet queſtioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that ſubmitted, *Ulm* was one; where alſo the Emperor wintered, with Intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Proteſtants underſtanding, thought fit (though once ſuing for Peace) to ſend ſeveral Ambaſſadors into *England* and *France* to demand Succours, though in vain, both Kings dying ſhortly after.

While Buſineſs of Religion was thus treated of abroad, our King by Proclamation did ſeverally forbid the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other that is permitted by Parliament: As alſo the *Engliſh* Books of *Frith*, *Wickliff*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King moſt ſtudiouſly ſuppreſt; both becauſe he would have his Subjects decline the bitter Language and Doctrine to be found in ſome of them; and that he would introduce his own, or at leaſt a more ſober Reformation. Whereof alſo he was the more ſenſible, in that Women began now ordinarily to diſpute Controverſies, and urge the Text: Inſomuch, that *Anne Aſkew*, a Gentlewoman, defended herſelf therewith againſt her Perſecutors; though not ſo, but that ſhe was burnt for it. Beſides, the Queen herſelf did this Year run no little Danger: for as ſhe began about this Time to give Ear unto thoſe who declaimed againſt the Abuſes of the *Roman* Church, ſhe thought herſelf ſo well inſtructed in Religion, that ſhe would debate with the King thereof: Which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the Anguiſh of a ſore Leg he had at this Time made him very froward, and as he loved not to be contradicted in his Opinions, eſpecially, as he ſaid, in his old Age, and by his Wife. This again was exaggerated by *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſo far, that by repreſenting the Hazard ſhe incurred by contravening the ſix Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading forbidden Books, and teaching openly her Doctrine, the King gave *Wincheſter* and *Wriotheſley* the Chancellor, and others Leave to conſult about the drawing of Articles againſt her, which they failed not to preſent unto the King, who ſubſcribed them: Inſomuch that her Enemies expected only a Warrant for carrying her by Night to the Tower, which the Queen having Notice of, fell into that Paſſion and bitter bewailing her Misfortune, that the King hearing the Perplexity ſhe was in, ſent his Phyſicians; and after came himſelf to her Chamber, where compaſſionating her Eſtate, he uſed ſuch kind Words as did help to recover her. Inſomuch, that the next Night, being attended by the Lady *Anne* her Siſter, Wife to Sir *William Herbert*, after Earl of *Pembroke*, ſhe went into the King's Bed-chamber, where he courteouſly welcomed her, and began to talk of Religion.

But ſh wittily excuſing herſelf by the Weakneſs of her Sex and Judgment, ſaid, ſhe would refer herſelf in this and all other Cauſes to his Majeſty's Wiſ-

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dom. Not ſo, by Saint *Mary*, quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us, as we take it, and not to be inſtructed or directed by us. But the Queen replying, that what ſhe ſaid was rather to paſs away the Time and Pain of his Infirmity, than to hold Argument; and that ſhe hoped by hearing his Majeſty's learned Diſcourſe, to receive ſome Profit thereby. The King anſwered, and is it even ſo, Sweet-heart? then we are perfect Friends again: which alſo he confirmed by divers Teſtimonies. But as her Enemies knew nothing of this Reconcilement, they prepared next Day to carry her to the Tower, at a Time limited by the King's Warrant. This being come, and ſhe happening to be merrily talking with him in the Garden, the Lord *Wriothesley*, with forty of the Guard, comes in; whom the King ſternly beholding, and after calling to him, at ſome Diſtance from the Queen, ſo expoſtulated the Matter, as at laſt he reviled, and commanded him out of his Sight and Preſence. Nevertheleſs, at the King's Return, ſhe was an humble Suiter for his Pardon. But the King anſwered no otherwiſe, than that ſhe (poor Soul) did not know how evil he deſerved this Grace at her Hands. And thus, by her opportune Submiſſion ſhe eſcaped: Tho' yet ſome believe, it was not ſo much the King's Intention herein to uſe the Rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howſoever, if he were not in earneſt, it was thought a terrible jeſt, eſpecially to a Queen, that had the Reputation of a virtuous, humble, and obſervant Wife. But *Wincheſter*, who, it was thought, chiefly endeavoured her Ruin, did himſelf not long after fall into the King's Diſfavour, as by his Submiſſion extant in our Records doth appear: Though whether on this Occaſion, or that he was a ſpecial Friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was now alſo in Diſgrace with the King, or any other Cauſe, is not there determined. Howſoever, the King excluded him out of the Number of thoſe whom he appointed his Executors, and Counſellors to his Son and Succeſſor, *Edward* VI.

Concerning *Scottiſh* Buſineſs this Year, little paſs'd worth the writing, that I can find, ſave only that King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Lenox* into *Ireland* with Command, that he together with the Earl of *Ormond*, and a certain Lord out of the *Scottiſh* Iſles, as he term'd himſelf, who had adhered to our King, ſhould fall upon *Scotland:* But as the Enterpriſe was diſcovered, they were forced to retire to *Dublin*, where the ſaid *Scottiſh* Lord, who brought three Galleys with him for this Enterpriſe, died.

This while Cardinal *Beton* perſecuting thoſe of the reformed Religion in that Country, was himſelf ſlain at St. *Andrews* in his Caſtle, by certain Gentlemen who ſurprized the Place; and after defended it, until the Governour beſieged, and, at laſt, took it, by the Help of ſome Succour with the *French*, ſent them in their Galleys. That Kind of Shipping being ſo built in thoſe Days, that they brook'd our Seas with no little Advantage, when the Times were fair.

I ſhall conclude this Year with the Diſaſter of the renowned Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Execution of his Son *Henry* the Earl of *Surrey*, which paſſed in this Manner, as our Records tell us.

The Dutcheſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, having

having for many Years entertained ſo violent Jealouſies of the Duke her Husband's matrimonial Affection and Loyalty, as it broke out at laſt to an open Rancor, divers Occaſions of Scandal were given: Inſomuch, that not being content with having ſurmized a long while ſince two Articles againſt him, ſhe again in ſundry Letters to the Lord Privy-Seal, both averr'd the Articles, and manifeſtly accuſed ſome of his Minions, repeated divers hard Uſages ſhe pretended to receive from them, and briefly diſcovered all the ordinary Paſſions of her offended Sex. This being urged in a Time when the King was in his declining Age, and for the reſt, diſquieted with Scruples, that the Duke's Greatneſs and Intereſts in following Times might interrupt the Order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithſtanding his many important and faithful Services, both in War and Peace, at home and abroad, he and his Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* were expoſed to the Malignity and Detraction of their Accuſers. This again fell out in an unfortunate Time: For beſides that the Lady his Dutcheſs had now for above four Years been ſeparated from him; his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was but newly, and perchance, ſcarce reconciled with him; his Daughter *Mary*, Dutcheſs of *Richmond* not only inclined to the Proteſtant Party (which loved not the Duke) but grown an extreme Enemy of her Brother: So that there was not only a Kind of Inteſtine Diviſion in his Family, but this again many ſecret ways fomented.

Among which, the Induſtry of one Mrs. *Holland*, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appeared not a little, as deſirous, at what Price ſoever, to conſerve herſelf. Beſides, divers at the King's Council diſaffected him, and particularly the Earl of *Holland*, as knowing that after the King's Death, now thought to be imminent, none was ſo capable to oppoſe him in the Place he aſpired to of Protector. All which Circumſtances concurring, and being noiſed abroad, incouraged divers of his Adverſaries to declare themſelves: And the rather, becauſe it was notorious, how the King had not only withdrawn much of his wonted Favour, but promiſed Impunity to ſuch as could diſcover any Thing concerning him.

The firſt that manifeſted himſelf was Sir *Richard Southwel*, who ſaid that he knew certain Things of the Earl, that touched his Fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himſelf a true Man, deſiring to be tryed by Juſtice, or elſe offering himſelf to fight in his Shirt with *Southwel:* But the Lords for the preſent only committed them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in Trouble, ſends to divers of his Friends to know the Cauſe, and particularly to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter:* Thoſe Letters yet (it is poſſible) fell into the King's Councils Hands; but could not preſerve him from being involved in his Son's Fortune: So that he was ſent for, and the ſame Day, not long after his Son, committed to the Tower. Divers Perſons alſo were examined concerning his Affairs. Mrs. *Elizabeth Holland* being diſpoſed, confeſſed, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Council loved him, becauſe they were no Noblemen born themſelves; as alſo becauſe he believed too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, becauſe he was

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too much loved in his Country; But that he would follow his Father's Leſſon, which was, that the leſs others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf. As alſo, that the Duke complained that he was not of the moſt ſecret (or, as it is there termed, the Privy privy) Council. And that the King was much grown of his Body, and that he could not go up and down the Stairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majeſty was ſickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill Caſe through diverſity of Opinions. And that if he were a young Man, and the Realm in quiet, he would aſk Leave to ſee the *Vernacle*; which he ſaid was the Picture of Chriſt given to Women by himſelf as he went to Death. As touching his Arms, that ſhe had not heard the Duke ſpeak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gathered them, himſelf knew not from whence; and that he had placed the *Norfolk*'s Arms wrong, and had found Fault with him: And therefore that ſhe ſhould take no Pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her Needle in his Houſe, but as he gave them. Furthermore, ſhe confeſſed that the Earl of *Surrey* loved her not, nor the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* him; and that ſhe addicted herſelf much to the ſaid Dutcheſs.

Mary Dutcheſs of *Richmond* being examined, confeſſed, that the Duke her Father would have had her marry Sir *Thomas Seymor*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother alſo deſired, wiſhing her withal to endear herſelf ſo into the King's Favour, as ſhe might the better rule here as others had done; and that ſhe refuſed: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford*'s Daughter, which her Brother likewiſe heard of, and that this was the Cauſe of his Father's Diſpleaſure, as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was ſo much incenſed againſt the ſaid Earl, as the Duke his Father ſaid thereupon, his Son would loſe as much as he had gathered together.

Moreover, That the Earl her Brother ſhould ſay, theſe new Men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they ſhould ſmart for it. And that her Brother hated them all ſince his being in Cuſtody in *Windſor* Caſtle; but that her Father ſeemed not to care for their ill Will, ſaying, his Truth ſhould bear him out. Concerning Arms, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe thought that her Brother had more than ſeven Rolls; and that ſome, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelot Du lac*. And that her Father, ſince the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who bare the King's Arms, where the Arms of her Mother, Daughter to the ſaid Duke, were rained in his Coat, had put a Blank-quarter in the Place, but that her Brother had reaſſumed them. Alſo that inſtead of the Duke's Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of Maintenance, Purple, with powdered Fur, and with a Crown, to her Judgment, much like a cloſe Crown; and underneath the Arms was a Cypher, which ſhe took to be the King's Cypher, *HR*. As alſo that her Father never ſaid that the King hated him, but his Counſellors; but that her Brother ſaid, the King was diſpleaſed with him, as he thought, for the Loſs of the great Journey. Which Diſpleaſure, he conceived, was ſet forward by them who hated him, for ſetting up an Altar in the Church at *Bologne*. And that her Brother ſhould ſay, God long ſave my Father's Life; for if he

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were dead, they would ſhortly have my Head. And that he reviled ſome of the preſent Council, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Alſo that he diſſuaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some paſſionate Words of her Brother ſhe likewiſe repeated, as alſo ſome circumſtantial Speeches, little for his Advantage; yet ſo, as they ſeemed much to clear her Father.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* being examined, ſaid, he knew no Untruth directly by the Earl of *Surrey*, but ſuſpected him of Diſſimulation and Vanity, and that a Servant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was receiv'd again at his Return. Moreover, that he kept one *Paſquil* an *Italian* as a Jeſter, but more likely a Spy, and ſo reputed. He mentioned alſo one *Peregrine* an *Italian* entertained by the ſaid Earl; adding that he loved to converſe with Strangers, and to conform his Behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein ſome great ill Device.

One *Thomas Pope* alſo informed the Council, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the Time of the Commotion of the *North*) ſhould ſay in the Preſence of an hundred Perſons, that the Act of Uſes was the worſt Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirmed thoſe Words before the Lord *Audley*, late Lord Chancellor. Theſe Depoſitions together with others, as it ſeems, being brought to the King's Judges at *Norwich*, they ſignified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Council, dated *Jan.* 7. that the King's Solicitor and Mr. *Stamford* had brought the Indictments, and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indicted thereupon of High Treaſon; and that they made haſte to bring the ſaid Indictment to *London*; deſiring further to know whether Sir *Thomas Paſton*, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, Sir *John Peer*, and others ſhould be of the ſame Jury. Upon the 13th, (the King being now dangerouſly ſick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraigned in *Guild Hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commiſſioners. Where the Earl, as he was of a deep Underſtanding, ſharp Wit, and deep Courage, defended himſelf many Ways: Sometimes denying their Accuſations as falſe, and together weakening the Credit of his Adverſaries; ſometimes interpreting the Words he ſaid, in a far other Senſe than than in which they were repreſented. For the Point of bearing his Arms (among which thoſe *Edmund* the Confeſſor are related) alledging that he had the Opinion of Heralds therein. And finally, when a Witneſs was brought againſt him *viva voce*, who pretended to repeat ſome high Words of the Earl's by way of Diſcourſe, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the ſaid Witneſs ſhould return a braving Anſwer: The Earl replyed no otherwiſe to the Jury, than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this Man ſhould ſpeak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not ſtrike him again. In Concluſion, he pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inqueſt, not of the Peers, becauſe the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condenmed him. Whereupon alſo Judgment of Death was given, and he beheaded at Tower-hill. And thus ended the Earl; a Man learned, and of an excellent Wit, as his Compoſitions ſhew.

This while the King, though his Sickneſs encreaſed, omitted not to give Order to ſeize on the Duke's Goods, and

together

forgetting alſo to cauſe *Wriotheſly* to advertiſe the King's Ambaſſadors in foreign Parts, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conſpired to take upon them the Government of the King, during his Majeſty's Life, as alſo after his Death to get into their Hands the Lord Prince; but that their Devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain Bruits, they were willed to communicate the Premiſſes. But the Duke, who had now as much Merit of antient Service to plead for him, as any Subject of his Time could pretend to, thought fit from the Tower to write unto the King in this Manner.

Moſt gracious and Sovereign Lord, I your moſt humble Subject proſtrate at your Feet, do moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs to be my good and gracious Lord. I am ſure ſome great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majeſty of ſome untrue Matter againſt me. Sir, God doth know, in all my Life I never thought one untrue Thought againſt you, or your Succeſſor, nor can no more judge or caſt in my Mind what ſhould be laid to my Charge, than the Child that was born this Night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majeſty in any Point of Untruth, I would declare the ſame to your Highneſs. But (as God help me) I cannot accuſe myſelf ſo much as in Thought. Moſt noble and merciful Sovereign Lord, for all the old Service I have done you in my Life, be ſo good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accuſers and I together may be brought before your Royal Majeſty; or if your Pleaſure ſhall not be to take that Pains, then before your Council: Then if I ſhall not make it apparent that I am wrongfully accuſed, let me, without more Reſpite, have Puniſhment according to my Deſerts: Alas, moſt merciful Prince, I have no Refuge but only at your Hands, and therefore at the Reverence of Chriſt's Paſſion have Pity of me, and let me not be caſt away by falſe Enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any Man, or that any Man was offended with me, unleſs it were ſuch as are angry with me for being quick againſt ſuch as have been accuſed for Sacramentaries. And as for all Cauſes of Religion, I ſay now, and have ſaid to your Majeſty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of ſuch Virtue and Knowledge, that whatſoever Laws you have in Times paſt made, or hereafter ſhall make, I ſhall to the Extremity of my Power ſtick unto them as long as my Life ſhall laſt. So that if any Men be angry with me for theſe Cauſes, they do me wrong. Other Cauſe I know not why any Man ſhould bear me any ill Will: And for this Cauſe I know divers have done, as doth appear by caſting Libels abroad againſt me. Finally, moſt gracious Sovereign Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have Pity of me, and let me recover your gracious Favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much theerof as pleaſeth your Highneſs to take, leaving me what it ſhall pleaſe you to appoint; and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my Charge, and that I may hear ſome comfortable Word from your Majeſty. And I ſhall during my Life pray for your proſperous Eſtate long to endure.

Your moſt ſorrowful Subject,

THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

Item, *Moſt humbly to beſeech, my Lords, That I might have ſome of the Books that are at* Lambeth; *for unleſs I may have*

Books to read e'er I fall on Sleep, and after I awake again I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen Years.

Also to desire that I might have a Ghostly Father sent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Also that I might have Mass, and to be bound upon my Life to speak no Word to him that shall say Mass, which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, *To have Licence in the Day Time, to walk in the Chamber without, and in the Night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming I had a Chamber without adays. I would gladly have Licence to send to* London *to buy one Book of St.* Augustin's, de Civitate Dei; *and of* Josephus, de Antiquitatibus; *and another of* Sabellicus; *who doth declare most of any Book that I have read, how the Bishop of* Rome *from Time to Time hath usurped his Power against all Princes, by their unwise Sufferance.*

Item, *For Sheets.*

Nevertheless, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetual Prison, without that his great Services formerly rendered, or his Submission on this Occasion could restore him; which was in these Words, as I find by our Records in an Original.

I Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *do confess and acknowledge myself most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegiance, to have offended the King's most excellent Majesty, in the disclosing and opening of his privy and secret Counsel at divers and sundry Times, to divers and sundry Persons, to the great Peril of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and Regal Affairs.*

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That I have concealed High Treason, in keeping secret the false and traiterous Act, most presumptuously committed by my Son Henry Howard *Earl of* Surrey, *against the King's Majesty and his Laws, in the putting and using the Arms of St.* Edward *the Confessor, King of the Realm of* England *before the Conquest, in his Escutcheon or Arms: Which said Arms of St.* Edward *appertain only to the King of this Realm, and to none other Person or Persons; whereunto the said Earl by no Means or Way could make any Claim or Title, by me, or any of mine or his Ancestors.*

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That to the Peril, Slander, and Disinheriting of the King's Majesty, and his noble Son Prince Edward, *his Son and Heir apparent, I have against all Right, unjustly, and without Authority, born in the first Quarter of mine Arms, ever since the Death of my Father, the Arms of* England, *with a Difference of the* Labels *of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my said Prince, to be born for this Realm of* England *only; whereby I have not only done Prejudice to the King's Majesty, and the said Lord the Prince, but also given Occasion that his Highness might be disturbed or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my said Lord Prince might be destroyed, disturbed and interrupted in Fame, Body, and Title, of the Inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confess by the Laws of the Realm to be High Treason.*

T. N.

For the which my said heinous Offences, I have worthily deserved by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of High Treason, and to suffer the Punishment, Losses, and

Forfeitures that appertain thereto. And altho' I be not worthy to have or enjoy any Part of the King's Majesty's Clemency and Mercy to be extended to me, considering the great and manifold Benefits that I and mine have received of his Highness: Yet I most humbly, and with a most sorrowful and repentant Heart, do beseech his Highness to have Mercy, Pity, and Compassion on me. And I shall most devoutly and heartily make my daily Prayer to God for the Preservation of his most noble Succession as long as Life and Breath shall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the 12th Day of the Month of January, *in the Year of our Lord God,* 1546, *after the Computation of the Church of* England, *and in the 38th Year of our Sovereign Lord* Henry VIII. *by the Grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland *the supream Head. In Witness of all the Premisses, I the said Duke have subscribed my Name with my own Hand, and in the Presence of the Lord* Wriothesley, *Lord Chancellor, the Lord* St. John, *Lord President of the Council, the Earl of* Hertford, *Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viscount* Lisle *Lord High Admiral, Sir* Anthony Browne, *Master of the Horse, Sir* Wiliam Paget, *Secretary, Sir* Richard Rich, *Sir* John Baker, *of our said Sovereign Lord's Privy Council, Sir* Richard Lister, *Sir* Edward Montague, *the two Chief Justices.*

Without Compulsion, without Force, without Advice or Counsel, I have and do subscribe the Premisses, submitting me only to the King's most gracious Pity and Mercy, most humbly beseeching his Highness te extend the same unto me his most sorrowful Subject.

By me Tho. Norfolk.

Thomas Wriothesley, *Chancellor,*
William St. John,
John Lisle,
William Paget,
John Baker,
E. Hertford,
Anthony Browne,
Richard Rich,
Richard Lister,
Edward Montague.

Notwithstanding all which Submission, joined with the Merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly escape, had not the King's Death, following shortly after, reserved him to more merciful Times. For our King having long laboured under the Burthen of an extream fat and unwieldy Body, and together being afflicted with a sore Leg, took (at the Palace of *Westminster* in *January* this Year) his Death Bed; being for the rest not without Sense of his present Condition. For he both caused a Church of the Franciscans in *London* (lately suppress't) to be opened again, and made a Parish Church, endowing it with five hundred Marks *per Annum*; and bestowed both the Ground and Buildings of the said Convent, as also the adjoining Hospital of St. *Bartholomew*, in the City, for the Relief of the Poor; where now is the fair Hospital called *Christ-Church*; suppress'd the Stews on the Bank-side, and made his last Will and Testament.

As for *Sanders*'s Affirmation, that he was not desirous to be reconciled to the

Roman Church; and that his Courtiers (especially those who had profited themselves of Abbies) did divert him; and that the Bishops rested doubtful what to answer, lest they should be entrapped; and how *Winchester* did cunningly evade the Danger, I leave to his Credit. Others affirming, that he desired to speak with *Cranmer*, who yet not coming sooner than that the King was speechless, (though in good Memory) the King extended his Hand to him; and that thereupon *Cranmer* besought him to give some Sign of his Trust in God by *Christ*, and that the King should strain his Hand. Howsoever, it may be collected, that he died penitently, when he had reigned seven and thirty Years, nine Months and six Days; and after he had lived five and fifty Years and seven Months; and was carried to *Windsor*, where he had begun a fair Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Priests to pray for his Soul.

And now if the Reader expect some Character of this Prince, I must affirm, as in the Beginning, that the Course of his Life being commonly held various and diverse from itself, he will hardly suffer any, and that his History will be his best Character and Description. Howbeit, since others have so much defamed him, as will appear by the following Objections, I shall strive to rectify their Understandings who are impartial Lovers of Truth; without either presuming audaciously to condemn a Prince, heretofore Sovereign of our Kingdom, or omitting the just Freedom of an Historian.

And because his most bitter Censurers agree, that he had all Manner of Perfection either of Nature or Education; and that he was, besides, of a most deep Judgment in all Affairs to which he apply'd himself; a Prince not only liberal and indulgent to his Family, and Court, but even to Strangers, whom he willingly saw; and one that made Choice both of able and good Men for the Clergy, and of wise and grave Counsellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royal Courage: I shall not controvert these Points, but come to my particular Observations. According to which, I find him to have been ever most zealous of his Honour and Dignity; insomuch that his most questioned Passages were countenanced either with home or foreign Authority: So many Universities of *Italy* and *France* maintaining his repudiating of Queen *Katharine* of *Spain*; and his Parliament, for the rest, authorizing the Divorces and Decapitations of his following Wives, the Dissolutions of the Monasteries, and divers others of his most branded Actions: So that by his Parliaments in publick, and Juries in private Affairs, he at least wanted not Colour and Pretext to make them specious to the World: Which also he had reason to affect: Outward Esteem and Reputation being the same to great Persons, which the Skin is to the Fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate Cover, yet without it the Fruit will presently discover and rot.

As for Matter of State, I dare say, never Prince went upon a truer Maxim for this Kingdom; which was, to make himself Arbiter of Christendom: And had it not cost him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an Actor, for the most Part, where he needed only be a Spectator, he both

both engaged himſelf beyond what was requiſite, and by calling in the Money he lent to his Confederates and Allies, did often diſoblige them when he had moſt Need of their Friendſhip. Yet thus he was the moſt active Prince of his Time. The Examples whereof are ſo frequent in this Hiſtory, that there was no Treaty, or almoſt Conventicle in *Chriſtendom*, wherein he had not his particular Agent and Intereſt; which, together with his Intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all Affairs, and the Penſions given for that Purpoſe, was one of his vaſt Ways for ſpending of Money.

At home it was his Manner to treat much with his Parliaments; where, if gentle Means ſerved not, he came to ſome Degrees of the rough: Though the more ſparingly, in that he knew his People did but too much fear him. Beſides, he underſtood well, that foul Ways are not always paſſable, nor to be uſed (eſpecially in ſuſpected and dangerous Times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, that none of his Predeceſſors underſtood the Temper of Parliaments better than himſelf, or that prevailed himſelf more dexterouſly of them. Therefore without being much troubled at the tumultuous Beginnings of the raſher Sort, he would give them that Leave, which all new Things muſt have to ſettle. Which being done, his next Care was to diſcover and prevent thoſe privy Combinations that were not for his Service. After which coming to the Point of Contribution, he generally took ſtrict Order, by his Commiſſioners, that Gentlemen in the Country ſhould not ſpare each other; but that the true or, at leaſt, near approaching Value of every Man's Goods and Lands ſhould be certified. And this he did the rather, becauſe he knew the Cuſtom of his People was to reckon with him about their Subſidies, and indeed, rather to number, than to weigh their Gifts.

As for his Faults, I find that of opinionate and wilful much objected: Inſomuch, that the Impreſſions privately given him by any Court-whiſperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the Perſons near him had a ſingular Ability; while beginning with the Commendations of thoſe they would diſgrace, their Manner was to inſinuate ſuch Exceptions, as they would diſcommend a Man more in few Words, than commend them in many: Doing therein like cunning Wreſtlers, who to throw one down, firſt take him up. Beſides, this Wilfulneſs had a moſt dangerous Quality annexed to it eſpecially towards his latter End, being an intenſe Jealouſy almoſt of all Perſons and Affairs, which diſpoſed him eaſily to think the worſt. Whereas it is a greater Part of Wiſdom to prevent, than to ſuſpect. Theſe Conditions again being armed with Power, produced ſuch terrible Effects, as ſtiled him both at home and abroad by the Name of *Cruel*; which alſo hardly can be avoided; eſpecially if that Attribute be due, not only to thoſe Princes who inflict capital Puniſhments frequently, and for ſmall Crimes, but to thoſe who pardon not all that are capable of Mercy. And for Teſtimonies in this Kind, ſome urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in procinctu*, at leaſt) or two (for *Poole* was condemned, though abſent;) Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights, eighteen; Abbots, Priors, Monks and Prieſts, ſeventy-ſeven; of the more common Sort, between one Religion and another, huge Mul-

Multitudes. He gave ſome Proofs yet that he could forgive; though as they were few and late, they ſerved not to recover him the Name of a clement Prince. As for Covetouſneſs, or Rapine, another main Fault obſerved by *Sanders*, as extending not only to a promiſcuous Overthrow of Religious Houſes, but a notable Derogation of Title of ſupream Head of the Church in his Dominions, nothing, that I know, can on thoſe Terms palliate it, unleſs it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threatened Invaſion from abroad, and that he had no other extraordinary Means than their Revenues then left to defend himſelf.

For certainly, the publick Pretext, taken from their exceſſive Numbers, in Proportion to a well-compoſed State, or the inordinate and vicious Life of the general Sort cannot ſufficiently excuſe him; ſince, together with the Supernumerary and debauched Abbeys, Priories and Nunneries, he ſubverted and extinguiſhed the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for ſuch as through Age or Infirmity, being unapt for ſecular Buſineſs, would end their Days in a devout and a retire Life. Nevertheleſs, as he erected divers new Biſhopricks, increaſed the Number of Colleges, and the Stipend of Readers in the Univerſities, and did many other pious Works, it is probable he intended ſome Reparation.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetouſneſs as a great Vice in this King, I could wiſh it had been with more Limitation, and ſo as he noted the other Extreme (being Prodigality) for the greater Fault: The Examples of both being ſo pregnant in the King's Father and himſelf. The firſt, by an exact Inquiry into the Corruptions and Abuſes of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himſelf thereof to bring all into good Order; and the getting of Money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary Means (only when they were not manifeſtly unjuſt) and laſtly, by Frugality, acquiring to himſelf the Name of *prudent* at Home, and *puiſſant* abroad; as being known to have in his Coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royal. Whereas this King, ſo often exhauſting his Treaſury, that he was conſtrained at laſt to have Recourſe to unuſual and grievous Ways for relieving his Wants, did not only diſaffect his Subjects in great Part (as appeared in the Rebellion of the Northern Men and others, though to their Confuſion) but expoſed his Kingdom to the Invaſion of his Neighbours: who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Neighbour's Revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready Way to improve them, did collect thence what Forces he could furniſh; and conſequently would have aſſailed him at Home, but that their mutual Diviſions did hinder them.

As for the third Vice, wherewith he was juſtly charged, being Luſt and Wantonneſs; there is little to anſwer, more than that it was rather a perſonal Fault, then damageable to the Publick: Howbeit they who reprove it, ought not only to examine Circumſtances (which much aggravate or extenuate the Fact) but even the Complexions of Men.

It doth not yet appear that this Fault did haſten the Death of his Queens; he being noted more for practiſing of private Pleaſures, then ſecret Miſchiefs; ſo that if any undue Motive did co-operate herein, it may be thought an inordinate Deſire to have Poſterity (eſpecially Maſculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs

Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather than any Thing elſe.

With all his Crimes yet, he was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his Time: Inſomuch, that not only the chief Potentates of Chriſtendom did court him, but his Subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many Trials he put them to, ſufficiently teſtify: Which yet expired ſo quickly, that it may be truly ſaid, all his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now expoſed to that Obloquy, as his Accuſers will neither admit Reaſon of State to cover any where, or Neceſſity to excuſe his Actions. For, as they were either diſcontented Clergymen, or offended Women, (for divers ſevere Examples againſt their Sex) that firſt oppoſed and cried him down, the Clamour hath been the greater: So that although one *William Thomas*, a Clerk to the Council to *Edward* VI. and living about the later Times of *Henry* VIII's Reign, did in great Part defend him in an *Italian* Book, printed *Anno* 1552, it hath not availed.

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excuſeable in Point of State, Conſcience, or Honour, a diligent Obſervation of his Actions, together with a Conjuncture of the Times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, than any factious Relation on what Side ſoever. To conclude, I wiſh I could leave him in his Grave.

F I N I S.

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